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NATIONAL REFORM UNION PUBLICATIONS.

THE WAR

AGAINST THE

DUTCH REPUBLICS

IN SOUTH AFRICA

ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS,

BY

H. J. OGDEN.

ANNOTATED WITH

Extracts from Books, Newspapers, Pamphlets,

AND

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

AND

OTHER LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

“Give me facts, feed me on facts.”

CARLYLE.

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FRANCO PHOTOGRAPH

Preface.

SOME time ago I began to collect interesting and important printed references to the causes, conduct, and results of the deplorable war in South Africa. Having been advised that a condensed selection of this mass of literature would be useful to those who, like myself, wish to influence public opinion in favour of a calmer and more just consideration of the claims of the Boer Republics to their Internal Independence, I have attempted to carry out the suggestion.

I feel considerable diffidence in offering this work to the public, as I am fully conscious of the lack of suitable training for such a task, and therefore, if it may chance to fall into the hands of *littérateurs*, I beg them to remember that it has been undertaken from a sense of duty; accompanied by feelings of shame and pain that such labours are necessary in "Free England" in the Twentieth Century.

Nearly two-thirds of the following pages were prepared, and almost ready for publication in September last, when the Election was sprung upon the country. Wishing to render personal service in that false and misleading contest, I was obliged to put them aside. A few of them, which the National Reform Union thought suitable for circulation as leaflets, were added to the already enormous mass of literature subsequently issued from its Office for distribution throughout the country.

With the object of attaining some sense of order and sequence in the grouping of these multifarious references to the War, and to enable me to outline its history, and indicate what I conceive to be its causes, I have divided the subject into Sections. For the Introduction to Section 3 I am indebted to Mr. J. A. HOBSON, the able author of "The War in South Africa: its Causes and Effects," a work which made a strong impression upon me, as I find it usually does on its numerous readers. The cuttings from the newspapers are supplemented by extracts from Mr. Frederick Harrison's "Boer Republics"; "Liberalism and the Empire"; Mr. Stead's publications: "What we are fighting for," by Mr. W. P. Byles; the above-mentioned work by Mr. Hobson; and from those of many other capable writers.

H. J. OGDEN.

NATIONAL REFORM UNION,
HAWORTH'S BUILDINGS,
5, CROSS STREET,
MANCHESTER.

March 30th, 1901.

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Introduction.

The FACTS and OPINIONS concerning the War in South Africa, which are contained in these pages, may possibly be found of service to those who have not the time and opportunities necessary for informing themselves in detail of the full story of the quarrel; but who will, nevertheless, have the responsibility of recording their judgment on the page of history, and of ultimately deciding how far the present Government ought to be supported or condemned for the diplomacy and the conduct of the War, which have resulted in the present lamentable state of affairs.

The EXTRACTS alone (the *original text* of the speakers and writers being given in almost all cases, and certainly wherever possible) will, perhaps, occasionally prove convenient for reference to persons much better qualified than I am to express opinions on the all-absorbing question of the day. My main object, however, is to render aid to those who must be content to try and influence the circle of their friends and intimate acquaintance, whether it be large or small. As speeches and articles frequently deal with several difficulties presented by this unending struggle, some indecision in grouping them has naturally been occasioned. They will generally be found under the subject which appears most prominent in them.

Above all things I would like it understood that my aim is to appeal to the *working men* of the country. Having been taught, from my boyhood upwards, to trust them, and repose confidence in their *judgment* and *patriotism*; and remembering the words of Bright and Gladstone, as to the necessity of relying upon them to effect reforms; it will be a severe shock to my pre-conceived ideas, if, now that the Nation has had time to see something of the deception practised upon it, we do not find a strong reaction of popular sentiment against the Government's conduct towards the South African Republics.

I am pleased to say that I see every reason to conclude that of all classes of society the working men will, as in similar cases in the past, be the first to hold out the hand of friendship to the Boers, and endeavour to heal the wounds our mad onslaught has inflicted. In doing so, they will not only be trying to retrieve the Character of our Country for Justice and Humanity, but also be saving us from the wreck of our material interests.

I trust, also, to gain CONVERTS to the principle of adopting ARBITRATION in the settlement of matters of International dispute, in place of resorting to the barbarous arbitrament of the sword, the only result of which is to prove that one combatant is more powerful or more expert than the other, while it leaves the MERITS OF THE CASE quite undetermined. These last, however, will be weighed and judged hereafter by historians who, having no selfish interests at stake, will be able to consider them in a fair and unbiassed spirit, which is almost more than can be reasonably expected of either party engaged in the strife. But, while the injured member may thus gain the world's sympathy, the misery and wrong he has suffered cannot be redressed.

The language of the Duke of Devonshire before the war broke out, and the still more memorable words of Lord Salisbury, "*We seek no goldfields, we seek no territory,*" one month after its commencement, have often been referred to as

indicating that, as soon as certain military conditions were attained, we should probably seize the opportunity of disarming Continental suspicion of our ulterior motives, and also make a great advance in the process of gaining the confidence of the peoples of the two Republics, by declaring our intention to grant them their Internal Independence, with certain reservations. (Section X. "The Settlement After the War.")

It is well known that if the present policy had been declared eighteen months ago, a widespread and active sympathy with the two Republics would have been manifested, which was only held in check by the words of Lord Salisbury. The Dutch in Cape Colony now charge us with making fair promises when we were in difficulties and withdrawing them under altered circumstances.

This is well shown in an article in the *Westminster Gazette*, from which the following extract is taken :—

Mr. Currey, the South African barrister whom we interviewed last week, told us that the Guildhall speech was a most important factor in keeping the Dutch of Cape Colony quiet during the war. It was quoted to them as conveying a pledge that, when we had obtained the equal rights and other reforms which we professed to be seeking, we should retire and leave the Republics in possession of their respective territories. If, after this, said Mr. Currey, you annex the Republics, the Dutch will say that you made them fair promises when you were afraid of their rising and broke your word as soon as you had them in your power. That is precisely the mischief of such language, and a Prime Minister, of all men, ought not to have used it unless he had in his mind a positive and definite policy which corresponded with the words.

But there we get to the mischief of the whole matter. The Government neither foresaw the war nor realised the consequences of the war, nor had any policy to follow the war. They drifted, now using threatening words, of which no one had realised the effect, now using amiable words which conveyed no meaning to themselves and were not intended to convey any meaning to other people. The Highbury speech, with its "plain and inoffensive" language, is an instance of the first; the Guildhall speech, with its amiable and meaningless phrases, an instance of the second.

Apart from the question of principle and morality involved in annexation, it is a foolish and dangerous course.

The Government blundered into the present position, are still blundering, and will, apparently, continue to blunder.

Sir Edward Grey says that "*Any fool could say annex.*"

Upwards of a year ago Mr. Ritchie said that there was not a member of the Government who would not look upon annexation as an "*unmitigated misfortune.*"

Mr. Augustine Birrell, K.C., in the *Liberal Magazine* for January, 1901, says :—

It has been said that "any fool can annex." If this means that wise men will seldom try so difficult a feat, it is a shrewd saying though ambiguously worded; but if it means that the task is so easy even a fool can perform it, never before did four words convey a heavier freight of falsehood. But probably the true reading is, "Any fool can say he has annexed."

When we were engaged in the abortive effort to crush our colonists in America, that enlightened statesman and orator, *Edmund Burke*, addressing the House of Commons, said :—

America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is—if fighting a people is the best way of gaining them. * * * * * It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. * * * * * My next objection is its uncertainty. * * * * * If you do not succeed you are without a resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. * * * * * I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict; still less in the midst of it. * * * * * Let me add that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit; because it is the spirit that has made the country.

The *warning was unheeded*, and we paid dearly for our neglect of it. One hundred and twenty years have since passed. Is the *lesson* quite forgotten, and must we undergo a *repetition* of it?

Anyone who reads the brief reports of foreign news, showing the unfriendly feeling towards us of nations, both great and small (notwithstanding the efforts of the English Press to place our actions in the most favourable light), must admit that the situation is by no means free from danger. Lord Rosebery, and even Lord Salisbury, told us so, and many other eminent statesmen have emphasized it. Wasteful in life and treasure as this war is, it is a small matter compared to what a war would be between ourselves and a European power of equal or greater population.

The **Labour Representatives** in the House of Commons have the advantage of listening to, and taking part in, the full discussion of the REAL MERITS of the case at first hand, besides being supplied with Blue Books giving the text of official communications; and, as it is their mission to watch over the special interests of the great majority of the people of this country, and as they are not likely to be biased in forming their opinion by the influence of the gains to be derived from mining or other speculative share holdings, their judgment ought to be received with the greatest respect. Well, what do we find? From the list given on page 84, and from Mr. Maddison's speech (p. 34), it will be seen that **Ten out of Eleven** went dead against the Government's War policy.

Everyone, *now*, unequivocally condemns the Jameson Raid, and almost everyone traces the cause of our present misfortune to that event. It has taken us *five years* to arrive at this near approach to unanimity: in *five years* hence we shall probably be well-nigh unanimous in our condemnation of the present war.

GEOGRAPHY.

The following figures are taken from the "Statesman's Year Book," the "Guide to Cape Colony," and other authorities, all slightly differing :—

The distance from **ENGLAND** to the **CAPE** exceeds 6,000 miles.

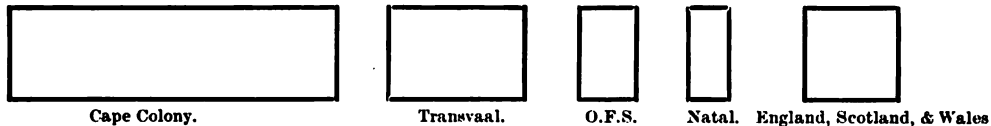
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The following blocks show their relative proportions :—

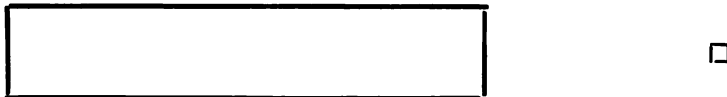


The **WHITE** population is very sparse, and, taking the mean of recent calculations, is as under :—

	Cape Colony.	Natal.	O.F.S.	Transvaal.	Total.
Africans, or so-called Dutch....	232,000	10,000	68,000	127,000	437,000
Other Nations—mainly British....	140,000	50,000	7,000	*153,000	350,000
* Outlanders.	372,000	60,000	75,000	280,000	787,000

The total **BLACK** population is variously estimated at 5,000,000 to 8,000,000.

The surface of the country, therefore, is more than *five* times that of England, Wales, and Scotland, while the **UNITED WHITE** population only slightly exceeds that of the City of Glasgow.



The above blocks show the relative proportions of the combatants as measured by population.

Great Britain and her Colonies.....	50,000,000
Transvaal and Orange Free State.....	195,000

The Magnitude of the Task.

(*Westminster Gazette*, February 9th, 1901.)

In a dispatch from Johannesburg, drawn up only last November, Lord Roberts explains the further difficulty that was created by the enormous size of the country in which he had to operate, and by the great distances that troops had to travel.

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Capetown to Kimberley	647
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Mafeking to Pretoria	160
Mafeking to Beira	1,135
Pretoria to Beira	511



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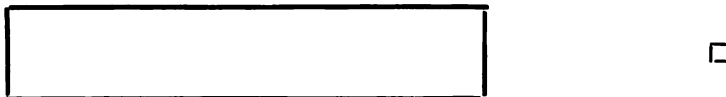


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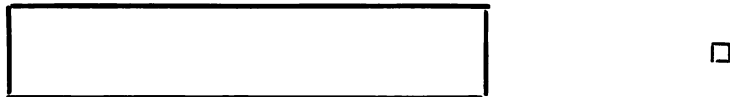


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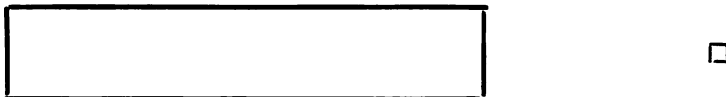


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HISTORY.

Extracts from "The Boer Republics."

By FREDERIC HARRISON.

IT was not until 1652, during our Commonwealth, that the Dutch settled in Capetown. * * * It is curious to read in documents two centuries old the names we see in every newspaper to-day—Pretorius, De Beers, Kruger, Joubert, De Villiers, Cloete, Botha, Boshof, and Steyn. These Dutch settlers all came together, and from closely allied families; they were mostly rough farmers and peasants, with a few men of birth and breeding. But from the first they formed a close family, passionately attached to the old country, to their ancestral habits, to their religion, to their Bible, their only book. They intermarried, they increased rapidly, they throve in goods, cattle, and children like Job after his trial; they clung to their old Dutch ways and belongings, language and blood. They were, and they are, amongst the most intensely conservative and self-contained race on earth. * * * In the Cape Colony, the Free State, Transvaal, Natal, even in the outlying veldt, the Dutch-speaking Afrianders are all related, both by blood and by marriage, in infinite cross ties. The four hundred thousand Boers of to-day, under whatever flag, and though 1,200 miles apart in space, are all cousins by blood, real cousins, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and something more than cousins, rather real brothers in feelings of country, nation, and common life.

A great stimulus was given to the Afriander colony by the arrival in 1688-9 of a body of Huguenot refugees driven out of France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in the persecuting age of Louis XIV. The early French settlers came out in four ships; their names and records are preserved. They were mostly men of higher breeding and endowments than the first Dutch emigrants. There were amongst them some of the best blood and noblest spirits of France, skilled craftsmen, and also merchants and financiers of high character and great experience. They gave the Dutch Afrianders a new lift. Never more than one-sixth of the whole, in spite of their intellectual and practical superiority, they were absorbed by the Dutch; the Huguenots adopted Dutch language, habits, religion, and in the third or fourth generation were completely blended in one Afriander race. The dogged persistence of the Dutch breed outmatched and assimilated the brilliant and fiery spirit of the French Huguenot, itself one of the most virile and indomitable in all Europe. As Paul Kruger descends in direct descent from the original Dutch, Peter Joubert is fifth in descent from the first Huguenot. * * *

It was in 1795 that this first conquest of the Cape was effected, under the name of "protection," after a Dutch rule of 143 years. * * * By the hollow Peace of Amiens in 1802 the colony was reluctantly ceded to the Batavian Republic. It then contained

21,000 whites and 26,000 slaves. But it was one of the last acts of Pitt, even in the year of Trafalgar and of Austerlitz, to dispatch a grand fleet of 63 ships with 6,000 soldiers to reconquer the Cape Colony for Britain. This was effected by General Baird after a decisive but not very bloody campaign; and the second conquest of Cape Colony, in 1806, began the final occupation by Great Britain which has now lasted altogether 101 years. It was treated at first with much consideration and justice. The Dutch civil law, language, religion were not disturbed, and some municipal government was conceded to the colonists, in the almost entire absence of British emigrants. By the Treaty of Vienna the conquest was recognised by the public law of Europe.

But secure in their title, the British rulers now began to tighten the reins. The Dutch language was suppressed in courts of justice and official acts, though five-sixths of the people understood no other tongue. Their municipal rights were abolished; but what was most offensive of all, Hottentots were enrolled as soldiers and police, and were employed in enforcing civil process. This was as if in Virginia to-day, negroes were to be employed in arresting white landowners. An affair of this kind led to a wild country-side riot, which was at once suppressed by martial law. Bezuidenhout's death followed, and summary execution of five ringleaders in the disturbance, though no soldier or official had been killed. The famous gallows of Slagter's Nek, where a Botha and a Kruger were hung amidst the frenzied outcries of their brethren, sank deep into the Boer mind. Even now, after 84 years, it is spoken of with indignation and hate, and has left bitterness behind it, such as animated the clansmen of the Highlands after Culloden, or the Irish tenants after the hanging of those they revere as martyrs of their race and country.

"It would be difficult to find in any part of the world," writes the impartial historian of South Africa, himself an old Colonial official, "a people with so much cause to be discontented as the old inhabitants of the Cape Colony for many years after 1827." The most outrageous calumnies about them were published by the philanthropic societies in England, and were believed. In 1828 the Courts of Justice were remodelled after English fashion, the municipal senate was abolished, the Dutch language was officially suppressed, and, practically, the Dutch-speaking burghers were excluded from juries.

We now come to the Great Trek—one of the most extraordinary stories in the history of the Empire. Smarting under their grievances, and despairing of living under British rule, Dutch farmers put their families and movables into wagons, and crossed the Orange River to the Northern veldt to seek a new home in the wilderness, where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression. * * * The Government found it could not stop them, but it claimed them as subjects, and had them searched for arms and powder. They trekked slowly on, month after month, into the wilderness, meeting wild beasts and wandering tribes of blacks, cut to pieces by hordes of savages, by famine, by drought, by fever, or again in ambushes, or losing their way in the arid veldt. One party pushed up some 800 miles to the Northern part of the Transvaal; another party were slaughtered and exterminated—men, women, and children; one party trekked on till a feeble remnant, stricken with fever, at last reached the coast of Delagoa Bay. * * * In one of these parties was a little boy of ten, just old enough to drag his musket—Paul Kruger, now President of the Transvaal. In another party was Pieter Joubert, father of the Boer Commander-in-Chief, himself fourth in descent from the old Huguenot of 1689. * * * It is a thrilling

story how one party of trek-farmers drove back the terrible Moselekatze across the Limpopo, how another took a fearful revenge on the treacherous Dingaan at the Blood River, a little north-east of Dundee. These Zulu and Matabele armies of 8,000 or 10,000 strong were, at least, as brave and as well-disciplined as the warriors whom Lobengula and Cetewayo, their descendants, led in recent years against us. * * *

In Natal, the Boers now founded townships, Pietermaritzburg, named after two of their leaders, Weenen and other villages, and started an independent Republic of Natalia. But Great Britain does not love independent Republics on her frontier, especially if they are weak; least of all, if they have access to the sea coast. The Imperial Government never recognised Natalia; and, as it held on to the port of Durban, it sent up a force by sea, drove the Dutch back westward, and extinguished the young Dutch Republic of Natalia (after six years of life), and in 1845 founded the British Colony of Natal. Thereupon the majority of the Boer farmers resumed their long Trek, sullenly recrossed the Drakensberg chain, and settled down in the Orange State, and partly passed again into the Transvaal. * * *

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith, Governor of Cape Colony, somewhat impulsively annexed the whole territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers as British territory—by the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. * * * Sir Harry restored British authority over the Orange Sovereignty at Bloemfontein, and returned to Capetown believing that all was peacefully settled.

It was very far from being settled. Sir H. Smith's successor soon found himself engaged in a very difficult and inglorious war with Moshesh, the able founder of the Basuto nation on the headwaters of the Orange River, west of the great Drakensberg chain; and as Pretorius and his Boers proposed to join Moshesh against the British, the Government at last made with Pretorius, in 1852, the famous *Sand River Convention*, whereby the British Government "guaranteed the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws." This was the origin of the South African Republic and a clear recognition of the Transvaal as an independent commonwealth. This seemed so much the easier policy that the Government of Lord Aberdeen followed it two years later; and in 1854 abandoned the Orange Sovereignty and declared the Orange Free State a free and independent people.

Thus the two Boer Republics were at last recognised as free and independent eighteen years after the great Trek into the wilderness, and forty-six years ago from the present date. For these forty-six years the Orange Free State has thriven till now, and enjoyed peace and simple comfort. * * * Mr. Bryce tells us it is "the most idyllic community in South Africa, its capital is one of the best appointed in the world." * * * (*Numerous War Correspondents have testified to the correctness of this statement.—H.J. O.*)

The history of the Transvaal begins with its recognition as an independent Republic in the Sand River Convention of 1852. It was then, indeed, four distinct communities, the chief of which was led by the elder Pretorius, one of the ablest of the Trek commanders. Dr. Theal gives us a fine picture of "the admirable qualities which have made him the hero of the emigrants."

A year after obtaining the Sand River Convention, Pretorius died, in 1853, and Dr. Theal gives us a noble picture of his last days. "For a month he lay on a bed of

sickness, giving directions and counsel. He called the commanders and field-cornets to his bedside and exhorted them each and all to union amongst themselves, to piety, and to moral duty. The native chiefs then came in, and knelt down in tears, and kissed his hand. He devoted his last hours to prayer and praise ; and having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly and quietly breathed his last." Pretoria was founded in his memory, and his son, the younger Pretorius, was chosen President in his place.

He was not equal to his father. He began the system of exclusion which has caused such a storm. * * *

Confusion, almost civil war, was rife in the Transvaal, and Cetewayo, with a formidable impi, threatened their frontier, when, in 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent up to Pretoria "to inquire" into the disturbed condition of the country. He did "inquire," and somewhat abruptly. As a result of his investigations he proclaimed the Republic British territory and hoisted the Union Jack. It is true that by the Sand River Convention, twenty-five years previously, Great Britain had recognised the independence of the Transvaal Boers, and had pledged itself not to interfere with them. It is true that the Republic was in an anarchical and bankrupt state, and not a few of the burghers, in their despair, believed annexation to be their only chance to avoid ruin and even annihilation. Sir Theophilus guaranteed a liberal home rule, a free legislature, and municipal privileges, and returned in the belief that all would settle down in time.

Things in South Africa are always going to settle down in time ; but the time often seems very long in arriving. The Boers are slow and stubborn ; but the sight of the Union Jack roused deep irritation. A deputation was sent to England to protest ; but the British Government held that annexation was the most prudent course in the interest, of course, of South Africa generally. Discontent grew louder, Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius leading it on. The new British Governor was most unpopular, and, it is now agreed, most unwise. He introduced censorship of the press, suppressed meetings, nominated a packed counsel and two chambers, but gave no franchise, held no elections, and granted no self-government. A petition against annexation was signed by 6,591 burghers ; Kruger and Joubert came over in a second deputation to protest in 1878, and they told the Colonial Secretary that the Transvaal would accept nothing but independence.

Resistance grew stronger, and in the following year a camp of 4,000 Boers was formed to claim independence as a right. Sir Bartle Frere had promised complete local independence ; but Sir Bartle was superseded in 1878. In 1879 a great meeting of Boers at Paardekraal proclaimed their entire independence. The Governor denounced this as treason, and put Pretorius in jail. * * *

The Boers refused to pay taxes. Bezuidenhout's wagon was seized in payment. He was of the same family as the two killed in 1815. A riot ensued, and Kruger led the opposition. On Dingaan's day, December 16th, 1880, the Independence was proclaimed and warfare begun. Four days later a British column of 250 was stopped, and, after a brief parley, was almost destroyed in ten minutes. The small British garrisons in the Transvaal were invested. Sir Pomeroy Colley marched up with 1,400 men, and failed in engagements at Laing's-Nek and Ingogo. Kruger offered to submit to arbitration, but Majuba Hill followed : where Colley took up to a mountain top 554 rifles without guns, and was killed, with 280 men disabled. * * *

Sir Evelyn Wood at once brought up a strong force, and within a few weeks made terms with the Boers. The Government, of which Lord Kimberley, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, and the Duke of Devonshire are surviving members, restored to the South African Republic complete independence, subject to an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Her Majesty's Government. Paul Kruger became President. In 1883 he came again to England and obtained the revised Convention of London, wherein the claim of "suzerainty" was purposely omitted. The South African Republic was recognised as independent, subject to this,—that it could conclude no treaty with any foreign power (other than the Orange Free State) until the same had been approved by Her Majesty. The Transvaal Boers thenceforward certainly regarded themselves quite as independent as their Orange Free State brethren; and were so described in public law and in official language. They are now called rebels in revolt.

We turn now to an extraordinary series of unexpected discoveries which have entirely revolutionised all South African problems. In 1867, on the Orange River, a Boer child was found playing with a bright pebble. A trader carried it to Capetown, where it was recognised as a fine diamond, and sold for £500. Two years later a much larger pebble was found on the Vaal River. It turned out to be the "Star of South Africa," of 83 carats, and has since been sold to an English countess for £25,000. More diamonds turned up, and soon a wild mob of diggers poured in as they have just done at Klondyke, and they formed camps in the district where the railway to Mafeking now passes, the country round the rivers Modder, Vaal, and Harts. This district was claimed partly by the Free State, partly by the Transvaal; and vague claims of certain native chiefs were put in. But no effective government existed in what had been open veldt before the rush began; and each mining camp formed a little defensive community by itself. One claimant was a half-caste chief called N. Waterboer, a Griqua, who claimed the allegiance of some 500 people living in one village, about 100 miles west of Kimberley. An attorney in Capetown took up his case, worked his claim to a territory about 15,000 square miles (*i.e.*, about twice the size of Wales), and, for a consideration, offered his sovereign rights to the British Government. His father had been a powerful chief, but his sovereign rights were like those of the King of the Gypsies on Bagshot Heath to the entire county of Surrey. However, the British Government magnanimously accepted the offer.

The Free State protested against the preposterous claim to part of their Republic under a title so farcical. The British Government offered arbitration, which President Brand naturally refused. President Pretorius, of the Transvaal, however, agreed to accept arbitration as to some land between the Harts and Vaal rivers claimed by the Transvaal, over which some native tribes pretended prior rights. Arbitration went on, of a kind, but the proceedings, according to Dr. Theal, who cites official documents, were a pure farce. The British Governor of Natal, called in as umpire, decided in favour of Waterboer's claim, and awarded to his own Government a large slice of the Free State territory. But the proceedings of the mock court, we are now told officially, were a farce. A forged treaty was accepted as decisive. The Free State was not represented at all. The case of the Transvaal was stupidly given away. And by a judicial proceeding fit for comic opera the two Republics and all the natives were solemnly *ousted from an immense and most valuable tract of land. It was declared a British Dependency and made a Crown Colony*; armed forces were sent up, the Boers were

driven out, their magistrates expelled under protests. Soon after, a special court, under a Capetown judge, found that the chief, Waterboer, never had had any rights in the Diamond Fields at all; and the Gypsy king was sent back to his village.

Griqualand West, with 15,000 square miles, was annexed to Cape Colony in 1880, and Kimberley, said to be the most valuable district, for its area, in the whole world, was thus skilfully "conveyed" to the British Empire. The Free State protested in vain; but, after years of negotiation, ultimately received a *solatium* of £90,000 for a district worth 90 million sterling. The district was then named after the noble Earl who leads the Opposition in the House of Lords. I would rather not use any language of my own. But I find that Mr. Froude calls this transaction "the most discreditable in the annals of English colonial policy."

The discovery of the Diamond Fields and their annexation to the British Empire in 1871 brought about an immense revolution in South Africa. The value of the mines proved to be enormous. In twenty years £65,000,000 have been raised. The new colony sprang up like a dream; men of all nations and keen brain poured in. Vast fortunes were made; colossal companies were formed. * * *

The foundation of Rhodesia and the militant phase of the Chartered Company now caused deep alarm in the Transvaal and its chiefs. The two Boer Republics which had trekked forth, fought, and suffered, in order to be free of British dominion, now found themselves engulfed by the Empire—north, south, east, and west—finally shut out from the northern wilderness, and girt on north and west by British powers, all controlled by the great "empire-builder" (*Mr. Rhodes*), who openly aimed at bringing South Africa, from the Zambesi to the Cape, under the Union Jack. If from that hour the Boers did not strain every nerve to prepare to defend their freedom, they would have deserved to lose it without a blow.

But the Transvaal now found its independence menaced by a new force. In 1886 it was discovered that most valuable goldfields existed in the Transvaal, and miners and gold agencies poured in. Wealth, far more vast than that of the diamond fields, as spread over a larger area, a far larger outland population, greater fortunes, and bigger companies arose. In eleven years Johannesburg became, not only the wealthiest, the most modern, but the largest town in South Africa. The annual output of gold rose to about twelve millions. The expenditure of the State rose from £114,000 to between four and five millions. The Outlander male population began to exceed that of burghers. The old President believed that the Outlanders were about to swamp the Boers. As they pressed for political power the Transvaal narrowed its terms, until at last an immense body of aliens—a majority, far the wealthiest and most cultivated—found itself in the grasp of a jealous, obstinate, unfriendly, unyielding government, which regarded them as in a state of permanent conspiracy to displace it. And this, no doubt, was quite true.

This is not the place or time to rehearse the trite story of Outlander grievances and Boer misrule. * * * I am quite willing to believe that much of it was unjust, as well as unwise. I do not doubt that the railway and mining and dynamite monopolies were oppressive, that their Protective tariff almost outdid that of President McKinley; that the education of English children was neglected, as, indeed, it is in France; that the municipal government of the Rand was as bad as it is in Spain; that the Chamber was open to bribes, as it is said to be in the United States.

Before and After the Jameson Raid.

By J. A. HOBSON.

The Flood of Foreigners.

THE discovery of the rich goldfields of the Rand, in 1886, brought a flood of foreigners into the Transvaal, composed chiefly of the roughest and most disorderly elements of the various European nationalities. When the richness of the "deep level" mines became known in 1892, the rush of outsiders became more impetuous, and large numbers of German, Polish, and Russian Jews entered the country, lowering the average character of the population. The miners were chiefly Englishmen, who came, not to settle, but to make good money and take it away: the commercial and professional classes were largely foreigners. A goldfield population is always difficult to govern, and the Transvaal Government was hampered by the fact that it was forbidden by the Convention to pass an Alien Law to keep out undesirable foreigners, though not only independent States, but our own Colonies, habitually exercise this right.

Beginnings of Revolution.

Obliged to admit all comers, their only chance to keep their Government from being upset was to restrict the franchise. A certain small number of the Outlanders resented this, and, as early as 1886, little movements of a revolutionary character were set on foot. There are grievances in every State, but there is no evidence that any real oppression was suffered either by the capitalists, the professional classes, or the workers in the Transvaal, or that the agitation before 1895 was supported by any strong body of Outlander opinion. In the middle of 1894 an attempt to "commandeer" a few British subjects for a Kaffir war aroused some angry feeling, and a visit from the High Commissioner, Sir H. Loch, to Pretoria was made the occasion of a demonstration calculated to alarm the Transvaal Government and to set them on their guard. An attempt then made to raise the general issue of Outlander grievances failed. Sir H. Loch, who knew the kind of men he was dealing with, refused to encourage any policy of menace, and advised the reformers "to work in a conciliatory manner with the Government for the redress of their grievances. (Scoble, "The Rise and Fall of Krugerism," p. 159.)

The Mining Capitalists.

Not until the mining capitalists took it up did the movement in Johannesburg assume any real importance. That interference may be dated from the autumn of 1894, when Mr. Rhodes, in a stormy interview with Mr. Kruger, threatened the latter that "he would lose his country unless he changed his mode of government." (Scoble, p. 172.) Up to this time the mining capitalists had taken no active part in a movement

which they regarded as futile and unnecessary. They had got what they wanted for the encouragement of the gold mining by paying for it. They were not politicians, but stood by the attitude of Mr. Lionel Phillips—"As for the franchise, few of us care a fig for it." Here is the view of the Imperialist editor of the *Transvaal Advertiser* and the Pretoria correspondent to the *London Times*: "Had Mr. Rhodes not interfered in Transvaal politics the mining magnates would never have given a hearty support to the Outlander cause. Individuals might have done so, but the majority would have preferred a *policy of submission backed up by bribery*, which was encouraged by the Government, and which, while impoverishing the country, naturally played into the hands of the moneyed men so long as there were valuable interests at stake." (Scoble, p. 174.)

First Bribery, then Force.

So long as corruption enabled them to get what they wanted the capitalists preferred this method to one which imperilled their persons and interests by embarking them on revolutionary politics. But, finding that the Government claimed a larger share of the mining wealth than they cared to give, and calculating that a short, sharp blow might enable them to get control of the Government and work it more profitably for themselves, a number of their leading men agreed to utilise the reform movement, and to finance it for a revolution. Most of these mining capitalists, not being Englishmen, or else thinking that imperial control would hamper them, preferred the idea of a reformed republic, and scouted the proposal of a British flag.

Enter the Millionaires.

The lead was taken by the millionaires who controlled the two great mining houses of Wernher, Beit and the Consolidated Goldfields, the same men who control likewise the two other big interests in South Africa—the Kimberley diamond industry and the Chartered Company.

Testimony of Fitzpatrick.

The following statement by Mr. Fitzpatrick, himself a member of the Eckstein firm, indicates the capitalist forces which planned the revolution in Johannesburg in 1895 and the Jameson Raid:—

Most of the wealthy houses in the Transvaal are either offshoots of or have supporting connections with firms in England or on the Continent. Between them and their principals much correspondence had taken place on the political situation. As far as these houses were concerned, it was impossible for them to enter upon any movement without the consent of their European associates. For this reason the Reform movement, as it eventually took place, has in some ways the appearance of, and has very frequently been stigmatised as, an organisation planned and promoted outside the Transvaal. The fact is that Mr. Alfred Beit, of the firm of Wernher, Beit, & Co., London, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, managing director of the Consolidated Goldfields, may be regarded as the chiefs to whom the ultimate decision as to whether it was necessary, from the capitalistic point of view, to resort to extreme measures was necessarily left. Each of these gentlemen controls in person and through his business associates many millions of money invested in the Transvaal; each of them was, of course, a heavy sufferer under the existing conditions affecting the mining industry, and each, as a business man, must have been desirous of reform in the administration. Mr. Beit acted in concert with Mr. Lionel Phillips, of H. Eckstein & Co., the Johannesburg representatives of Wernher, Beit, & Co. Mr. Rhodes was represented by his brother, Colonel Francis Rhodes, and Mr. J. H. Hammond, of the Consolidated Goldfields Company in Johannesburg. Mr. George

Farrer, another very large mine owner, who joined a little later than the others, with the gentlemen above named, may be considered to have represented the capitalist element in the earlier stages of the Reform movement. The other elements were represented by Mr. Charles Leonard, the chairman of the National Union, and one or two other prominent members of that body.—Fitzpatrick, "The Transvaal from Within," page 96, 2s. 6d. edition.

The Johannesburg Rebellion.

Mr. Chamberlain came into the Colonial Office in July, 1895, and the knowledge of his sympathy and the belief in his connivance stimulated the revolutionists to hasten their plan of action. The following was the nature of the plan: The Reformers in Johannesburg intended to raise a body of 7,000 men, under ex-officers of the British Army, to hold a public meeting demanding reforms, and, if the meeting was dispersed by the Government, to break out into active rebellion. Johannesburg was provisioned for six weeks, and an ultimatum was drafted, demanding reforms of the franchise and representation in the Raad. Everything was to be done under the Transvaal flag. Charles Leonard, the chairman of the National Union, was a strong Republican, as was Mr. J. H. Hammond, the American engineer, so that the movement from the Johannesburg side was not Imperialistic in its aim.

Outside, Mr. Rhodes, who was Premier of Cape Colony and director of the Chartered Company, got from Mr. Chamberlain a strip of land in Bechuanaland, on the border of the Transvaal nearest to Johannesburg, put there a body of Mounted Police from Rhodesia, and made arrangements to back up the Johannesburg movement by an invasion from outside. Dr. Jameson went to Johannesburg in November, and got from the Reformers a letter of invitation, with lying statements about the danger to "women and children."

Mendacity, futile bluff, and incompetence, both on the part of the Johannesburgers and the Raiders, spoiled the scheme.

The following is an accurate summary of what took place:—

The Actual Crisis.

By smuggling rifles from the De Beers Company in Kimberley, Johannesburg was provided with arms to the very inadequate amount of 1,000 rifles, supplemented by 1,500 additional rifles in the days immediately succeeding the crossing of the Transvaal border by Dr. Jameson. When the Reformers found how badly prepared they were for resistance, they telegraphed ordering Jameson on no account to enter the Transvaal. Influenced by his younger officers, relying upon his letter of invitation, and believing that Johannesburg would rise on learning of his advance, Jameson crossed the border at about three o'clock on the morning of Sunday, December 29th, 1895.

The news reached Johannesburg on the afternoon of Monday, and caused consternation among the Reformers. There was nothing for it but to rely upon the great South African panacea—bluff. They gave out that they possessed 25,000 rifles, and so held the Boers at defiance, hoping to be able to terrorise the Pretoria Government into granting terms.

A Conspiracy of Cross Purposes.

Of the tragic end to the Raid at Doornkop it is unnecessary to write here. Dr. Jameson had also bluffed—bluffed his men by his talk of distressed women and *children*, and bluffed the Reformers by his promise of 1,500 men and 1,500 additional

rifles. The number of actual fighting men at Doornkop was only about 260, the rest being non-combatants of different kinds. In this curiously melodramatic attempt at revolution, every conspirator's hand was against his neighbour's, each was working for his own interest, and those interests constantly clashed. The result is that the revelations at the different Inquiries astonished no one more than the participants; they learned so many things that they had never suspected to have the remotest connection with the Raid.

The End of the Crisis.

So soon as Dr. Jameson's presence within the Republic was known to the Reform Committee, they issued a solemn declaration stating that the Jameson force had crossed the border "without the knowledge of the Committee," and the *Johannesburg Star*, on behalf of the Reformers, disavowed "any knowledge of or sympathy with the entry into the Republic of an armed force from the Bechuanaland side," and assured the Government that they were in no way privy to the step. The publication of their letter of invitation had not then been communicated to them. On Saturday, January 4th, Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, arrived in Pretoria from Cape Town, and on Monday had a meeting with the Executive. At that Conference, Mr. Kruger said Johannesburg must surrender its arms unconditionally. The Committee agreed, and the Crisis was at an end.

Complicity of the Colonial Office.

The importance of the incidents connected with the Jameson Raid is that they raise the question, "How far was the Transvaal justified in believing that Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government were behind the Raid, and would plan some further attack upon the independence of their country?"

That armed preparations were being made at Pitsani was notorious in the summer of 1895. Visitors to Johannesburg in the autumn knew that a revolution was being organised there; in London drawing-rooms of the "chartered" circles the plan was discussed; and there can be no real doubt that Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial officials, either in their public or their private capacity, knew as much as they cared to know about it.

Probably Mr. Chamberlain did not choose to acquaint himself with the details of the scheme, nor were his ideas about its political results quite the same as those of Mr. Rhodes and his friends.

Testimony of a South African Imperialist.

The following passages from the book of *The Times* correspondent at Pretoria are tolerably convincing evidence that Mr. Chamberlain was "in" the Raid.

Extracts from "The Rise and Fall of Krugerism."

"The Transvaal question called for immediate settlement. Was such a settlement to be effected internally by Mr. Rhodes, or was the Imperial Government to undertake it? In the one way Mr. Chamberlain would fulfil his greatest ambitions, in the other Mr. Rhodes. All the evidence on the subject goes to show that the British Government had then already determined on an active policy."

"It turned out, however, that such a policy would interfere with Mr. Rhodes's plans, which were rapidly maturing, but which were as then a secret confined to himself and a few friends. There can be no doubt that the Colonial Office must have received a hint in some way

or other that it was inadvisable to follow an imperial line in South Africa ; but that everything should be left to Mr. Rhodes, who was interesting himself in the matter, and would take all responsibility."

"Mr. Rhodes, who only asked for a free hand, and guaranteed imperial interests in return, expressed the belief that if no interference took place with regard to his plans 'he thought they would be carried through without bloodshed.' This meant the passive acquiescence of the Colonial Office in whatever he might do. In the face of these considerations Mr. Chamberlain was placed in a very awkward position, because it seemed to resolve itself into the question whether his ambition or his patriotism would win the day. * * * Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Rhodes have often been bracketed as empire builders ; but as such their interests cannot always be identical, and their very positions tend to make them rivals. Therefore a very considerable self-sacrifice was involved in surrendering to the Rhodesian arguments."

The Method of Mr. Chamberlain.

This self-sacrifice of Mr. Chamberlain's is very intelligible. It meant that he intended to incur no personal risks ; that if the scheme succeeded he would take the glory ; if it failed he would disown the conspirators, as he actually did.

Dr. Scoble explains how this method "reduced the part to be played by the Colonial Office to that of a looker-on, merely giving warnings as to the European or American barometer, unprepared to discountenance so-called revolutionary as discriminated from Raid methods, and at the same time unable to do anything much except hope for success."

How it Came Out.

The connivance and encouragement afforded by Mr. Chamberlain might have been concealed. But the Rhodesians "blabbed."

Dr. Scoble writes on this point with cynical candour :—

"The extent of the 'secrets' possessed by these parties would seem to be confined to the messages which passed through Mr. Fairfield, both verbally and in writing ; but *whatever were the nature of those communications they should have been kept hidden, and no hint even given that they existed. It was a case of suppressing information which it was not in the public interest to disclose.* The mere fact that it is admitted to-day that much which took place at that time has tarnished our reputation condemns in itself the disclosures made."

Thus Dr. Scoble, of *The Times*, proves up to the hilt that case against Mr. Chamberlain which is set down by many persons as a pro-Boer invention.

Sequel to the Raid.

Now, the sequel of the Raid confirmed the Transvaalers in their suspicion that Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government were in it, and that it was necessary for them to make every preparation to defend their country against a future attack from the same combination of Capitalism and Imperialism. For, mark what occurred. Kruger let off lightly—on the mere payment of a fine—most of the leaders of revolution in Johannesburg, and treated even the few refractory ones with a leniency unknown to European Governments for similar offences ; the Raiders he gave up to the British Government for trial and punishment. What was the return for this leniency ? The men whom he had let off with a fine taunted him with fear and avarice as motives, and *made no concealment of their intention to renew their revolutionary designs.*

Mr. Chamberlain's Threat.

Within three weeks after the Raid Mr. Chamberlain sent a cable to Sir H. Robinson, the High Commissioner, described by the latter as "intimating that he was considering, in concert with his colleagues, the propriety of immediately sending large force, including cavalry and artillery, to the Cape, to provide for all eventualities." (C. 8063.)

Sir H. Robinson replied, "deprecating the proposed dispatch of large force," and it was abandoned. But as early as January 4th Mr. Chamberlain wrote in a dispatch to Sir H. Robinson the following threat against the Transvaal Government: "*The danger from which they have just escaped was real, and one which, if the causes which led up to it are not removed, may recur, though in a different form.*"

Mr. Rhodes' "Constitutional Means."

These final words, which are italicised, are significant when taken in conjunction with Mr. Rhodes' announcement to the Committee of his intention to proceed to the same end by "constitutional means." He and his friends lost no time in setting on foot the South African League, and in securing the leading newspapers of South Africa for a campaign of calumny and provocation. The British officers tried in London for their part in the Raid were regarded as heroes by the public and the press, and received sentences of ridiculous leniency. Mr. Chamberlain openly condoned the action of Mr. Rhodes, in the House of Commons, by avowing that he "dismissed absolutely those charges which made against Mr. Rhodes' personal honour," although it had been proved that "as Prime Minister of Cape Colony Mr. Rhodes had assisted with money and advice an attack upon the integrity of a neighbouring and friendly State; that as a Privy Councillor he had encouraged a gross breach of international comity; that as a member of the Cape Ministry he had wilfully withheld information from his colleagues in the Cabinet."

The farce of the House of Commons Committee, with its refusal to sift the evidence and to call for the suppressed telegrams, which were believed to inculcate the Government, aggravated the suspicions of the Boers. Mr. Chamberlain, in the Committee, in Parliament, and in his negotiations for the Colonial Office, assumed the tone of an inveterate enemy, and lost no opportunity of feeding the suspicions of the Boers. No one, of course, can publicly defend the Jameson Raid. Though many applauded it at the time, all now condemn it. Mr. Balfour has said of it that it "tied our hands."

Why and When the Boers Armed.

These facts make it evident why the Boers provided themselves with forts, artillery and other armaments. After the Raid they expected another attack. They were fully justified in their suspicions. They feared that Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Chamberlain would pick a quarrel, refuse to arbitrate, and attack their country, and they determined to defend themselves.

It is often said that they began these armaments long before the Raid. This is false. There is ample evidence from hostile witnesses, from Captain Younghusband of *The Times*, Major White, and Mr. Fitzpatrick, to show that until the summer of 1895, when the revolutionists in Johannesburg became dangerous, no preparations had been made by the Boers.

The following figures are given by Mr. Fitzpatrick on page 8 of the introduction of "The Transvaal from Within," and are extracted from the *Staats Courant* (Government Gazette), and speak for themselves :—

	FULL YEAR.					
	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Military	19,340	28,158	87,308	495,618	396,384	357,225
Public works ...	200,106	260,962	353,724	701,022	1,012,866	535,502
Special payments	148,981	330,181	205,335	682,008	248,684	211,910
Sundry services	132,132	163,547	95,278	128,724	135,345	148,873
Totals	500,559	782,848	741,645	2,007,372	1,793,279	1,253,510

The subjoined evidence of Major White, Captain Younghusband, and the correspondent of *The Times* (and taken from the Appendix to Mr. Stead's "Are we in the Right?") is sufficient to prove that no serious arming took place prior to the Raid.

FIRST WITNESS, "*The Times*."

The earliest reference to the subject that we can find is in an article on "Natal and the Transvaal in 1890," published by *The Times* on November 7th. The writer states that he visited the barracks, arsenal, &c., in Pretoria. The "standing army," he tells us, was limited to a "single battery of obsolete guns," and, he adds, "*the military efficiency in every detail was in 1889 beneath contempt.*"

SECOND WITNESS, *Major White*.

Six years later Major Robert White was sent to Pretoria at the cost of the Chartered Company to spy out the land. He, too, visited the Pretoria Arsenal, and his investigations were assisted by Colonel Frank Rhodes and Captain Ernest Rhodes. Nine months later the diary in which he recorded his impressions was picked up on the field of Krugersdorp. It contains a quaint inventory of the guns which he found in Pretoria :—

1. Half-a-dozen very old pieces of ordnance, mortars, &c.
2. One bronze gun of the date of the Second Empire.
3. A broken Maxim-Nordenfeldt.
4. A small muzzle-loader in bad condition.

The list concludes with the remark :—

None of the guns I saw were fit for much work.

THIRD WITNESS, *Captain Younghusband*.

But it may be argued that Major White was hoodwinked. He may not have seen the modern armaments at Pretoria. That is possible; but we have other evidence to show that when they did actually begin to arm the Boers were by no means reluctant to reveal their resources. From Captain Younghusband, who visited Pretoria for *The Times* early in 1896, they did not conceal the fact that

"Orders for batteries of field guns, quick-firing guns, and Maxims, and for sufficient rifles to arm every Dutchman in South Africa, were being sent to Europe; European drill-instructors and artillerymen were being imported, and forts were being constructed round Pretoria on the most approved designs. *One attempt had been made to take their country from them; they were thoroughly convinced that the attempt would be renewed at some future date; so the Boers were determined to be thoroughly on their guard the second time.*"

Yet he entirely corroborates Major White's estimate of the Boer armaments before the *Raid*, when he writes: "The Boers had very nearly been caught napping at the beginning of the year."

Mr. Stead very pertinently adds :—

“It is obvious, from the nature of the arms themselves, that they have only recently been acquired. They are all of the latest patterns, and in many respects are much better than our own. Military inventions follow each other so rapidly that the mere calibre of the Boers’ rifles affords an infallible guide as to the date of their manufacture. To talk, as some do, of these rifles being bought 18 years ago is to talk nonsense.”

Since the above was written Dr. Jameson has delivered his Kimberley speech (July, 1900), when, in excusing the failure of the Raid, he used these words :—

“You must remember at that time the Transvaal was not armed like the Transvaal of to-day. Apart from rifles in the hands of individual Burghers, the whole armoury of the Transvaal was contained in the so-called Pretoria fort, guarded by, I think, three States artillerymen, and its sole protection a broken-down corrugated iron fence.”

And further on he tells us that Judge Kotze purposed warning Mr. Kruger that

“150 Randites, armed with sticks, could march across to Pretoria, seize the fort, and have the Transvaal in their possession.”

Finally, we have the full and accurate report of the Boer armaments prepared by Sir J. C. Ardagh for the British Intelligence Department many months before the War broke out. The following extract is conclusive (pp. 27, 19, and 21) ;—

“Of the enormous quantity of rifles now in possession of the South African Republic only some 13,500 Martini-Henry rifles were in the country before the Jameson Raid. The whole of the remainder have been purchased since that date in England, France, Germany, and Belgium. This enormous stock of rifles would suffice to arm more than double the number of the whole forces of the Transvaal.

“In January, 1896, the strength of the Staats Artillery was nine officers and 100 men, though only 70 men were actually doing duty. Immediately after the Jameson raid the corps was increased in strength to about 400, and in January last was stated by the Commandant-General to have an actual strength of 473 officers and men. This is exclusive of the reserve, which in the time of the Raid amounted only to 50 men, but may now be estimated at 200 or 300 at least.”

Neither forts, guns, artillery instructors, nor Mausers were ordered before 1895. The movement which ended in the Raid is thus proved to be the direct cause of these preparations, made in fear of an attack upon the independence of their country, such as has actually been made. (See below reports of interviews with Mr. Robinson and Dr. Theal.)

Is the Hawksley Dossier to have a Sequel ?

Since Mr. Hobson wrote the above, a very remarkable letter from Mr. F. Hawksley, solicitor to the Chartered Company, appeared in *The Times* of December 26th, 1900, which, it is reasonable to suppose, will, later on, form the subject of a debate in Parliament. Mr. Hawksley expresses himself thus :—

“SIR,—I have read with interest the letter from Miss Marris in your issue of to-day.
* * * As, apparently, a new edition of her book is contemplated by Miss Marris, may I suggest to her that she should either omit all reference to a correspondence which Mr. Chamberlain has repeatedly declined to make public, being ‘unaware of any public or private interest which would be served by its publication’ (House of Commons, 3rd August, 1897, “Authorised Parliamentary Debates,” vol. 52, page 243), or obtain from Mr. Chamberlain a complete copy and set it out in full ?

"I would also remind Miss Marris, who makes somewhat free with my name, that *no evidence whatever* was offered by Dr. Jameson and his officers at the trial at Bar in support of their plea of not guilty. It is obvious to any one who followed the proceedings at the trial that, as I explained when speaking at Rugby during the election, had the trial *followed*, instead of *preceded*, the inquiry by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, or had the evidence before that Committee been *before the jury* at the trial, an *acquittal* would have been a *matter of course*."

(The italics, naturally, are mine. See extracts from "South Africa: Its History, Heroes, and Wars," pp. 71-2.—H. J. O.)

In the *extracts* in this Section quotations are given from a speech by Sir R. Reid calling upon the Government to *re-open* the inquiry into the Raid; and from a speech by Sir W. Harcourt denouncing the "manner in which the Raid was dealt with." The motion was lost by 133 votes—the customary majority.

In a valedictory article in the *Daily News* of January 9th, 1901, by the retiring editor, the following passage occurs:—

The inquiry into the Raid was closed just at the point of greatest interest and importance. The Committee was on that account christened in this column, "The Committee of No Inquiry." But the Liberal Press was not supported by the Liberal leaders. The representatives of the Liberal Front Bench upon the Committee agreed to the suspension of the inquiry. This was an irreparable blunder. It was the loss of one of those golden moments which, as Mr. Gladstone said of another and greater issue, "do not return." No amount of subsequent vituperation of Mr. Chamberlain was able to wipe out the consequences of the blunder.

NOTE.—Section 6 is practically and inevitably almost a continuation of this subject.

An Interview with Dr. Theal, South Africa Historian.

(*"Manchester Guardian," March 5th, 1900.*)

IN view of the immense interest which has been excited by South Africa during the last few years, nothing is more remarkable than that the personality of its historian should be so little known in this country. It is no exaggeration whatever to say that the foundations of all that has been well and truly written on South Africa rest on the labours of Dr. G. M. Theal. (His History is in five volumes—he is the author of a long shelf-ful of other works on South Africa as well—but the book of his which is most read in Great Britain is the familiar abbreviation of it in the "Story of the Nations" series.*) Dr. Theal knows South Africa and its people as no other man can know it. He has long held the office of Historiographer under the Government of the Cape Colony, and has also been for many years Chief Clerk in the Native Affairs Department. From his youth his one passion has been the study of the history of the whites and Kaffirs. For a considerable period he has possessed to a wonderful degree the confidence and affection alike of the Cape Dutch and the natives. Living at Cape Town as he has done, and knowing the political world thoroughly, from the High Commissioners downwards, he has not failed to understand also the so-called "English" point of view. By birth a

Canadian, by inclination a scholar, by training a Civil servant, by political faith a firm believer in the potentialities of the Empire for good, he is the last man whom anyone in South Africa would dream of charging with taking a local, a superficial, or a prejudiced view of the present situation. In these circumstances I felt myself privileged in meeting Dr. Theal the other day, and in being allowed to report what he thinks about the war.

"There is no use in speaking other than plainly," said the Doctor, sitting down on a hard, stiff-backed chair, throwing up his spectacles on his forehead, looking straight into my eyes, and speaking in the grave yet unimpassioned tones of a judge beginning his summing up. "This war is the greatest tragedy of our time. Your people here are living in a fools' paradise. They do not know what the task is they have taken in hand. The simplest features of the situation—simple to those who have lived in, to those who understand South Africa—are misunderstood by your Press. The papers do not know South Africa. They do not know its history. They do not know the people with whom Great Britain is at war. * * *

"Remember that, unlike the condition of things in many a military struggle in Europe, the women are the fiercest advocates of war to the bitter end. For independence the Boer women will send husbands and son after son to fight to the last. They are buoyed up by unconquerable faith in God and the justice of their cause. And the men are what the women have made them. They have heard at the knees of their mothers, whose history and geography

(*Mr. Fitzpatrick, in the "Transvaal from Within," pp. 4 and 155, testifies to the value of these Histories.—H. J. O.)

is often largely legendary, the stories, often highly distorted, of how their fathers' fathers' fathers resisted Alva and the might of Spain, and how they grandly laid the fatherland under water, and died if it had to be so rather than yield. Then there are told in every home the tales of the voortrekkers and what they suffered from the English before they went out from Egypt into the land to which they were led of the Lord. When the Boers took up arms the spirit of Luther's hymn and the Psalms which supported the Covenanters inspired them. They felt that God was with them, and incident after incident of the battles which have been fought has strengthened their belief. They will not give in. We may conceivably enter and take over the country, but the people we cannot take over. Even those whom gold may have corrupted cannot be too freely reckoned as weaklings. A man may live recklessly, but when all his property is gone he may reform and be a good man in the end. The Boers are being tried as in a furnace. If we enter the Transvaal, it will be a desolate desert into which we shall come—a country destined to pass into the hands of the blacks.

SOUTH AFRICA ONCE MORE A BLACK MAN'S COUNTRY.

"Bear in mind this seemingly little-known fact, that for long enough past not a dozen British agricultural immigrants have arrived at Cape Town. It no longer seems to be a British instinct—in South Africa at any rate—to work among cattle. English owners of farms let them out to native tenants. The English are landlords living in towns. The Republican territory would undoubtedly relapse into a black man's country. If we win, we win a wilderness. South Africa will be lost to civilisation, and England will go down in the legendary history of the people now in the Republics as a latter-day Spain and Mr. Chamberlain as a modern Alva."

"People do not understand, Doctor, that South Africa is an intrinsically poor country—as an old friend of mine puts it, a desert with some oases. They confound Boer farming with English farming, and seek to pose you by asking, 'What about irrigation?'"

"Think of the Great Karoo, where rain seldom falls, where the roots of small desert shrubs have to go down thirty or forty feet for moisture. Irrigation can do much; but you must remember that when you bring water you have with you moisture insects. The insect difficulty is hardly to be grasped by those who have not been in warm, moist countries. I have read somewhere, I think, that the produce of the valley of the Amazon would feed the population of the globe if it were not for the insect hosts that prey upon that region. You bore for water and plant trees, but the cost of coping with the insect pest may be greater than the value of the fruit. You have to set one thing against the other."

THAT GREAT DUTCH CONSPIRACY!

I said to Dr. Theal that he had already dealt with the subject of the "Boer Armaments," how about—but that "Great Anti-British Conspiracy" had entered his mind at the same time as mine, and he interrupted me, saying—

"If any man knows the Dutch people in South Africa, I do. My early work alone on

those 'Genealogical Registers' of every person who settled in South Africa before 1800 and left descendants—some records being brought down to date—gained me the gratitude and intimacy of great numbers of Dutch people. The letters of thanks which poured in upon me were like nothing I had ever seen before or have seen since. Englishman though I am, wherever I go nothing is too good for me in Dutch houses. It is all over the place that Dr. Theal is there—I am not boasting; it seems well to tell you this—and I am taken by the shoulder and hear a man say, 'You stay at my house; you do not go beyond my door; you are my brother.' I really know the people. I respect them and have gained their respect, and their hearts have been opened, and I have seen into them. I have the confidence of the Dutch-speaking people and their leaders."

"Not only the public, but the secret history of our own times in South Africa must be known to you?" I interjected.

"I have known the thoughts and aims of the Dutch through a long period. I say to you, on my word of honour, that I am as sure as I am sitting here that the design to oust the English from South Africa and set up a great Dutch Republic no more entered the minds of men like Kruger, Steyn, Reitz, Joubert, and Esselen than it has occurred to Premier Laurier to oust the United States from the American continent and make of all North America a great Canadian Dominion. Mr. Reitz, whom the British Press has so vilely slandered, is an esteemed friend of mine. I know as a fact that he has been more 'English,' as far as English rule in South Africa is concerned, than many Englishmen. Englishmen have talked of eliminating the Imperial factor, but not he. I have heard him again and again speak of the advantages derived from the protection of the British fleet. The Boer leaders are not angels, but they are men of common sense. What they have sought, what they seek, is that, while they respect British authority outside the Republics, Great Britain shall respect Boer authority inside the Republics. They have never sought more, whatever anybody may say; they have never sought, and will not rest content with less."

Interviews between Mr. Kruger and Mr. J. B. Robinson.

(No. 24 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

WHY, in the first place, did the Transvaal arm? Mr. J. B. Robinson, one of the leading gold-owners of the Rand, answers the question in a letter in the *Daily News*, dated January 16th, 1900. It was the Raid that caused the Boers to look to their defences, whilst the whitewashing of Mr. Rhodes by the Colonial Secretary compelled Mr. Kruger to believe that another and a more serious attack would some day be made upon his country's independence. The following extracts from Mr. Robinson's letter show clearly enough the impression made by these events upon the mind of Mr. Kruger:—

"Mr. Balfour has said that the Jameson Raid tied the hands of the Government, and that it could not, in the face of the Raid, take the necessary measures for sending troops to South Africa, as such a step would have convinced the Transvaal Government that the Imperial

Government had been mixed up in the Raid, Mr. Balfour is in a great measure quite right.

"I may state that I was confronted with this difficulty at the very first interview I had with President Kruger and some of the Members of the Executive after my arrival in Pretoria, which occurred a few months after the Jameson Raid had taken place.

"At my first interview I told the President that I conscientiously believed that the Imperial Government had absolutely nothing to do with the Jameson Raid, and I gave him my reasons for believing this to be the case. The President listened attentively, and, when I had finished, said: 'You say that they had no knowledge of this Raid. How is it, then, that they allowed Mr. Rhodes to return to South Africa without taking any action against him?' I replied: 'The opinion is expressed that there is no proof against Mr. Rhodes as to his complicity in the Raid.' I may here state that shortly after Mr. Rhodes' return to England, and when I heard that he was returning to South Africa, I suggested to the authorities that they should keep Mr. Rhodes out of South Africa for a few months until they could get matters finally settled in the Transvaal. I did this because I knew the character and temperament of the Dutch element throughout South Africa, and my foresight enabled me to make an accurate calculation of what would take place. The Dutch are very suspicious, and I knew that when they heard that Mr. Rhodes was returning immediately to South Africa, the impression that they had formed of the complicity of the Imperial Government would be strengthened, and the belief firmly rooted in their minds that Great Britain was a party to the Jameson Raid. Had my advice been accepted, South African matters would have been settled, and there would have been no war.

"But to return to my interview with President Kruger. The President said to me: 'It is strange that the Imperial authorities should not know that Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit were the prime movers in the Raid.' I replied: 'President, you must remember that the British nation is just and fair, and they will condemn no man before his guilt has been clearly established.' I continued: 'You see that they have punished Dr. Jameson and some of his officers.' The President laughed in a satirical manner. 'Punished Jameson!' he exclaimed. 'Who is Jameson?' I said that he was the leader in the Raid. The President rejoined: 'The leader of the Raid? You mean Rhodes's instrument!' He continued: 'Dr. Jameson and the officers that served with him are nobodies. They only carried out the instructions that were given to them. I had no feeling at all against Jameson and his men, because I knew that they were simply tools; and that is the reason why I let them go, and sent them to England. In my mind,' he said, 'I regarded them with complete indifference—indeed, with an absolute feeling of contempt. It is the men who organised this Raid, who engaged these men and set them in motion, against whom my feelings are directed.' I responded: 'Yes, President, that is true; but you must be patient. The House of Commons has appointed a Committee to inquire very fully into the whole business connected with the Raid. You may rely upon it that the investigation will be thorough, and that those who are guilty will be found out.' The President looked at me

sternly for a few minutes, filled his pipe, looked at the ceiling, and said: 'I shall wait, and we shall see.' I knew from his manner that our conversation ended on this subject at that particular point.

"Months passed, while the Committee sat and took evidence. One morning I saw the cables in the local papers announcing the decision of the Committee. I left at once for Pretoria, and when I saw the President I said: 'Well, President, you see what I have told you is right. The Committee have taken evidence, and their report deals with the conclusions that they have arrived at.' He said: 'Yes. What else is to follow those conclusions?' I replied: 'I must ask you to exercise a little patience, and not come to any hasty decision upon the matter.' A few days later another cable was published, from which it appeared that some of the Members of Parliament, in commenting upon the Committee's report, took the opportunity of speaking favourably of Mr. Rhodes. I went down to see the President again, and I shall never forget that morning. I entered the room, and he looked at me, shook hands, and motioned me to a chair. I sat down, but not a word did the President say; so I commenced: 'Anything fresh this morning, President?' He replied: 'No; there are some cables in the papers this morning, but the news that they convey is not fresh—not, at least, to me.' I answered: 'What do you mean?' He said: 'I am referring to the debate in the House of Commons.' I immediately saw the difficulty that confronted me, as the President looked at me steadily, and said: 'What do you think now of your friends and their assurances?' I replied: 'I have no doubt that the party who made that statement in Parliament conscientiously believed that what he said was true.' The old President then became irritable, and in a loud voice shouted at me: 'Do you mean to tell me, as an intelligent man, that you accept these statements, and that you believe in them? Do you think we are fools? Do you think for a moment that we do not know the true working of this Raid? Do you mean to tell me that you do not know that the men who organised and engineered this Raid organised it for their own benefit, and that they had decided how they would divide the Transvaal, how each of the parties was to have certain interests in this country, and that many of the Reformers who were put in gaol were perfectly innocent and ignorant of the schemes of the men who were in the inner circle?'

"He continued, 'There are only twelve men in that inner circle, and they were to share the spoils, and divide the Transvaal amongst themselves. They and their companies found the money for the Raid. Do you think that we are so innocent as not to know that Mr. Rhodes, metaphorically speaking, held a pistol at the heads of certain men in England, and said to them: "If you do not support me I will denounce you and your complicity in the Raid." The President at this stage became more excited, and shouted so loudly that the people in the street stopped to overhear the conversation. He said then: 'And now you are remonstrating with me about arming. It is true I am arming, because I see clearly that I must defend my country.' I replied, quietly: 'Pardon me, President, you are excited now; let us reason over this matter calmly. There is no necessity

for arming or building these forts, as far as another raid is concerned, as I feel sure that such a thing will never be attempted again. The Johannesburg people have had enough of it, and the Imperial Government would certainly not allow any raid to be made in the Transvaal again.' 'The British public,' I added, 'is aroused, and if any attempt were made again to organise a force to enter this country there would be a great outcry, and the Imperial Government would take most vigorous steps to punish the organisers, and to prevent such freebooting expeditions.'

"The President approached me, and placed his hand on my shoulder. I could see that he was making a violent effort to suppress his excitement. He said: 'You mean well, but I have lost all confidence. What has happened will take place again, and I am determined to guard against it.' He continued: 'You are right. Johannesburg has had enough of it, because they know that they were misled. The Raid was made under the guise of the Outlanders' grievances. The men in the inner circle who organised the Raid did not care a brass farthing for the grievances of the Outlanders. They wanted to seize my country and divide it amongst themselves and their companies. The people of Johannesburg, as well as nearly all the Reformers who were in prison, were merely the puppets of these twelve men; and,' he continued, again becoming more excited, 'I will tell you more—some of these twelve men were those who introduced the bribery and corruption into this country. They were the first to obtain concessions from my Government, and when they could not obtain a large share of the dynamite and railway concessions they organised this Raid for the purpose of destroying the independence of the country. Had they obtained their desire, and secured a large interest in the dynamite and railway concessions, there would have been no Raid in this country.' I again appealed to the President, and requested him to remain calm. I said: 'Admitting all you say to be correct, remember that the bulk of the Outlander population, as you say yourself, are innocent of these machinations. Why, then, punish them? It is advisable, President, to shake hands with them, listen to their grievances, and establish good-feeling throughout the whole of South Africa.' President Kruger replied, sharply: 'I would do it, but my confidence is gone. What is to prevent Mr. Rhodes and his coadjutors from again engineering some diabolical attempt against the independence of my country?' I left the President, and at innumerable interviews that I had with him subsequently I endeavoured by all the means in my power to conciliate him, and bring him to a better frame of mind, and get him to shake off the terrible incubus of the Jameson Raid, which was disturbing his mind, and, with him, the whole burgher population of the country."

Mr. Hayes Fisher, one of the Junior Lords of the Treasury, speaking on September 20th, made this point with perfect frankness: "The Government must now send a sufficient force to the Cape to insure that when the final ultimatum was presented the Boers should not be able to mistake the fact of our having enough troops there to secure the ends we were determined to achieve. Then, perhaps, they would

listen to the voice of reason, and not enter upon an unequal contest, and invite us to inflict on them a crushing defeat and take from them the country they so much cherished."

(And the *Daily Mail*, a few days earlier, wrote:

"When our preparations are complete, and our forces are on the field, the ultimatum will follow. It stands to reason that Mr. Kruger and his people will be called upon to pay for the trouble they have caused if then they decide to yield.")

The Boers made every effort to find out the nature of the new terms, but they were put off with the reply that they were under consideration. And, whilst the terms were being considered, Parliament was summoned to authorise the calling out of the reserves, reinforcements were being poured into South Africa, and the Army Corps was being prepared for embarkation.

How the Boers regarded these preparations is shown in the following letter from Mr. Reitz, State Secretary of the Transvaal, written on the 9th October, 1899:—

"The British Government, misled by the Colonial Minister, have been hurrying up reinforcements, while they continue to threaten and revile us, and they seem to think we must be foolish enough to stand still and wait till they have had time enough to move sufficient troops in South Africa and upon our borders to be able to negotiate with us further. Backed as they are by all the forces the empire can command, we shall not wait any longer, even at the risk of being accused of being the aggressors. To-day we shall demand that the troops be withdrawn. I fear this will mean war, but not of our seeking."

Dr. Jameson and the Cape Rhodesites.

(*"Manchester Guardian," July 19th.*)

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

Cape Town, June 27th, 1900.

DR. JAMESON has been returned as a member for Kimberley in the House of Assembly. The fact that such a candidature was possible, that he was returned without opposition, and that his supporters include many men hitherto anti-Rhodes, indicates the purely racial character of our present politics. But the impression produced by his unopposed return is as nothing compared with the effect of a speech delivered by him on the eve of nomination. The speech has come as a political thunderbolt. The Rhodes newspapers are silent upon it, as they are upon the Doctor's appearance as a Parliamentarian. Such silence carries its own comment. Dr. Jameson has cut the ground from under the feet of the war party. * * *

The speech has created consternation among the Rhodesian wire-pullers. Other observers, in view of Dr. Jameson's candid avowal, ask whether some new departure in Rhodesian politics may not be pending. I asked an Afrikaner his opinion of the speech. "My dear sir," he replied, "I think it an excellent speech, just as if I were an Irish Nationalist I should think Lord Salisbury's speech on Ireland the other day an excellent speech. I like Jameson's speech as well as I like the new Transvaal appointments." * * *

Employés of the mining groups, lawyers dependent upon those groups, and employés of newspapers owned by Messrs. Rhodes and Eckstein monopolise the justiceships of the peace. That is no great matter, although the exclusion of the commercial community does not look well. But the allocation of the important posts of Civil Commissioner, Mining Commissioner, and Legal Adviser has made Outlanders gasp.

The Cape Inquiry.

(*"Arbitration or War," by F. Parker and others.*)

THE full extent of the Boers' magnanimity may be best realised from a perusal of the finding of the Select Committee appointed by the Speaker of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony to inquire into the circumstances affecting that colony by the Jameson Raid. The members of that Committee were the Attorney General (Sir Thomas Uppington), Mr. Rose Innes, Mr. Du Toit, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Fuller. Their conclusions are more explicit than those of the House of Commons Committee of Inquiry, although no more condemnatory of those taking part in the Raid. The report is included in the Cape Blue Book A 2913.5.96, and contains the following:—

"With regard to the Chartered Company, your Committee find that the principal officials in Cape Town either knew or were in a position to have known the existence of this plot. Two at least of the directors, Mr. Beit and the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, were, together with the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, and Dr. Harris, the South African Secretary of the Company, active as promoters and moving spirits throughout, and they were from time to time kept informed of the preparations.

"The date of the inroad was fixed weeks beforehand, and the letter of invitation was obtained four weeks before the ostensible date of signature.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, JANUARY 31st, 1900.

(*The Liberal Magazine.*)

"I BELIEVE that every Dutchman in South Africa, and a very large number of persons on the Continent of Europe, whether they are right or wrong, believe that that Raid was organised with the complicity of the Colonial Secretary. Now we are not entitled to accept suspicion for proof, nor are we entitled to accuse where our duty really is to inquire; but it cannot be forgotten that this Raid, this disgraceful Raid, was followed by an inquiry by a Committee of this House which I say in the face of this House was a scandal, dishonouring to the house of Commons and dishonouring to the country. * * * Speaking for myself, I do believe that it is the duty of this House now to take up the broken thread of that inquiry, and, having regard to the general discredit which I am sorry to say has been created by these incidents on the Continent of Europe, as well as here, to pursue that inquiry to its close."

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"WHY were these vast preparations made by the Transvaal? The First Lord of the Treasury said you were not able to remonstrate against them or to make preparations against them.

Why? Because of the Raid. Yes, sir, the curse of the Raid hangs round us still. It has been one of the principal causes of this war. The Raid and its authors have been ever since the evil genius of South Africa. My right hon. friend the late Home Secretary said that the cause of the failure of the negotiations was that the whole atmosphere was poisoned with suspicion. Yes; but what introduced the poisonous suspicion? It was the Raid. It was the conduct of the Raid itself and the manner in which the Raid was dealt with."

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Mr. S. T. Evans said:—

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< It will be remembered that before the war the Rhodes policy was to make us all believe that a war would be short, easy, and cheap—the Boer military power was the "greatest unpricked bubble in the world," and so on. When the war was duly procured but not found short, easy, or cheap, a new line, the line of "inevitability," was taken, and we were asked to believe that the Boers had for twenty years been maturing a terrific plot against the British Empire and arming themselves wholesale for its execution. * * * In fact, it was simply the Raid

Employés of the mining groups, lawyers dependent upon those groups, and employés of newspapers owned by Messrs. Rhodes and Eckstein monopolise the justiceships of the peace. That is no great matter, although the exclusion of the commercial community does not look well. But the allocation of the important posts of Civil Commissioner, Mining Commissioner, and Legal Adviser has made Outlanders gasp.

The Cape Inquiry.

(*"Arbitration or War," by F. Parker and others.*)

THE full extent of the Boers' magnanimity may be best realised from a perusal of the finding of the Select Committee appointed by the Speaker of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony to inquire into the circumstances affecting that colony by the Jameson Raid. The members of that Committee were the Attorney General (Sir Thomas Uppington), Mr. Rose Innes, Mr. Du Toit, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Fuller. Their conclusions are more explicit than those of the House of Commons Committee of Inquiry, although no more condemnatory of those taking part in the Raid. The report is included in the Cape Blue Book A 2913.5.96, and contains the following:—

"With regard to the Chartered Company, your Committee find that the principal officials in Cape Town either knew or were in a position to have known the existence of this plot. Two at least of the directors, Mr. Beit and the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, were, together with the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, and Dr. Harris, the South African Secretary of the Company, active as promoters and moving spirits throughout, and they were from time to time kept informed of the preparations.

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and the subsequent official patronage of the author of the Raid that made the Transvaal the military power that it became in the next few years. Once roused to furious activity, the instinct of self-preservation will do wonders even in the minutest States; and, between them, Mr. Rhodes, Sir A. Milner, and Mr. Chamberlain, by keeping the Republics in a fever of apprehension, built up within five years the whole of the Boer armaments, that have now cost so many thousands of English lives, and left us almost helpless spectators of a crisis, which is no mere financiers' crisis, in China.)

Returned Outlanders on the War.

BY MR. F. A. CHANNING, M.P.

(S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

MR. J. CROTHERS, a Burnley tradesman, who has come back, says:—

"The grievances are almost entirely manufactured.

"The laws of the Boer Government as a whole are quite as good as those at home, if not better, and the mining laws are the best in the world.

"I lived twelve months in Johannesburg, and have been nearly all over the mining district, and I was never once insulted by a Dutchman.

"The discontent is simply a question of the rich men getting richer at the expense of the poorer classes. *It is generally expected among the working men out there that if the British Government once gets possession wages will drop from the present level of £1 to 10s. a day.*

"*I believe, if a ballot were taken of the English working men on the Rand, the majority would be in favour of a Dutch Government.*

"The noisy Outlanders who talk so much about their grievances are mostly of Jewish nationality. I never came across one English working man who wanted the franchise."—*Manchester Guardian.*

Mr. Ratcliffe, of Acregate Lane, Preston, who returned in September, says:—

"I have in my pocket-book the opinions of very many of the English miners. The opinion of the miners on the Rand is that this war is one of the worst pieces of business that could come to the miners, who were satisfied to live in the country without the franchise. If they could have a commission to investigate the petition to the Queen, in place of there being 24,000 persons in favour of the franchise, they would find not half were honest signatures. The names of men, to my knowledge, were signed who had been dead two or three years. Those who would not sign had 'no need to apply for work.' It is a most corrupt enterprise we entered into war about—a dishonour to our nation. That is the opinion of the working class. * * * The main class of workers in the Transvaal are miners, and they feel that they will have better wages under Oom Paul than they will under the supervision of Cecil Rhodes & Co. If a body of armed men had entered our country like Jameson and others, they would have been brought before a British court and tried for high treason, and in all probability would have received its highest penalty—sentence of death. Kruger did not do this, but handed over the offenders to the

British authorities to be dealt with—a very magnanimous act. And for this service they have had their reward! Desolation in hundreds of English and Boer homes, millions spent in death and destruction, and all for what? I am a Briton to the backbone, but in this I speak my solemn conviction—that the war is wrong."—*Manchester Guardian.*

Why the Boers Armed.

(*"Morning Leader," December 30th, 1899.*)

IN the *St. James's Gazette* of 29th August last there appeared, over the signature "Anglo-Africander," a remarkable account of a consultation which the writer, who was then in the service of a foreign power, had with Mr. Kruger and General Joubert in September, 1895. Mr. Kruger asked him why the Chartered Company was buying "hundreds of horses" for presentation to the new Volunteer Rhodesian Horse. Mr. Kruger would see in this only one meaning, which he summed up in the saying: "*Rhodes is going to jump my country*"; and General Joubert also came to the conclusion that "*it is time to shut our doors, as robbers are about.*"

From a Speech of Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P.,

July 10th, 1899. (*N. R. Union's Publications.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN states that one thing has, in common fairness, "to be set on the other side in drawing up the balance-sheet of our relations with the Transvaal, and that is the Jameson Raid. I have never said a word in defence—I could not of that most mischievous proceeding, but that one great fault has been, I think, sufficiently atoned for." Mr. Chamberlain thinks that one great fault has been sufficiently atoned for. Has it been atoned for? Men were killed in that Raid who left widows and children, but **not one penny of compensation** has as yet been paid. The soldiers who took part in that Raid were set at liberty by the Boers. The officers came home to be tried, and everyone of those officers has been replaced in his position in the army. Dr. Jameson was imprisoned for a few months, and then became the lion of Society, and the man who found the money for the Raid, though he admitted his crime, is still the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and it seems to me that the way Mr. Chamberlain means to atone for the Jameson Raid is by a Chamberlain Raid.

Rev. Hugh Price-Hughes.

(*Stop the War Committee's Publications.*)

FEW ministers of the Gospel have done more to defend and glorify the present war than the Rev. Hugh Price-Hughes, the ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference.

This melancholy transformation of a Minister of the Prince of Peace into an advocate for war has been very rapid. Note how he spoke four years ago.

In 1896.

On January 16th, 1896, a few days after the Jameson Raid, he wrote as follows:—

"No doubt in due time the English taxpayer in Johannesburg will get his vote, and ought to get his vote. But there is a great deal to be

said for the unfortunate Boers. They were in South Africa before us. We found them at the Cape. They are very simple in their tastes, they like country life, and are intensely domestic, being passionately attached to their wives and children. They are utterly disgusted by the liquor shops and houses of infamy and heartless money-grubbing which are the visible results of the first waves of colonial enterprise, and so they said; 'We are altogether out of sympathy with all this. We will leave you and trek to Natal.' They did so. We followed them there. Once more they put their wives and children and simple household goods in their wagons and went into the wilderness, to escape from the dismal accompaniments of our civilisation. Again, for the third time, we follow them into the Transvaal. And now, what can these simple farmers do? They let us have the Cape; they let us have Natal. They cannot leave the Transvaal, because we have seized the land on every side of them. They are completely shut in. If they give all our gold-seeking adventurers a vote they will be overwhelmingly outnumbered, and everything will be altered to suit the whims of men who are there to-day and gone to-morrow, who have no patriotic sentiment in relation to the land, who simply want to make their pile and to clear out. It is a very distressing situation, and **all just and humane persons will deeply sympathise with the Boers, and will detest the cowardly wickedness of those who would like to settle the question offhand by brute force and bloodshed.**"

In 1897.

On August 5th, 1897, after abusing Mr. Rhodes roundly, Mr. Hughes wrote:—

"In a sentence, so far from solving the problems of South African statesmanship, he has aggravated and intensified every one of them. By his unscrupulousness he has created difficulties and dangers which may torture the lives of our great-grandchildren. Well may he sneer at the 'unctuous rectitude' of those fellow-countrymen who believe in truth and honesty and the humane treatment of helpless subject races. He has triumphed over those who believe that the principles of Christian morality should be applied to the conduct of public affairs. But the end is not yet. God is defied. Money is supreme. But one fact of human history is absolutely and universally true—it is the fact that nations which forget God, which sin against the eternal principles of right and wrong, shall perish. There are already ominous signs that with all our insolent wealth we are preparing for our children the awful lot of those who bring upon themselves the hatred and contempt of the human race."

Mr. Burt, M.P., gives Important Testimony at the Liberal Conference.

THE first resolution submitted to the meeting was moved by Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P. It was as follows:—"That this Conference denounces the present war in South Africa as a crime and a blunder, committed at the instigation of irresponsible capitalists; condemns the official excuses for it as insufficient and insincere; and demands from the Government a declaration of the objects for which they are sacrificing blood and treasure." The hon. gentleman, in a single sentence, urged

that the most important duty for them to undertake was to instruct the people in the facts of the case. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. Burt, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said "the point that mainly concerned him was the justice or the injustice of the war. It would be waged at terrible cost of blood and treasure, but was it just? * * * What were we fighting for? (Hear, hear.) We were said to be fighting to protect our fellow-countrymen from gross and intolerable injustice. They all knew that the 'atrocities,' after having served their turn, were disposed of completely. (Hear, hear.) He had had lately an opportunity of meeting a good many returned miners in Northumberland, who had been in the Transvaal for periods varying from eight or ten to three or four years.

He had conversations with those men. They differed in opinion on a good many other questions, but they told one story on this subject. They said they had no grievances that would justify armed intervention. Some of them said they had no grievances whatever, and the Government could very well have let the matter alone so far as they were concerned. They said, further, with regard to Johannesburg, that it contained a very mixed population, probably including some of the most desperate characters on the face of the earth. Yet peaceable, well-conducted people could walk about with as much liberty, as little liability to molestation, as they could in any large town in this country. With regard to the franchise, most of them, although keen politicians, were comparatively indifferent to it; and why? Because they did not mean to make the Transvaal their home. (Hear, hear.)

He (Mr. Burt) was one of Sir A. Milner's 'helots' for one half of his life. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) He was only one of thousands of miners and agricultural labourers whom the present Prime Minister and a great number of the members of his Cabinet would have kept outside the franchise if they could have had their own way. (Applause.) He asked those miners from the Transvaal if there were grievances. 'Oh, yes,' they said, 'there were grievances—there were capitalists' grievances.' Capitalists might have grievances, but they wanted to have them stated before we went to war. Mr. Lecky said of the Raid that the trail of finance was over it all. Yes, and the same slimy trail was over the origin of the present war. (Hear, hear.) If the object of the war was to destroy the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and make the inhabitants British subjects whether they wished to be or not, that was an object the Government could not accomplish, and he would be very much mistaken if they would have public opinion at their back in attempting its accomplishment. (Applause.)"

Answer to Charge of Heavy Taxation.

(No. 34, S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

As to the Customs duties, the statements of the Transvaal have never been seriously controverted:—

"The value of goods imported into the South African Republic during the year 1898 was £9,996,575, and the Customs duties levied thereon £1,058,224, or 10·6 per cent. Under the

Customs Union of neighbouring British Colonies, import duties amount to 15 per cent. of the value of the imported goods, a difference to the advantage of the Republic of nearly 50 per cent. If one examines this matter in detail it is stronger still. In the Colonies certain specially taxed articles, such as breadstuffs, are subjected to a Customs duty of 2s., say 30 per cent. of the value in grain, and 40 per cent. in meal. In this Republic the import duties for both amount to 7½ per cent. Butter is taxed at 3d. per pound, or 30 per cent., in the Customs Union, and in the Republic 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*."

Speech by Mr. John Burns, M.P.,

On January 6th, 1896, at Latchmere Baths, Batterssea

(A WEEK AFTER THE JAMESON RAID).

"They were, he ventured to say, in the presence of circumstances as serious, as complicated, and possibly more pregnant with future disaster to this country than those which marked the years preceding the Crimean War and during the Indian Mutiny. The occasion demanded plain speaking on the part of legislators—(hear, hear)—confidence on the part of people, and high moral courage on the part of ministers. * * * They had been told at the recent election that they were to have prosperity at home and peace abroad, and on the advent of the Tory Government imminent crises were to be dispelled. Those who believed this fiction were now finding out their mistake.

* * * In America there was nothing in the Venezuela Question worth two men fighting about, still less two great nations, and arbitration should be invoked. * * * In South Africa the situation, though apparently more simple, was more difficult. There the problem was complicated by the existence of a Chartered Company that should never have been allowed, whose interests were opposed to the Imperial interests of this country, and whose agents assumed power and control that only Imperial officers should exercise. * * * The Chartered Company was shortly to be put upon its trial by Mr. Labouchere and others. * * * It had butchered helpless tribes, betrayed native chiefs, dispossessed innocent savages of their land, whilst its expropriation of Bechuanaland, Mashonaland, and Matabeleland was a scandal to humanity and a disgrace to all concerned. * * * The newspaper press was nobbled, telegraphs captured, every agency subordinated to ambitious schemes, the lust for land, the greed for gold. * * * Skilled white labour, except for supervision, is not wanted; and not much of that. * * *

"Says one: '*Under Mr. Chamberlain's regime there will be no cowardly shrinking from inevitable expansion; and that in the direction of Inter-Imperial trade relations he will not be deterred by economic considerations or fiscal traditions from taking a really bold and businesslike line.*' * * * Short of revolution, South African capitalists had done practically what they liked, and the Jameson Raid illustrated they did not hesitate even at that. * * * He believed that the Johannesburg *political agitation* was nothing more nor less than *a put-up job organised by Cecil Rhodes*. And it

would not do for him to repudiate Dr. Jameson, as he practically did, when he alone was responsible.

* * * He would now speak of a matter which he would treat with respect. The Queen of England had reigned nearly 60 years. She is titular head of the British race. He believed her to be a woman of great parts, a Queen of exceptional character, shrewd, sagacious, and sensible. * * * He believed that she, more than any other, desired the permanence of her house and her common country. Her court had been as pure as her own life as woman, wife, and mother. He asked her what was she allowing or ignoring? At the present time she was allowing the Marquis of Lorne, her son-in-law, who showed his Scotch temperament by having only five shares, to be a shareholder in the Chartered Company. Why was it she allowed the Duke of Fife, her grandson-in-law, to be a shareholder in the Chartered Company? Why was it she allowed, and why did Parliament sanction, officers in diplomatic, consular, and civil services to tarnish her fair name and the national honour of the British race by using their love of gold and their company promoting to fool ignorant investors, who, without the glamour of their names, would have left Cecil Rhodes to his fate of bankruptcy? He believed that, in spite of what had been said to the contrary, the Queen suggested the Duke of Fife, who held 8,000 shares, should resign from the Chartered Company. And he wished she would call upon all members of the Royal Family and the others he had mentioned to abandon company promoting. (Cheers.) * * *

Coming from this unsavoury side of the South African Question, it should be fully realised by the people that the society crowd, the military set, interested diplomats, and others who ought to know better might involve Britain in serious trouble with the brave but obstinate Boer Republic. The political agitation on behalf of the Outlanders, if genuine, which I doubt, requires just, necessary, and immediate redress. I do not believe the movement is genuine. I believe what movement there is has been exploited for Stock Exchange purposes, and for the commercial interests of a few. * * * The Boer Government may be bad. Capitalism pollutes whatever it touches. (Loud cheers.) It may justify revolt from those inside, but outside help, No. But however bad it is, it does not warrant England sympathising with or conniving at the capitalist invasion of a free, independent, and autonomous state like the Transvaal Republic undoubtedly is. * * *

Some of the men masquerading as patriots and oppressed Britons wanted shooting, others should be in prison. Whatever was done should be done quickly, as the South African difficulty menaced and threatened us in every way. An act like this raised international issues of a far-reaching character. It had caused the Emperor of Germany to send out a characteristic pronouncement in his telegram to Kruger. Any conflict between England, America, or Germany would put back the social movement for half a century. He asked them to send a message from that hall to Germany, and to the world, that while Englishmen would fight to the death for national honour and national existence, they would not willingly be the cat's-paws for

Jameson Raiders, or in any way help the commercial tapeworms who were eating out the vitals of the Empire. And in other ways the Jameson Raid symptomised a serious, not to say tragic, situation for England. Our Empire could only rest upon the free consent of self-governed peoples. Inside and outside Imperial jurisdiction in South Africa our interests, honour, and credit all made for agreement with the Dutch people."

Speech by Mr. F. Maddison, M.P., to his Constituents,

November 21st, 1899.

(Brightside Liberal Association.)

"LET me say, Mr. Chairman, at first, that this meeting is called after an expression of my desire to meet my constituents at the earliest possible moment, and that the Liberal Council, as I knew they would, appreciated my desire to do so, whatever their views might be of my action and of my votes. I have always in my political career desired to obey my conscience, but I have never endeavoured, in my own opinion, to put that conscience as above those of other people; and, therefore, when a trust has been imposed in me, my plan has always been, at the earliest possible moment, when there could be any possible differences of opinion, to meet my political supporters and tell them plainly and frankly what has actuated me and what my position is. (Applause.) * * * I have been pained almost beyond endurance at some of the things that I have heard have been said and that I have seen in the papers.

I know that misrepresentations in times of this sort are the common fate of all who dare or feel called by duty to resist what they believe to be passion and prejudice caused by war. I know that the great tribune of the people, whose silver tongue for so many years was raised on behalf of the only Imperialism that I can ever love and trust—sympathy for oppressed and down-trodden people—John Bright—(cheers)—was spat upon in the streets of Manchester. Friends of mine saw him hooted and yelled after through the Manchester that he loved so well. But John Bright lived through it. He lived through it all, ladies and gentlemen. Aye, he lived through it, loving the people to the end, although they had treated him so. * * *

So far from being a pro-Boer, I declared that at every conceivable point there was hardly a thing on which there was an agreement between the Boer policy, the Boers generally, and myself. I go further. I believe that the Boer Government, so far from being an ideal one, has been a bad one. I go still further and say, and have always said it; and our friends, if they like, and, indeed, they know it, may see that I have said, that amongst the grievances of the Outlanders there were many of a most substantial character. In no sort of way have I made myself a pro-Boer. But because a man is not a pro-Boer is he to divest himself of elementary fairness and justice? 'In the back slums of journalism'—as Mr. Asquith calls them—there have been foul sewers running for weeks and months, that have poisoned a large portion of public opinion. Take a sample of it. It was said in innumerable

prints—all coming from a very few sources, of course—that the Boers were a cruel if not a barbaric people in war time; and there actually were prints which went almost as far as to say that they (the Boers) ought not to be treated under the 'Geneva Convention.' * * *

Here Mr. Maddison gave many instances of Boer humanities. * * *

"This is not the time, and the atmosphere of this meeting is not congenial for a careful and elaborate historical analysis; therefore, I only will take you back to 1880, and give you a quotation from one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches of that year. You know in 1877 we annexed the Transvaal. In 1881 it was their war of independence. This is the language of Mr. Gladstone in 1880-1 when he was speaking of the acquisition of Cyprus and the Transvaal. He said: 'I would say this, that if these acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonourable to the character of our country.' Do you note his words? He accused his country of dishonour. Mr. Gladstone accused the representatives of the nation with having done something dishonourable. What an awful time Mr. Gladstone would have had just now. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) Well, I want to give you another quotation this time on behalf of my Tory friends. Lord Randolph Churchill, in his estimate of "Cape Politics" uses these words: 'Better and more precise information, combined with cool reflection, leads me to the conclusion that, had the British Government of that day taken advantage of its strong military position, and annihilated, as it could easily have done, the Boer forces, it would indeed have regained the Transvaal, but it might have lost Cape Colony. The Dutch sentiment in the Colony has been so exasperated by what it considered to be the unjust, faithless, the arbitrary policy pursued towards the Free Dutchmen of the Transvaal that the final triumph of the British arms, mainly by brute force, would have permanently and hopelessly alienated it from Great Britain.' * * *

"I am coming to the franchise soon, but first let me say that a change came over the scene. It was discovered there was in South Africa a large amount of gold. ('Ah!') It was a trouble incidental to what Lord Salisbury calls, in the language of diplomacy, a considerable auriferous region, and in 1885 it came to a head and there was a great wave of prosperity; but, like all industries carried on by "patriots," there followed a slump in 1890. That is the way they play the game on the Stock Exchange—prosperity and depression—and the stock jobbers make money at both ends. ('Hear, hear,' and applause).

There is one lot of Outlanders—the smaller portion—who have gone to South Africa to stay there; and these men, like good Englishmen or good Frenchmen, desire to have a vote in that country. And, ladies and gentlemen, if I had been an Outlander I would have continued my agitation in season and out of season for the franchise. (Cheers.) I say this, that there might be from a Radical point of view a cause for revolution from inside the Transvaal, but none for war from the outside. This question of the franchise must never be dissociated from the question of naturalisation. Here is a German. We are all fond of Germans now. 'Made

in Germany' is popular now, but it is not with me.

The German, or Frenchman, or Dutchman comes over to England. They come into our towns, and pay your rates and the Queen's taxes no matter how high they are. Do they vote? Not exactly! Not the first, second, third, or fourth year. But when they have been five years, if they desire a vote, they have to go through the circumlocution office, they must be vouched by a number of respectable citizens, and then the Home Secretary has the veto on their naturalisation. Generally the naturalisation is granted, but supposing there should be a great incursion of Dutchmen into England, supposing they were to come in their thousands, that veto would be operative very quick. ('Hear, hear,' and applause.) * * * There are other grievances which I need not here catalogue. For instance, that English is not taught in the schools (see foot-note), and that men are not allowed to carry arms. Why, we have an Arms Act in force in Ireland to-day. I will simply say that all these grievances were coming to a head when, in 1895, the Raid took place. (Shame.) Lord Charles Beresford, with more fairness than some Liberals, has constantly reminded us that that was a contemptible transaction, and he pointed out that Jameson and Willoughby—and he might have said Rhodes—(hear, hear)—showed remarkably bad taste in pushing themselves to the front again when really, by international law, their lives had once been forfeited to the Boers." * * *

After showing the faulty diplomacy that had been pursued, Mr. Maddison continued: "I have no need to follow it further, except to say that on September 22nd the British reply was to formulate our own proposals, but that on October 10th the Boers had never received these proposals. Why? Of course, it was the military situation, but the military situation of one nation assumes a different form to another nation, and when I say Mr. Chamberlain meant it as an ultimatum I have his own words for it. Sir William Harcourt wanted to see these proposals, but Mr. Chamberlain's reply was: 'I dare say the right hon. gentleman does; but that want will never be gratified. That ultimatum is buried, and is never likely to be raised again.' I don't blame him for that. He was within his rights not to show those proposals, but 'that ultimatum is buried, and is never likely to be raised again.' (Hear, hear.) This ultimatum of the British Government was delayed day after day, and finally the Boer ultimatum, which could not be too strongly condemned even from the Boer point of view, merely precipitated the war by a few days or a few weeks, and those few days or a few weeks were for our advantage. Could you be a Boer, or put yourself in a Boer position, without saying: 'If I have to make a fight, if an ultimatum and nothing else is going to be hurled at me, surely I may as well fight to suit the military situation on my side.' * * *

THE REAL TRUTH IS

THE BLACK EVIL SHADOWS OF THE SHYLOCKS OF FINANCE ARE OVER THIS WAR.

(Cheers.) I have no race prejudice; I have no religious bitterness; I know no difference in creed; my whole religion consists in regarding the whole

human family as of God, and, therefore, I can have no creedal prejudice. But, gentlemen, the truth needs to be said, and it is going to be said as far as I am concerned, that there is an ugly, shapeless, black conspiracy of boss Jew capitalists the world over. (Loud and continued applause.) Yes, some of us in the Labour ranks are sorely tried on this point. We hate the anti-Semitic agitation, but we see in this country men of high position, who in times of national crisis invariably act in harmony with Stock Exchange convenience. I am going to quote the *Daily Mail*—(laughter)—which is the greatest patriot of them all. Now here is a description of this goodly company of the elect, for whom our men are dying bravely but terribly. The correspondent, Mr. Ralph, says: 'It is disgusting to leave these men, and turn into any of the Cape Town hotels to find yourself surrounded by the rich refugees from Johannesburg, and to hear them cry like children as they tell you what they will lose if the British do not hurry up and take the Transvaal before the Boers destroy Johannesburg. They actually cry on their plates at dinner, and half-strangle themselves by sobbing as they drink their whisky at bedtime.' Mr. Ralph says: 'The Mount Nelson, the Queen's, and the Grand Hotels are all full of these merchants and millionaires, faring on the fat of the land, idle, loafing all of every day, and discussing what per cent. of their losses the British Government will pay when they put in their claims at the end of the war.' Ladies and gentlemen, we have brothers yonder who have died at the call of duty, and we honour them; but these are the vermin who ought to have been annihilated. (Loud and continued cheering.)

These restless beings, who have no country, no God, no home—they have only Stock Exchanges, and they know countries by the price of the stock—'Shent per shent' is their "gospel"—they are lineal descendants of Shylock, but worse than he was. Now let me quote you another, and this time not the *Daily Mail*. Mr. A. J. Wilson, the city editor of the *Daily Chronicle*—(applause)—who, when he was conducting his financial exposures, was eulogised by Liberal papers, but is never mentioned by them now. Listen to what he says. I turned to his money article to see how Kaffirs were getting on. I have nothing in these, you know, men—(laughter)—but I thought there would be some war news in it, and there was. He says in his money article: 'We have described above the dreams of the Kaffir market, and need not dilate further on a spectacle the reverse of elevating. The truth is, this is a gamblers' war, and people of that type are naturally delighted with it.' That is Mr. A. J. Wilson, straight from the city. I hold in my hand—it didn't come to me, they don't send these things—they omit the Labour members—a circular from a firm whose name could be given if necessary, which they sent to a friend of mine. It opens in this way, about English stocks: 'War markets are the opportunity of capitalists.' Indeed! Then has it come to this, that the opportunities of the capitalists have come to be the necessities of our brave fellows in South Africa! Ladies and gentlemen, I have done. ('Go on,' and cheers.)

I have only to say, in conclusion, that I, to-night, with all the full responsibility of member for Brightside, have stated plainly, I hope clearly, and, as far as circumstances would permit,

calmly—(Hear, hear)—the reasons for my votes and the reasons for my views. I have nothing to retract, nothing to apologise for. * * * Yes, let the call be to me, as a member of the House of Commons, to support a war when all other things have been tried and have failed, to relieve an oppressed people, and I will stand in my place and speak and vote for it. I don't go to the last century for my inspiration; I want no elder Pitt—Gladstone is enough for me." (Loud and continued cheering and "Kentish fire.")

Replying to a vote of thanks for presiding, Mr. H. J. Wilson, M. P., said he wanted to say one word for himself, as one of those who for weeks had been misrepresented not only by his opponents, but by those who ought to be his friends. However, he was more than repaid by the splendid spectacle they had seen that evening, and by the splendid speech they had had from Mr. Maddison. It was one of the happiest days of his life, because the truth had been vindicated in such a noble manner by their member.

(At the time when this speech was delivered (November 21st, 1899), the real state of things was hardly known and the

general public had been purposely misinformed. Mr. Reitz, State Secretary of the South African Republic, has dealt with the grievances of the Outlanders, and the following extracts are taken from his official statement.—H. J. O.) :—

* * * This Government wishes to make known that in 1898 the sum of £226,291. 4s. 8d. was expended for education, and in former years less. Of this, £36,503. 17s. 2d. was expended in 1898 on education on the Gold Fields, on both State and subsidised schools. As the number of pupils under Law 15, 1896, and that of teachers, has become so much greater, the amount for this year will probably be at least £53,000.

* * * * *

The above facts clearly show, in the opinion of this Government, that Her Majesty's Government has also been misled in respect of the point of education. They nevertheless point out that a quarter of the expenditure on education for that year is allotted to the Gold Fields, so that the children of Uitlanders living there can make use thereof; that adequate provision is made for education through the medium of the mother tongue, whatever it may be, while along with that obligatory education in the language of the country is cared for. [&c., &c.]

Negotiations ; "The New Diplomacy" and its Results.

The writer's charge against the Government is (1) That they made demands on the Transvaal Government which the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 cannot be shown to justify ; (2) that when President Kruger ultimately conceded "*nine-tenths*" of our claims, his offer was not accepted, nor were suitable negotiations entered upon to obtain the remaining tenth ; (3) that the imminence of war was not appreciated, and, if seen at all, was treated far too lightly. An examination of the text of the two Conventions will prove that we had no just claim to powers of *Suzerainty*, or to the right to interfere with Customs dues, franchise regulations, the language to be spoken, or the form of public education ; all of which, along with other matters, we insisted upon arranging in accordance with our own views. Mr. Chamberlain admitted "*nine-tenths*" as having been promised, and Mr. Leonard Courtney earnestly requested that they should be told of what the remaining tenth consisted. Being unable to obtain the information, he used these memorable words : "Are we going to fight for the *tenth* point ? As to that, Mr. Speaker, history, I think, will judge."

The Present Situation not Foreseen.

Now we come to the crux of the whole matter, *i.e.* : War, in the sense of a serious struggle, was really never anticipated, and the impression was general that at the last moment the Orange Free State would cry off, and Mr. Kruger would bow before the inevitable. Bluff and bluster were adopted, with every confidence of producing a successful result, and the bitterest opponent of the Government would not wish to deprive them of this defence against the terrible charge of having wilfully courted the present campaign. Can anyone imagine for one moment that if the resistance *already* offered by the Republics, with the accompanying risk of European complications, and the feeling of hatred of us that has been engendered throughout the world, could have been foreseen, we should have entered upon such a state of things so lightly ?

No, the Government and the whole country were completely in the dark. Mr. Rhodes and his friends asserted that the Boer was a craven at heart, that he would never fight anything approaching a pitched battle, and that if 40,000 or 50,000 troops could be gathered together and placed on the frontier, they would have the desired effect of overawing them, and we could proceed to dictate terms forthwith. The only man who seemed to have any knowledge on this subject was our military chief at Capetown, General Sir William Butler, and his warnings of the difficulties that might be encountered, and his opinion that what South Africa wanted was "rest, not a surgical operation," were so distasteful to those in favour of "standing no nonsense," that he was recalled. Mr. Balfour, when addressing his constituents, expressed his surprise that the enemy were all mounted, and that the Free Staters had kept their word and stood by their sister Republic ; and Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, cynically told his hearers that he could not be blamed for inability to see the contents of boilers and piano-cases. If *the nature of the subject* admitted of a laugh, there is certainly occasion for one here.

Results of "The New Diplomacy."

Whatever good can be said of Mr. Chamberlain, his diplomacy must be universally condemned. Lord Salisbury has had to correct him in the past, and make apologetic explanations to the Russian Ambassador for the "*long spoon*" speech, and Lord Rosebery has rapped his knuckles more than once for "flouting" foreign nations. The "*man in the street*" is so engrossed in his business affairs and daily routine of labour, that he cannot give the necessary time and attention to follow closely all such matters, and takes too much on trust. The Cabinet, as a whole, must accept the responsibility of the war, but all thoughtful readers are disturbed by the ever-recurring reflection that had a more conciliatory and tactful mind been guiding the negotiations in this case, war would have been avoided. Our previous treatment of the Boers, as shown in Section 2 (History), gave them some reason for wariness; allowances ought to have been made for their suspicious nature, and their confidence should have been steadily sought. Sir A. Milner, like Mr. Chamberlain, distinctly failed in this respect.

The *Daily News*, *most unhappily for the cause of freedom*, was under its late Editorship, which terminated on January 9th, 1901, a strong supporter of the Government's War policy. On that day, however, the retiring Editor made the following parting statements:—

Mr. Chamberlain's dispatches in the earlier stages of the controversy were often far from happy, and his speeches were nearly always mischievous and ill-advised. * * * The Government had not succeeded in presenting the British case in its most favourable light. They had miscalculated the magnitude of their task. Their conduct of the war was marked by blunders and omissions at every turn.

Of course it is easy to say, "But *we* did not begin the war! What about the ULTIMATUM?" This question is not a poser; it is not even difficult to answer. But, before doing so, we must realise the relative positions of the parties, and, must remember that the Boers had frequently begged us to accept *arbitration*; that the active "negotiations" had been proceeding for months, concessions being met by increased demands; that Mr. Chamberlain's notorious Highbury speech had produced its natural result of heart-burning and indignation; and that his later threat to "consider the situation afresh and to formulate their own proposals," unless the previous ones were forthwith accepted, had closely followed that speech.

It must also be remembered that of the 40,000 to 50,000 troops, whose mere presence was deemed sufficient to effect the submission of the Republics, about half were already at the gate, so to speak, and the remaining half were either on their way or getting ready. Would not the Boers argue the matter thus? "If we wait until the British force is complete and capable, as they believe, of crushing any resistance we could offer, are Mr. Chamberlain and Sir A. Milner likely then to be more conciliatory and disposed to try and meet us a little, or to have become stiffer and more determined in their exactions? As we feel, and have stated, that to concede more than we have done will mean the loss of our independence, we must either give that away or fight and try to retain it, with the hope that God, and perhaps man, may help us in the attempt."

Whatever doubts may have existed in the past as to our proceeding to extremities with the Boers, none can any longer remain, as amongst other recent jeers at Liberals Mr. Chamberlain said that although they made great profession of interest in the Outlanders, they would not have "fought for them."

Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, said :—

(*Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1901.)

"We believed that the country was not ready for war in the months of June and July, 1899, and we therefore contented ourselves with taking those measures we were advised were sufficient to ensure the safety of the colonies."

Desperate Men are Liable to adopt Extreme Courses.

The Boers had been arming, too, and, being close at hand, and their preparations much simpler than ours, they had been prepared to strike for some time, not knowing when we might consider it safe to make a dash. Their army comprised the whole adult male population, each man being at once a tiller of the soil, landowner, citizen, and soldier, while many of them were also members and officials of the Government. These men, carrying their lives in their hands ; parting from the dear ones at home, to whom they well knew they might never return ; risking the loss of their well-loved farms and properties, went forth to meet the horrors of war, the life of the cramped trench or the ever-changing camp, simply because of their over-mastering love of independence. Finding, as time wore on, that their forces were quite unequal to contest with our immeasurably superior numbers, the old men with their white beards, and the schoolboys of 13 years and upwards, joined their better qualified compatriots. Surely we, as Englishmen, can sympathise with such devotion ! We should wish to feel that we would emulate it ; to excel it would be impossible.

When a Minister of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, Mr. Chamberlain said :—

"The Boers are not naturally a warlike race ; they are a homely, industrious, but somewhat rude and uncivilised nation of farmers living on the produce of the soil ; they are animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors, the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II. of Spain, their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race, are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people ?"

If the "ultimatum" was wrong, it was so because it made a certainty of that which before it was all but a certainty. Seeing that the population of Great Britain and her Colonies is as 256 to 1 against the Boers, the chances of their beating us were hopeless, except in the event of powerful intervention, when our forces might have had to be withdrawn in order to protect a more vital part. Intervention has not come, nor was it likely to come ; for, however severe may be the world's condemnation of what they describe as our "grabbing and bullying tendencies," an equal struggle between a nation of 50 millions of people, with a highly-trained army and navy, and ourselves would be a remedy which would be sure to produce much more mischief than the disease it was intended to cure.

While the chance of intervention was improbable, on the above and other grounds, yet there was the danger which might result from the intense bitterness of foreign condemnation of our policy—a danger not to be lightly despised.

And, after all, what is the meaning of *negotiations* ? Webster defines *to negotiate* as "to procure by mutual intercourse and agreement with another." Whether rightly or wrongly, to the vast majority of people a negotiation implies a desire on the part of two people who differ to make an effort to agree by a friendly meeting, the dominant note of which is to effect an amicable settlement by adopting the common process of "give

and take." How can success be hoped for if one of the parties employs threatening and disagreeable, if not insulting language, and follows this by asserting that he means to have his full ten-tenths,—the whole of his claim? Would it not have been nobler on our part, as well as better policy, to have maintained a friendly attitude and graciously conceded the *one-tenth*? As Mr. Leonard Courtney truly says: "*History will show.*"

The Sequel to a Slander.

On 6th October, 1899, the *Daily Mail* wrote:—

"It is melancholy to reflect that this hour of danger to British interests in South Africa is largely due to the blindness of General Butler.

"He must have known that our forces there were totally inadequate, and should have stirred the home Government to action instead of administering soothing syrup.

"Next to President Kruger and the Little Englanders who have egged him on to his defiance of Britain, Sir W. Butler has been the cause of the present war."

(*Westminster Gazette*, September 11, 1900.)

"The appointment of GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER to the Aldershot command is an excellent one, and the War Office is to be commended for its choice of an officer who has the courage of his opinions and who will have ample scope for his great ability. We want not only a good soldier but a strong man at Aldershot. It is the most important of our military stations, and the character of the training there exercises a wide-spreading influence on the type of instruction for the whole Army. Sir William Butler is the more to be congratulated on account of the patient dignity with which he bore himself throughout the remarkable campaign of calumny of which he was the victim not long since."

(*The Star*, September 11, 1900.)

"The final seal has been set on the vindication of General Sir William Butler by his appointment to the Aldershot command. Lord Wolseley, we believe, once described Sir William Butler as "the ablest general in the British Army," and there is no doubt that this high praise is merited. It is satisfactory to find that the virulence and the violence of the Yellow Press have not prevailed against the brilliant record of this distinguished soldier."

NOTE.

The reader is reminded that the speeches of Mr. JOHN MORLEY, Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, given in this section, PRECEDED the War, and have special significance.

Our South African Colonists trying to Prevent War.

(No. 27 S.A.C.C's Publications.)

High Commissioner SIR ALFRED MILNER to
MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 8 a.m., September 22, 1899.)

[Answered by No. 14.]

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

September 21st. No. 4.—Ministers have just sent me a Minute asking me to forward the following message for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government:—

Ministers unanimously beg Her Majesty's Government to believe that their best efforts have been spent in endeavouring to aid in

securing a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the Transvaal crisis and to weigh well their earnest conviction that the situation is now one in which great efforts should be made by the exercise of a spirit of magnanimous compromise to avert the calamity which seriously threatens the British Provinces in South Africa and not only the Republics. It is not open to doubt that the issue of a war could only be a victory for the Imperial arms, but the evil consequences of the perhaps prolonged struggle which would take place would be far-reaching and abiding for generations, and would affect alike the European and the native populations.

They desire me to add that this message is an indication that they are deeply persuaded that the main, they fear the only, hope of avoiding such a calamity is a large measure of consideration shown by Her Majesty's

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Mr. Balfour's reference to deference to unofficial advice reminds us of the protest of one of the Australian colonies against the Imperial Government's action in following the advice of interested persons here in place of the advice of the responsible authorities on the spot. The Government of Queensland remonstrated in these words: "Considerable dissatisfaction has for some years past been caused by the mischievous interference of pretended representatives of the Colonies in England, and ask that in future no statement made at Downing Street by persons not formally accredited by the Government of the Colony may be permitted to influence Her Majesty's advisers." * * *

I have, &c., PERCY A. MOLTENO.
London, January 29, 1900.

Mr. J. Morley at Arbroath.

(September 6, 1899.)

The Case Clearly Set Forth.

Gentlemen,—I did not suppose when some days ago I fixed the date of this meeting, that it would find us in a very acute phase of a very acute crisis. On another occasion I should have liked very much to have talked to you about those domestic questions which, after all, concern us who live in these islands as closely as any others. (Hear, hear.) But it is idle, when you hear the sound of approaching war in your ears, to talk about ground values or old-age pensions, or any of these things, and without being uncharitable I am told that I am going beyond my duty, or even my rights, in addressing you, that the situation is so critical that nothing but silence is the proper attitude for anybody who addresses a British audience. Yes, but two must play at silence—(hear, hear)—and when the air resounds with the clamour of those who ought to be steadying public opinion, instead of inciting it to new impatience and new excitement, I think after all that the very humblest of Members of Parliament may be considered free to address his constituents. No, I would say more—not only free, but this is one of the moments when it is his bounden duty—"hear, hear," and cheers)—and his highest responsibility to examine, with those who sent him to Parliament, what the conditions are in which the country now finds itself. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

WHAT WAR WOULD MEAN FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

I am quite alive to my responsibilities. I do not put them any higher than this: that I happen to be the Member for the Montrose burghs—"hear, hear," and cheers)—and I submit to you that it is my duty, when we see the fiend of war sailing slowly upon black expanded wings across our horizon, it is the duty of a member of Parliament to tell his constituents what he thinks of so ominous a situation—"hear, hear," and cheers)—because you all know, the moment the first shot is fired, then all the origins, the first contentions, are forgotten, and the whole business is involved with passion and prejudice and the thirst for mastery, and truth and justice are overwhelmed in what the poet describes as floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire. I want us to consider before then what is the situation—I want us to consider it before the newsboys are shouting in the streets cries of "Brilliant victory and enormous slaughter." (Hear, hear.) * * *

I have said I should avoid any party or personal references; but I will say at once, without any beating about the bush, that what I am after is this: To bring into your minds this proposition—that all the evils and mischiefs of delay in connection with the present situation in South Africa are dust in the balance compared with the evils and mischiefs of a war in South Africa. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I do not speak—because I want to avoid controversy so far as I can—I do not speak of the harm done to our national credit and national honour. I do not speak of the weakening of our national strength at this moment. I speak of the evils and mischiefs that would be done by war to that pacification, that consolidation of South Africa, which has been the avowed aim of all statesmen of both parties in this country ever since these problems arose. (Cheers.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLE.

I assume that you all know the circumstances out of which this crisis has sprung. You all know that, some fifteen years ago, the Transvaal—now the South African Republic—was, by the Queen's Government, invested with all the privileges of self-government in 1884. Then there came what neither those who negotiated that arrangement on this side, nor those who negotiated it on the side of the Transvaal, anticipated—there came a discovery of gold. The discovery of gold was followed, and it always is, by the immigration into the territory inhabited by a pastoral people, very limited in numbers, first of all, of a number of persons who I suppose, without want of Christian charity, one may say were not exactly the salt of the earth. (Laughter.) * * *

The difficulty is not owing to the Transvaal Government; it is certainly not owing to our Government; the difficulty arises from the circumstances of the case. * * *

FIVE POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

Now, we all agree that there is a state of things in the South African Republic which is in the highest degree desirable to have put right. (Cheers.) That is my first proposition. This is my second proposition—In trying to get that state of things put right, we must remember that the South African Republic has good grounds for caution, and that no language should be used which should feed the suspicion of the Government of the South African Republic that under the plea of reform we wish to steal their country from them. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, said :—

(*Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1901.)

"We believed that the country was not ready for war in the months of June and July, 1899, and we therefore contented ourselves with taking those measures we were advised were sufficient to ensure the safety of the colonies."

Desperate Men are Liable to adopt Extreme Courses.

The Boers had been arming, too, and, being close at hand, and their preparations much simpler than ours, they had been prepared to strike for some time, not knowing when we might consider it safe to make a dash. Their army comprised the whole adult male population, each man being at once a tiller of the soil, landowner, citizen, and soldier, while many of them were also members and officials of the Government. These men, carrying their lives in their hands ; parting from the dear ones at home, to whom they well knew they might never return ; risking the loss of their well-loved farms and properties, went forth to meet the horrors of war, the life of the cramped trench or the ever-changing camp, simply because of their over-mastering love of independence. Finding, as time wore on, that their forces were quite unequal to contest with our immeasurably superior numbers, the old men with their white beards, and the schoolboys of 13 years and upwards, joined their better qualified compatriots. Surely we, as Englishmen, can sympathise with such devotion ! We should wish to feel that we would emulate it ; to excel it would be impossible.

When a Minister of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, Mr. Chamberlain said :—

"The Boers are not naturally a warlike race ; they are a homely, industrious, but somewhat rude and uncivilised nation of farmers living on the produce of the soil ; they are animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors, the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II. of Spain, their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race, are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people ?"

If the "ultimatum" was wrong, it was so because it made a certainty of that which before it was all but a certainty. Seeing that the population of Great Britain and her Colonies is as 256 to 1 against the Boers, the chances of their beating us were hopeless, except in the event of powerful intervention, when our forces might have had to be withdrawn in order to protect a more vital part. Intervention has not come, nor was it likely to come ; for, however severe may be the world's condemnation of what they describe as our "grabbing and bullying tendencies," an equal struggle between a nation of 50 millions of people, with a highly-trained army and navy, and ourselves would be a remedy which would be sure to produce much more mischief than the disease it was intended to cure.

While the chance of intervention was improbable, on the above and other grounds, yet there was the danger which might result from the intense bitterness of foreign condemnation of our policy—a danger not to be lightly despised.

And, after all, what is the meaning of *negotiations* ? Webster defines *to negotiate* as "to procure by mutual intercourse and agreement with another." Whether rightly or wrongly, to the vast majority of people a negotiation implies a desire on the part of two people who differ to make an effort to agree by a friendly meeting, the dominant note of which is to effect an amicable settlement by adopting the common process of "give

and take." How can success be hoped for if one of the parties employs threatening and disagreeable, if not insulting language, and follows this by asserting that he means to have his full ten-tenths,—the whole of his claim? Would it not have been nobler on our part, as well as better policy, to have maintained a friendly attitude and graciously conceded the *one-tenth*? As Mr. Leonard Courtney truly says: "*History will show.*"

The Sequel to a Slander.

On 6th October, 1899, the *Daily Mail* wrote:—

"It is melancholy to reflect that this hour of danger to British interests in South Africa is largely due to the blindness of General Butler.

"He must have known that our forces there were totally inadequate, and should have stirred the home Government to action instead of administering soothing syrup.

"Next to President Kruger and the Little Englanders who have egged him on to his defiance of Britain, Sir W. Butler has been the cause of the present war."

(*Westminster Gazette*, September 11, 1900.)

"The appointment of GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER to the Aldershot command is an excellent one, and the War Office is to be commended for its choice of an officer who has the courage of his opinions and who will have ample scope for his great ability. We want not only a good soldier but a strong man at Aldershot. It is the most important of our military stations, and the character of the training there exercises a wide-spreading influence on the type of instruction for the whole Army. Sir William Butler is the more to be congratulated on account of the patient dignity with which he bore himself throughout the remarkable campaign of calumny of which he was the victim not long since."

(*The Star*, September 11, 1900.)

"The final seal has been set on the vindication of General Sir William Butler by his appointment to the Aldershot command. Lord Wolseley, we believe, once described Sir William Butler as "the ablest general in the British Army," and there is no doubt that this high praise is merited. It is satisfactory to find that the virulence and the violence of the Yellow Press have not prevailed against the brilliant record of this distinguished soldier."

NOTE.

The reader is reminded that the speeches of Mr. JOHN MORLEY, Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, given in this section, PRECEDED the War, and have special significance.

Our South African Colonists trying to Prevent War.

(No. 27 S.A.C.C's Publications.)

High Commissioner SIR ALFRED MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 8 a.m., September 22, 1899.)

[Answered by No. 14.]

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

September 21st. No. 4.—Ministers have just sent me a Minute asking me to forward the following message for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government:—

Ministers unanimously beg Her Majesty's Government to believe that their best efforts have been spent in endeavouring to aid in

securing a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the Transvaal crisis and to weigh well their earnest conviction that the situation is now one in which great efforts should be made by the exercise of a spirit of magnanimous compromise to avert the calamity which seriously threatens the British Provinces in South Africa and not only the Republics. It is not open to doubt that the issue of a war could only be a victory for the Imperial arms, but the evil consequences of the perhaps prolonged struggle which would take place would be far-reaching and abiding for generations, and would affect alike the European and the native populations.

They desire me to add that this message is an indication that they are deeply persuaded that the main, they fear the only, hope of avoiding such a calamity is a large measure of consideration shown by Her Majesty's

Government at the present juncture, a consideration which would not only not impair but truly strengthen the foundations of the Empire in South Africa. (C. 9530, p. 15.)

On 28th September the majority of the members of the Cape Legislature made a final appeal to the Queen to accept the Joint Commission and avert war.

(C. 9530, p. 39.)

We turn now to what the Ministers of Natal were doing in the same direction. They made a strenuous effort to arrest Mr. Chamberlain's progress towards war on the 12th of June, 1899. Their protest ran as follows:—

(Minute.)

Prime Minister's Office, Pietermaritzburg,
June 17, 1899.

Ministers view with the greatest concern the present extremely critical position in South Africa.

It is unnecessary for Ministers to point out that war between the two principal white races in South Africa would be a terrible calamity, and should not be resorted to until all possible means of bringing about a peaceful solution of the present difficulties had been tried and had failed.

Ministers desire to impress on Your Excellency and on His Excellency the High Commissioner that the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the South African Republic might lead to civil war, and would, in any case, tend to the perpetuation of racial bitterness, and to seriously retard the progress and prosperity of South Africa.

Ministers would further point out that should war unfortunately break out, Natal would probably become the field of operations, and as this Government would, as a matter of course, give its loyal and active support to Her Majesty's Government, Natal would thereafter be regarded by the South African Republic and the Orange Free State with suspicious and unfriendly feelings.

Was there a Conspiracy Against British Rule?

(No. 13, S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

In the next place the friendliness of the State to Great Britain, despite the theft of the Kimberley diamond fields, has been consistent and indeed proverbial. The late President Brand was knighted by the Queen for his services to England. When his successor, Mr. Reitz, was elected President, he refused to accept the post until it had been offered to his intimate friend—that great Englishman—Sir George Grey. Further, the Free State has granted perfect equality, and possesses a Government which in every one of its departments is beyond reproach. It is true that in consequence of the Raid it concluded a defensive alliance with the Transvaal, but how little this was held by English statesmen to imply hostility to Great Britain was shown by Mr. Balfour's declaration that he no more expected to be at war with the Orange Free State than with Switzerland.

Mr. Schreiner, the late Cape Premier.

(No. 5 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

"Mr. Speaker, the Session has now drawn to a close, and it is my duty to move the adjournment of the House, but in doing so I think it will not be out of place if I should address a few words to the

House and to the country at the close of this memorable Session, and at such a specially crucial period in the history of South Africa." * * *

(And after impassioned appeals to the Civil Administrators, political organisations, the press, and the church, he adds):—

"And I would say to every one in this country, to every man and woman, and even to every child, whose soul is not embittered by party views, work in the same direction. Strive to live and let live with your fellow-men. If your differences are intense, try to look always at the other side of the shield. Try to realise the way in which the other person looks at it, and work always to the same goal to preserve the colony from those possible future evils and that impending ruin which is almost worse than death, which arises from a people divided against itself by antagonism and hatred, and in sections and classes on racial or on party lines. Every person has a responsibility in this country, and I hope that every person will take it up and bear his share of that burden. * * *

In conclusion, I wish to say this—that I do not intend to say any words now indicating the part I have played in striving to establish peace in South Africa. All of us are architects of fate as we stand here. But the day is not yet when a true verdict can be given with regard to the work of anyone here. History alone will tell what each of us has done."

A Constitutional Point of View.

(No. 32 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

It is a fact of the utmost significance that the policy of Her Majesty's Government, which has resulted in war with the Transvaal and Free State, has been pursued in defiance of the most urgent and solemn remonstrances on the part of the Ministers of the Queen in the Colonies of the Cape and Natal.

The Imperial Government has acted in opposition to the wishes of the majority in those two Colonies, as constitutionally expressed through their Ministers. Thus the Imperial Government has deliberately overridden the wishes of the Colonists in a matter most vitally affecting their interests. * * *

The Constitution of the Cape.

(To the Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*.)

Sir,—In Mr. Balfour's defence of the Government policy in South Africa, contained in his Manchester speech on January 8, there is a remarkable omission of any reference to the fact that Her Majesty has Ministers at the Cape, and that they have opinions on the action proposed by the Government in its dealings with South Africa. Had we been dealing with Canada or Australia it would have been at once asked, What views do the Governments on the spot hold of the questions at issue which so vitally affect them?

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Balfour to ask the Colonial Governments of South Africa for the views they might hold. He tells us, "Everybody was on an equality; the man in the street knew as much as the man in the Cabinet." But this was not because the Government had not at their disposal more information did they choose to use it or ask for it. "The man in the street" could not ask Cape Ministers for an

authoritative expression of opinion; the Government could and ought to have done so. But Mr. Balfour does not leave the question to mere want of knowledge on the Government's part; he goes further, and tells us how the Government were led astray: "If we or I made a mistake, we made it in common with the great mass not only of public opinion in this country, but of the portion of public opinion which knew most of South African affairs." The Government then followed an admittedly badly informed public opinion, and took the advice of another section of public opinion which they thought ought to have been well-informed, but which Mr. Balfour now admits facts have proved to have been ill-informed. * * *

Facts have now made it clear beyond dispute that had the Government asked Sir Alfred Milner for the views of the Cape, constitutionally expressed, instead of receiving the resolutions of partisan meetings as the opinion of the Colony, they would have avoided the terrible and disastrous condition of things which we see to-day.

Mr. Balfour's reference to deference to unofficial advice reminds us of the protest of one of the Australian colonies against the Imperial Government's action in following the advice of interested persons here in place of the advice of the responsible authorities on the spot. The Government of Queensland remonstrated in these words: "Considerable dissatisfaction has for some years past been caused by the mischievous interference of pretended representatives of the Colonies in England, and ask that in future no statement made at Downing Street by persons not formally accredited by the Government of the Colony may be permitted to influence Her Majesty's advisers." * * *

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London, January 29, 1900.

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The Case Clearly Set Forth.

Gentlemen,—I did not suppose when some days ago I fixed the date of this meeting, that it would find us in a very acute phase of a very acute crisis. On another occasion I should have liked very much to have talked to you about those domestic questions which, after all, concern us who live in these islands as closely as any others. (Hear, hear.) But it is idle, when you hear the sound of approaching war in your ears, to talk about ground values or old-age pensions, or any of these things, and without being uncharitable I am told that I am going beyond my duty, or even my rights, in addressing you, that the situation is so critical that nothing but silence is the proper attitude for anybody who addresses a British audience. Yes, but two must play at silence—(hear, hear)—and when the air resounds with the clamour of those who ought to be steadying public opinion, instead of inciting it to new impatience and new excitement, I think after all that the very humblest of Members of Parliament may be considered free to address his constituents. No, I would say more—not only free, but this is one of the moments when it is his bounden duty—"hear, hear," and cheers)—and his highest responsibility to examine, with those who sent him to Parliament, what the conditions are in which the country now finds itself. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

WHAT WAR WOULD MEAN FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

I am quite alive to my responsibilities. I do not put them any higher than this: that I happen to be the Member for the Montrose burghs—"hear, hear," and cheers)—and I submit to you that it is my duty, when we see the fiend of war sailing slowly upon black expanded wings across our horizon, it is the duty of a member of Parliament to tell his constituents what he thinks of so ominous a situation—"hear, hear," and cheers)—because you all know, the moment the first shot is fired, then all the origins, the first contentions, are forgotten, and the whole business is involved with passion and prejudice and the thirst for mastery, and truth and justice are overwhelmed in what the poet describes as floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire. I want us to consider before then what is the situation—I want us to consider it before the newsboys are shouting in the streets cries of "Brilliant victory and enormous slaughter." (Hear, hear.) * * *

I have said I should avoid any party or personal references; but I will say at once, without any beating about the bush, that what I am after is this: To bring into your minds this proposition—that all the evils and mischiefs of delay in connection with the present situation in South Africa are dust in the balance compared with the evils and mischiefs of a war in South Africa. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I do not speak—because I want to avoid controversy so far as I can—I do not speak of the harm done to our national credit and national honour. I do not speak of the weakening of our national strength at this moment. I speak of the evils and mischiefs that would be done by war to that pacification, that consolidation of South Africa, which has been the avowed aim of all statesmen of both parties in this country ever since these problems arose. (Cheers.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLE.

I assume that you all know the circumstances out of which this crisis has sprung. You all know that, some fifteen years ago, the Transvaal—now the South African Republic—was, by the Queen's Government, invested with all the privileges of self-government in 1884. Then there came what neither those who negotiated that arrangement on this side, nor those who negotiated it on the side of the Transvaal, anticipated—there came a discovery of gold. The discovery of gold was followed, and it always is, by the immigration into the territory inhabited by a pastoral people, very limited in numbers, first of all, of a number of persons who I suppose, without want of Christian charity, one may say were not exactly the salt of the earth. (Laughter.) * * *

The difficulty is not owing to the Transvaal Government; it is certainly not owing to our Government; the difficulty arises from the circumstances of the case. * * *

FIVE POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

Now, we all agree that there is a state of things in the South African Republic which is in the highest degree desirable to have put right. (Cheers.) That is my first proposition. This is my second proposition—In trying to get that state of things put right, we must remember that the South African Republic has good grounds for caution, and that no language should be used which should feed the suspicion of the Government of the South African Republic that under the plea of reform we wish to steal their country from them. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

My third proposition is this, that in putting the state of things in Johannesburg and the Rand right, we do not put a great many other even more serious things wrong, and I will explain to you, by-and-by, what I mean by that. Fourth—You must so shape your policy and so conduct your negotiations as to carry with you the sympathetic and the friendly judgment of the Dutch population in the various communities that make up the great province of South Africa. Fifth—Remember your pledged word! That is the foundation on which I propose to build up the case that I shall present to you to-night. I have said that both sides agree.

THE PERIL FROM THE PRESS.

Yes, responsible men on both sides; but human affairs are not always transacted by responsible men, they are not even always guided and shaped by responsible men; and what is the danger of this situation is that irresponsible men, not looking at it from the point of view either of the strength of the Empire, or the good government of the Transvaal, or of South Africa as a whole, shall somehow or other sweep the sensible people off their feet. That is the danger. The other day there was a passage in a newspaper which I shall mention in a moment, where it was said:—

"We believe that excision and cauterisation only will effect a permanent cure. Not until the Boers have been completely defeated in the field will the reputation of British arms and the authority of the paramount Power be rehabilitated."

You will be rehabilitating the authority of the paramount Power, and restoring the reputation of British arms. That passage comes from a special correspondent at Pretoria, which is the capital of the Transvaal, of the *Scotsman*, that very affable and genial organ of yours—(laughter)—which gives the poor Scottish Liberals such doses of excision and cauterisation, but which, after all, if we may judge from the last two elections in the very heart of the authority of this journal, has such wonderful little effect in curing the inveterate Liberal malady of an incorrigible patient. (Laughter.) I have indicated principles which have been accepted by all statesmen who have had to consider this question.

WHAT GOOD WILL VICTORY DO?

Now, suppose you have a war, and suppose that you are successful in that war. I assume that. As Swift said a good many years ago, "I have never heard that ten men armed to the teeth were not very likely to be a match for a man in his shirt." (Laughter.) I assume military success. Suppose you have won your battles, suppose, as was rather ominously foreshadowed by an important man a month ago, you have torn up the convention that settles our relations to the South African Republic, and suppose you have incorporated the Transvaal as a British province. Now what will you have done? For one thing, you will in the process have divided the Dutch and the English in the Cape Colony. The supreme care of statesmen has been—both of South African statesmen and British statesmen—the supreme care has been to unite those two sections, an object in which great progress has been made. The ten armed men, then, having crumpled up the man in the shirt, the first result will be that you will have sown the seeds of division between the Dutch and the English in Cape Colony.

ONLY IRELAND OVER AGAIN.

Second, you will have turned the Orange Free State—which is now very good friends with us—

into an enemy. Thirdly by the conflict between the two races of the whites—the English and the Dutch—the British and the Dutch—(laughter and cheers)—by the conflict you will have—indeed, some say you already have—stirred up a spirit of restlessness among the native population of South Africa. And considering the vast superiority in numbers, and the horrors of war between the white races and the Kaffirs, you cannot exaggerate the mischief of such a proceeding as that. What will you do next? You have won your battle. You will make the Transvaal Republic a Crown colony, and for a long time after your war it will have to be held by force, and everywhere in the circumference or district outside the Rand, where the gold is, where the British population is, you will set up a sort of loyalist Ulster, and everywhere outside of that you will find your Government and your authority corroded with the spirit of disaffection.

Just look back a few years. In 1877 you annexed the Transvaal, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in perfect good faith, and with every intention of carrying out his promise—gave an undertaking to these men in these days that they should have set up a system of self-government. Did it happen? Not from any want of good faith in Sir Michael Hicks-Beach it did not happen, because for three and a half years after that step was taken the sullen disaffection of the Boers in the Transvaal Republic was such that no statesman with a sense of responsibility would have thought for a moment of conferring upon them these privileges of self-government which had been promised to them. Well, that is exactly the difficulty that will confront you the day after you believe yourselves to have ended the conflict. You will have to set up a government which will be Ireland over again with what is called a loyalist district, and outside of that an enormous territory, as I say, saturated with sullen disaffection. (Cheers.) Now, is this the wretched state of things that you are going to war over? Is a burden of this kind to be added to all the other burdens that lie upon the shoulders of those who administer this Empire? Is this burden to be added to it? * * *

A WORD FOR THE EIGHT-DAY CLOCK.

We were told the other day that the sands in the hour-glass were running down. (Cheers.) I would not have an hour-glass. ("Hear, hear," laughter and cheers.) I would have a good, steady, old-fashioned eight-day clock. (Cheers and laughter.) If they have not got one at the Colonial Office—(cheers and laughter)—I am sure there is one at the Foreign Office. (Loud cheers and laughter.) All their remonstrances with the Turk were done by the eight-day clock. (Cheers.)

* * *

HOW THE TRANSVAAL BEHAVED AFTER THE RAID.

Here is what Sir Hercules Robinson, who was then the High Commissioner, said of the conduct of the Government of the South African Republic then:—

"I take this early opportunity of testifying in the strongest manner to the great moderation and forbearance of the Government of the South African Republic, under exceptionally trying circumstances."

Only three years ago! Well, then the Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, wrote this on the same occasion:—

"President Kruger's magnanimity, if he were to hand over the prisoners, would be very highly appreciated by me."

In another passage he says, writing to President Kruger:—

"I myself have always felt confidence in your magnanimity, and your Honour may rest confident that I will strictly uphold all the obligations of the London Convention of 1884."

Considering the feeling that has been raised against the Government of the South African Republic, I venture to recall that to you, and I venture to say this, that in this difficult moment—difficult for these Dutchmen as it is difficult for us—when I think of all that has been said about magnanimity and forbearance, what I should like us to do; to pay them back in their own coin. (Cheers.) And now I want to come to close quarters. * * *

FAIR PLAY FOR THE OUTLANDERS.

Give them, as Sir A. Milner said, such a share as would enable them gradually to redress their grievances themselves, and to strengthen, not to weaken, the country of their adoption in the process. He said that he relied on a single remedy, and that remedy was the honest extension to our fellow countrymen in the South African Republic of the electoral franchise. * * *

THE PARADOX OF THE FRANCHISE.

The only effective way of protecting our subjects was to help them to cease to be our subjects. Let me for a moment explain that, by an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of the Queen, a British subject, if he gets a full right of burghership in the South African Republic, forfeits his right as a British subject, and only gets it back after a term of five years' residence in British dominions. Mark this, therefore, that if you are going to slay Boers for the sake of the franchise, you are going to kill them because they object to turn good British subjects into statutory aliens. (Laughter.)

PIG-HEADED OLIGARCHS NEARER HOME.

We are told that the Boers of the Transvaal are a set of pig-headed oligarchs. (A laugh.) * * *

When I remember how long it took to get the Reform Bill of 1832, which emancipated Scotland, how many years of agitation it took John Bright to get the country to agree to the franchise for the artisans in the towns, when I think how long it took for the franchise of the villagers of the county, I think that we know something about oligarchs. Yes, it will really be one of the little ironies of politics if a war is going to be made upon the Transvaal Republic for being a little slow in extending the franchise, by Lord Salisbury, who left a Government because they were going to extend the franchise to the towns, and by Mr. Goschen, who would not join the Government rather than extend the suffrage in the counties. (Laughter.) * * *

LET US STICK TO THE FRANCHISE!

The first policy was that the Outlanders, having divested themselves of British citizenship, were gradually, by their energy, their intelligence, their resource, to work for the redress of their grievances. Now it seems that instead of leaving them to work gradually we are going, not gradually but peremptorily, to insist on these reforms. We in the House of Commons were never told that what we had adopted as the policy of the Government on the 28th of July was extension of the franchise, as to which we were all of one mind. We were never told that the Secretary of State might one day transform that policy, that we might turn it into something quite different.

What he then said was, "a substantial and immediate representation such"—I think these are his very words—

"such as will enable them to put forward their views and grievances, to secure that public opinion shall be directed to them, and perhaps in the long run to obtain satisfaction and sufficient redress."

THE SHIFTING OF GROUND AND RAISING OF TERMS.

These were the words, and that was the policy, and when we left the House of Commons that night we left understanding that the prospect was a fairly promising one. Now you will never persuade me, in spite of all the clamours and vociferations of fire-eaters, that the plain, straightforward people of this country liked this shifting of ground, this raising of terms—(cheers)—or that they will feel any easier in their minds or their consciences as they look on and see their business done in this way. Take the case of a strike. Suppose an employer insists upon certain terms as to hours and wages, and after a struggle the men give way. Suppose the master after that says he will lock out unless they will accept fresh requirements, or piles up penalties against the offenders. A wise and a good employer would never do such a thing, and if an employer did such a thing he would be condemned by public opinion, and public opinion, I think, would condemn, and has already condemned, a negotiator who first asks for something, then when he gets it says that it is not what he meant, and finally insists that, whether it proves to be what he meant or not, he must have something else into the bargain. (Cheers.)

THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

Such a spirit in private dealings between man and man would, I think, be very ill regarded, and I believe the people of this country have already begun to make up their minds to condemn the same spirit in negotiation when it is pursued by a representative of the strongest Government in the world in dealing with the weakest.

It is not for me, or for any of us, to advise the Government of the South African Republic, but I think I may say this, as one who has watched those affairs for a great many years—I hope that the South African Republic will go into the conference which is now pressed upon them, not because, Heaven knows, we mean to swallow them up, or to let raiders swallow them up—(cheers)—but to prevent the chance of all those wrongs and mischiefs which might befall them. I hope they will go into the conference, and that they will strip the franchise which they are now willing to concede of every ambiguous term and every dubious restriction. To do less is to play into the hands of their adversaries, whoever and whatever they may be, and may endanger the best interests of their own State and of that great territory of which their own State is a part. * * *

SUZERAINTY AND THE FLAVOUR OF SOVEREIGNTY.

I have just said we have no right, and this brings me to the word suzerainty. It is said we have a suzerainty over the South African Republic. Sir Alfred Milner said: "There is nothing material in this controversy as to whether we have a suzerainty or not, nothing material. It is an etymological point, not a political point. My own view of suzerainty is that it is a word which nobody can define, but it has got a flavour of sovereignty in it, and yet it is not sovereignty. The

Boers hate the word because it has got that flavour in it, and the war party in the Cape and in other places like the word because they hope to import into it something or another which may enable them, under a mask of sovereignty, to do things which only unlimited sovereignty would sanction. Well, though it is only a matter of a word, many of you must know that some of the bloodiest and most obstinate struggles in the history of mankind have been struggles about words. Blood has been shed, tracts of the surface of the globe have been laid waste. Fierce and unquenchable hate between race and race have been kindled by quarrels about words, even about diphthongs. Therefore, do not let us believe that because, as the High Commissioner says, it is a mere matter of a word that it is not a very dangerous point. * * *

TRANSVAAL CITIZENS NOT QUEEN'S SUBJECTS.

Will you listen to the words of the Lord Chief Justice of England when he was trying the raiders in the summer of 1896? Now this is what he said: "Recollect what these raiders were tried for. They were tried for making a war from within the Queen's dominions, upon the dominions of a friendly State." ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

Now what did the Chief Justice who presided at the trial say? "The position of the South African Republic is determined by the two Conventions of 1881 and 1884. The result is that under these Conventions the Queen's Government recognises the complete independence and autonomy of the South African Republic subject only to the restriction of the Convention of 1884, to the effect that the South African Republic should have no power to enter into any treaties without this country's consent."

That is the definition of the highest authority you can have of the status of the South African Republic. * * * Lord Derby said to the Transvaal: "Your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the 4th article, that any treaty with a foreign State shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

I'll come to a very remarkable declaration of the Colonial Secretary himself. * * *

TRANSVAAL—"A FOREIGN STATE."

When it is said now that they are a subordinate State, subject to a paramount Power—listen to this. This is what the Colonial Secretary said on the last day of 1895. He wrote of Dr. Jameson's action in breaking into "a foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty"—not a subordinate State—but "a foreign State in friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty." Whether that is accurate or not I won't say. What can the Colonial Secretary mean by talking of the relation between a paramount and a subordinate State? * * *

You are dealing with a people who are not your people. They are a sort of kith and kin, but they are not your people. And in dealing with that kind, and perhaps with yourselves, you must regard the precise and accurate terms in which the footing of each has been respectively defined. (Hear, hear.)

What did Mr. Chamberlain say in 1896? "As regards the internal affairs of the Republic, I may observe that independently of rights of intervention in particular matters arising out of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified

in the interests of South Africa as a whole," "as well as the peace and stability of the South African Republic." Justified in what?—"in tendering this friendly counsel as regards the newcomers, who are mostly British subjects." Friendly counsel! Sending 50,000 troops! * * *

BRITISH SUPREMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

One more point before I close on this claim of some general supremacy outside the Convention of 1884. I really cannot understand how anybody can pretend to defend it, having defined our relations by a special document, how can we set that document aside by producing a general claim, by producing it suddenly like a juggler producing a card from up his sleeve? (Laughter.)

* * * And so in South Africa the man who cannot see British supremacy in its true sense is a man who cannot see the sun in the heavens, for it is a supremacy not derived from documents, from agreements, or from conventions. It is derived from the facts of the case, from the enormous wealth, from the vigorous energy, from the ideas and institutions which Great Britain carries with her. That is what her supremacy consists in, what her paramountcy consists in. * * *

PARAMOUNTCY, NOT DICTATORSHIP.

Do you mean that Great Britain is free to dictate to the South African Republic? To dictate; I do not say to argue about negotiations—to dictate to the South African Republic what her franchise shall be? To insist on having our own way about her judiciary, about her municipal government, and all the rest of the attributes of a stable community? Is that what you mean? If you do mean that, it leads to a very remarkable conclusion, and it is this—that Great Britain is not paramount in a single one of her self-governing colonies, because in not one of these great self-governing colonies in Australia, in South Africa, would any British statesman dream of going and saying, "I represent the paramount Power, and I tell you that your franchise shall be so and so, and your municipal franchise so and so, and your jury law and your press law so and so."

HOW TO SHATTER THE EMPIRE.

(You would have the Empire shattered in a month. ("Hear, hear" and cheers.) They call us, I believe, Little Englanders. (Laughter.) Those men who write in this way, and who talk in this way, and who think in this way, they'll make England, as they call it, little enough before they are done with it. (Laughter and cheers.)

* * * I have tried to do my duty as your representative and to tell you how these things figure themselves in my own mind. There are times when right, when justice, when an unselfish regard for the welfare of mankind, when the necessities of natural self-preservation, national existence, may force a community to take upon itself the grievous responsibilities of war; there is no such case here. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

FRANCHISE—FIVE YEARS OR SEVEN?

But when you hear, as you may by-and-bye, of, as I said, brilliant victories and immense carnage, and your children ask you what it is all about, what is your answer going to be? Franchise? Five years or seven years? Is that what you are killing men for?—not savages, though I really don't know why the killing of savages should be

thought such a very light business. (Hear, hear.) Killing men who share, substantially share, your own religion and partake of your own civilised order. Is it to be said you are going to kill them for two years in a franchise law? *The Times* the other day had an article—its eyes full of tears, and wringing its hands—because owing to the bad government of the South African Republic, dynamite was so many pounds a ton when it ought to be so many shillings a ton. Is that what you are going to kill men for? (Hear, hear.) Paramountcy? No.

(FUSION THE ONLY TRUE POLICY.)

The whole policy is not paramountcy, but fusion. The British and the Dutch have got to live together in South Africa. Do not say to one race, You are to be at the top and the other shall be at the bottom. No. Let there be fusion, not paramountcy. Are you going to fight them for paramountcy when you know, apart from its guilt, it can only lead to new burdens and new responsibilities and new difficulties. Are you going to war in order that you may have your hands free to tear up a treaty to which you have solemnly set your seal and to wipe out, to crush, a little state whose independence you have repeatedly declared your intense anxiety both to respect and to cherish?

WAR WITH DISHONOUR.

A war of that kind will not be a war with honour, it will be a war with deep dishonour. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) And what a mockery will such a war make of all the professions that have been made emphatically and in capital letters within the last few months, especially upon behalf of peace. What a farce—what a hypocritical farce—to send your important representatives to The Hague to try whether something cannot be done to introduce better principles into the relations between States. What a farce, what an example, for this country, which has hitherto vaunted and boasted—and justly boasted—that it is in the front of great moral, pacific, and progressive causes.

("WE DON'T WANT A PIRATE EMPIRE.")

What an example for us to set to the armed camps and the scheming Chancellories of Continental Europe! What a shadow to cast upon the reign of the Queen! Yes, Empire they say—Empire, yes, but we don't want a Pirate Empire. Let us be sure, to borrow Mr. Chamberlain's figure, let us here to-night be sure that when the sand runs low in the little hour-glass which is the measure of the life of a man we, at all events, shall be able to think that we have been in this constituency staunch and true to those principles of good faith and national honour and solidity and sober judgment which have won for Britain her true glory and her most abiding renown, and in this wanton mischief and in this grievous discredit neither party nor lot shall be yours or mine. (Loud cheers.)

How War Was Brought About.

(National Reform Union Publications.)

In a forcible appeal to Sir A. Milner on September 27th, President Steyn pointed out that the Free State had repeatedly urged the Transvaal to make concessions; that in particular the acceptance of the Joint Inquiry had been largely due to their advice: and that they were quite unable to understand why we withdrew from our own proposals. They felt that such a change of front

was only intelligible if our Government were seeking occasion to undermine the independence of one of the Dutch Republics, and that their turn would come next. "Suppose a valuable gold field was discovered in the Free State," said President Steyn to a newspaper correspondent, "how long should we keep our independence?" There could be no more terrible satire on our methods of "expansion" in South Africa than that simple question.

Colonel Saunderson on the Government's Idea of Justice.

(*The Times*, May 26th.)

He heard a great deal about the tyranny and injustice of President Kruger towards the Uitlanders, but the treatment of the Uitlanders was nothing compared with that of the Irish landlords. (Cries of "Oh.")

Sir William Harcourt at Tredegar.

(September 30, 1899.)

Unheeded Warnings.

ON THE BRINK OF WAR ONCE MORE.

I should have been glad to address you upon subjects which concern your social welfare. I would have alluded also to those religious questions upon which your chairman has touched; but there has appeared before us now the spirit of war—(hear, hear)—that spirit which is the real enemy of social reforms and of public economy. It is a strange thing, but it is true, that for the last four years we have been told constantly that we are on the brink of war.

* * *
Now, we are to be at war, we are told, and there is a war party in this country. We are told that we are to go to war with a country which was thus described by the present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain.

WHY?

It was a country which had just been lawlessly invaded under the auspices of a man who was Prime Minister of Cape Colony and a Privy Councillor to the Queen; and Mr. Chamberlain described the people I am speaking of—the people of the Government of the Transvaal—as a foreign Government with which Her Majesty is at peace, and with whom it is in treaty relations—* *

"A country with whom Her Majesty is at peace and in treaty relations." * * *

Why are we not to remain at peace with that country? Why are we not to observe these treaty relations? What has happened since to bring us to the verge of war? That is what you ought to know, what you ought to consider, and upon what the people of this country ought to form their judgment. I have been told, and I saw it in a paper this morning, that "the less Sir William Harcourt says upon this subject the better." (Laughter.) I will tell you why I cannot and I ought not to keep silence upon this subject. (Cheers.) I shared with Mr. Chamberlain in Mr. Gladstone's great Government of 1880 the responsibility of framing the Constitution of that State. (Hear, hear.) * * *

I cannot read without indignation and reprobation the persistent attempts of the war Press—I was going to call it the Rhodes Press—in England and at the Cape to aggravate the position of affairs, difficult as they are, to exasperate the controversy.

to pervert the facts, and to do all that in them lies, and at every moment when we seem to be near a settlement to obstruct that settlement in the direction of peace. There is such a party, there is such a spirit, and there are such attempts going on in this country. I confess that I have always felt, and still feel, a sentiment of justice and sympathy towards a brave and simple people, who, whatever errors they may have committed, are deeply attached, as we are, to the independence of their country. (Cheers.)

WHY THE BOERS WENT ACROSS THE VAAL.

Gentlemen, if there was anything which should induce President Kruger to give a favourable ear to the appeals for reform it would be the experience through which he and his people went themselves when they became exiles from the land of their birth. . . .

All the causes which have been referred to as giving rise to the emigration movement may be grouped under one heading, for all the grievances of the emigrants arose from one cause, they desired self-government, and under British administration this was denied to them. In their own words, "We ascribe all these evils to one cause—namely, the want of a representative Government, refused to us by the executive authority of that same nation which regards this very privilege as one of its most sacred rights of citizenship, and that for which every true Briton is prepared to give his life." * *

The hopes of tranquillity with which these poor people went were cruelly deceived, unhappily for them, whatever it may have been for others. This new land of theirs, to which they went to seek for peace, turned out to be a goldfield. We have got a goldfield here which is a field of peace, but goldfields are not always fields of peace. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") The first and last word of these gold-hunters is war, in order to lead to annexation; it is the old question which was asked, "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?" (Loud cheers.)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNT OF THE BOERS.

I recall with pleasure the words which Mr. Chamberlain used when we were colleagues together in a Liberal Government. He said, "The Boers are not naturally a warlike race; they are a homely, industrious, but somewhat rude and uncivilised nation of farmers living on the produce of the soil; they are animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors, the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II. of Spain, their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race, are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people?" And mark this last sentence. "Is it against such a nation that we are to be called upon to exercise the dread arbitrament of arms?" (Cheers.) That was spoken after Majuba, and it is as true to-day as it was then. (Hear, hear.) Those were Liberal principles, and, whatever may have happened to others, it has not happened to us to abandon them. (Cheers.) I say those were Liberal principles, and, although I know that those sentiments are rejected by the speculators in diamonds and gold as what they are pleased to call "unctious rectitude," yet they are the old principles which, I hope, still actuate the British people. (Hear, hear.) They are the distinction *between right and wrong—a distinction which can never be obliterated without disgrace and*

without dishonour. (Cheers.) It is in those principles alone that you can seek the greatness of your nation, and upon which you can found the eternal blessing of peace."

THE CONVENTION OF 1881.

Those words which I read to you describe the principles upon which, in that Government of 1881, we determined to restore upon certain conditions the independence of the Transvaal. We were violently attacked at the time. It was said we were dishonouring the country; that we ought to have avenged Majuba. I have never been, and never will be, afraid of that Convention. (Cheers.) I shall always consider it a memorable record of the policy of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. * * *

Now, it was considered then, and it is considered now, that the Transvaal State ought not to enter into foreign relations by treaty with other countries without the consent of the British Government. In my opinion, that was a proper and just principle. . . .

Secondly, in regard to its internal administration, it limited, in a certain degree, the internal government and autonomy of the Transvaal State; but, as Lord Derby, who was then Colonial Secretary, stated (I give his words), "in all other respects entire freedom of action was accorded not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved," so that in the Convention of 1881—follow me here—it was in that first Convention of 1881 the independence so limited was expressed by the word *suzerainty*, a vague word, but one which was employed in that Convention of 1881.

WHAT WAS DONE IN 1884.

Now, as the principle obstacle to a satisfactory settlement of the differences has unfortunately turned upon the ubiquity of that phrase, and it has a different understanding by both parties, you must allow me as precisely as I can to explain to you as it presents itself to my mind what that question of *suzerainty*, as it is called, is. In 1883, two years after the Convention of 1881, when we were still in office, President Kruger and a delegation came to London and complained of the limitation that had been imposed upon them in the Convention of 1881, and they desired certain alterations in those limitations, including the question of *suzerainty*, and those demands were in part refused, and in part they were granted: and in place of these proposals the late Lord Derby, who was then Colonial Secretary, wrote this to President Kruger and the delegates in London: "I submit for your approval a draft which Her Majesty's Government propose in substitution for the Convention of 1881." Therefore there was not to be a modification of the Convention, but there was to be a new Convention. Now, a very important document was that draft sent by Lord Derby. It was not printed in the British Blue Book, but the Transvaal Government have produced it and printed it in their correspondence.

WHY "SUZERAINTY" WAS LEFT OUT.

In the Convention of 1884 the word "*suzerainty*" was expressly struck out and obliterated, and Lord Derby in the House of Lords gave the reason for its omission. The reason he gave for its omission was, "We have abstained from using the word because it is not capable of legal definition, and because it seemed to be a word likely to lead to misconception and misunderstanding." Has it not led to misconception and

misunderstanding, and is it not the misconception and the misunderstanding of that word and what is conveyed by it which is now the present danger, and, as I understand it, the only danger of war? (Hear, hear.) The result of that new Convention was stated by Lord Derby; and now this is a very important statement. He said:—"By the omission of those articles in the Convention of 1881 which assigned to her Majesty and the British Government certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government, and the foreign relations, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, to conduct its diplomatic intercourse, and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the fourth article of the new draft that any treaty with a Foreign State shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

WHAT WAS KEPT.

Therefore, I think you may take it with absolute certainty that the new Convention of 1884 was this. It kept the control of foreign affairs under the veto of the British Government, and in respect of their internal affairs struck out the word "suzerainty," leaving, or giving, to the people of the Transvaal absolute internal authority—home rule, in fact, for themselves. (Cheers.)

* * *

AN ETYMOLOGICAL QUESTION.

Sir Alfred Milner says this:—

"I am unable myself to see anything very material in this controversy (that is, the suzerainty). Both parties agree that the Convention of 1884 determines their mutual relations, and the Government of the South African Republic has repeatedly declared its intention of abiding by the terms of the Convention. What the right interpretation of these clauses is seems to me a matter of moment. Whether the relationship created by them is properly described as suzerainty is not, in my opinion, of much importance. It is a question of etymological rather than of political interest."

Very well, I agree to that. It is an idle discussion upon a word, but the real question is, what was the substance? The substance to us was the giving authority to this country over the foreign relations of the Transvaal, and the substance to them was giving them complete independence in the management of their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) I use the word "independence" because it is used in the very last dispatch of her Majesty's Government, and it was used in the dispatch as the description of the grant to the Transvaal.

* * *

THE TRANSVAAL NOT A SOVEREIGN INTERNATIONAL STATE.

You cannot say "suzerainty" when you have only a partial suzerainty; so you cannot claim the position of a sovereign international State when you have surrendered the control of your foreign affairs. (Hear, hear.) The position is this—that both sides have made an allegation which cannot be maintained. * * *

LET US STICK TO THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

The use of these vague terms only leads to confusion. Let me give you an illustration. A man has a right of way to a footway, and he claims a general right of way for horses and carts and carriages. * * *

Instead of claiming a general right of way we ought to be more exact and claim only a foot-

way. (Cheers.) That is exactly the position in regard to the claim of suzerainty. (Hear, hear.) Both parties are pledged to the observance of the Convention of 1884, and when you have got a precise document which defines the real relation of the parties, what is the use of going into these vague terms of suzerainty and international control. When we have got this document, in Heaven's name let us stick to it. (Loud cheers.) Of course, it does not exclude the right of a State to protect its own subjects from ill-treatment. We possess that right all over the world. It has never been denied; in fact, it has been explicitly admitted by the Government of the Transvaal. * * *

THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Now, you will ask, if that is so clear, what is the meaning of these tangled negotiations which have been going on for weeks and brought us within the danger of war? Great, and I think undeserved, blame has been cast on President Kruger and the Transvaal Government for the delay which has taken place in reaching a settlement. * * *

They have not taken their stand, as they might possibly have done, upon their absolute independence in their internal affairs granted by the Convention. They have not resisted all reforms. They went to the conference at Bloemfontein some three months ago and then there was no question of an ultimatum, no word of suzerainty raised. * * *

WHAT WAR WOULD MEAN.

On May 8, 1896, in answer to myself in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain, who was speaking then of the Jingo party, said: "In some quarters the idea is put forward that the Government ought to have issued an ultimatum to President Kruger—an ultimatum which would certainly have been rejected, and which must have led to war. Sir, I do not propose to discuss such a contingency as that. A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a civil war. It would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war. As I have pointed out, it would leave behind it the embers of a strife which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. *To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, with which successive Secretaries of State standing in this place have repudiated all right of interference, that would have been a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise.*" (Cheers.) Let me repeat those words again, because they ought to go forth at this moment, I think, to the nation. * * *

What has changed these circumstances since May 8, 1896?

RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE REPUDIATED.

"In the last communication," Mr. Chamberlain went on, "I sent to the Press, I defined what I conceived to be our rights in the matter. I said we did not claim and never had claimed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, but we did claim, both as representing the interests of our fellow-subjects in the Transvaal and as the paramount Power in South Africa responsible for the security of the whole country, to make friendly representations to him and to give him friendly

advice as much in his interests as in our own." That is straight enough. * * *

What is there to alter the situation? Mr. Chamberlain was quite right in referring to the successive Secretaries of State who had defined the position. Mr. Sydney Buxton in November, 1895, being pressed to interfere forcibly in this matter, said "a principle had been laid down very clearly and very definitely by the late Government in a sentence with which the present Government felt themselves in accord. It was written in February, 1890, with reference to a question regarding the international affairs of the Transvaal—viz., the franchise of British subjects—and whether the Imperial Government was entitled to interfere. This was a question which in 1890 was pressed upon the Government of Lord Salisbury." And the late Mr. W. H. Smith said this—"The Convention of London made in 1884 between her Majesty and the South African Republic contains no express reservation of the Queen's right of suzerainty, and though her Majesty retains under the Convention the power of refusing to sanction treaties made by the South African Republic with foreign States and nations and with certain native tribes, the cardinal principle of that settlement"—mark this—"was that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with." What is the use of talking of the existence of suzerainty over their international affairs reserved in the preamble of the Convention of 1881 which was done away with by the Convention of 1884?

Mr. Buxton, speaking on behalf of the late Government—and I was then the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, and the statement was made in my presence and with my authority, and it was a statement which bound the British Crown and the British nation—said: "That was an interpretation of the existing relations between England and the Transvaal which he thought very clearly laid down the principles which guided our conduct in the matter. Though they might differ from the way in which the Transvaal carried out their principles of administration, he did not see that under existing circumstances the Government had a right to forcibly interfere with regard to those questions." If you go for authority you have had it from the year 1884 down to the present time, as Mr. Chamberlain said, "by successive Governments all speaking the same language upon the same subject." (Hear, hear.) * * *

Now what happened at the Conference of Bloemfontein? Well, naturally, when a question touching the whole of their Constitution arose differences of opinion came up. The Transvaal Government thought too much was asked of them and Sir Alfred Milner thought too little was conceded, and the Conference did not come to a solution at that time, but there was no breach in consequence. Everybody expected that still further negotiations would take place and some further communications would be made. It was too much, in my opinion, to expect that any Government should agree without reluctance and demur to a complete revolution in their political system. No doubt it was likely that they should be to a certain degree jealous and suspicious of parting with their political power. It is not surprising, in my opinion, having regard to the authors and abettors and approvers of Mr. Rhodes's raid and the ravings of the South African League, whose avowed object is to overthrow their independence and to destroy *their Government*.

THE CONCESSIONS MADE BY THE BOERS.

< With a Government in such a position you cannot wonder that they carefully scrutinise the changes that they make in their Constitution, and that is what took place at Bloemfontein. It is only necessary to read to-day the language of the war Press in England and the Cape to acknowledge that such suspicions are not without justification. Did ever a governing class consent at a moment's notice to such a revolution as this? Think of the long years that we required in England to effect such a revolution, and let the Tories who are without sin cast the first stone. (Laughter.) They blame President Kruger for a delay of three months. How long was the concession of just reforms in this country delayed by what Mr. Chamberlain calls an oligarchy? Soon after the failure of Bloemfontein advances were made by President Kruger. Within a month new proposals were made which it was not denied were in advance of his former proposal. * * *

FIVE YEARS' FRANCHISE AND THE

QUID PRO QUO.

They offered in August, in the first place, a five years' qualification, which Sir Alfred Milner had demanded at Bloemfontein, and made an offer as liberal, or more liberal, than that which we ourselves had proposed in June. (Hear, hear.) I do not see either the obstinacy or the delay in that. * * *

As to the sufficiency of the franchise in the offer, there is not, and cannot be, any dispute, but it is to be observed that the Transvaal made that offer subject to two conditions, and it is upon those conditions that the matter has gone off. * *

Were the conditions such as ought to have involved the rejection of that final proposal of President Kruger's? In my opinion they were not. (Cheers.) That the last proposal of a five years' qualification has not been carried through is, I think, a great disappointment and a great disaster. What we ought to do is to see if the offer is true, and, if it is, the Uitlanders will get all that ever has been asked for them, and they will secure that voice in the government of the Transvaal which we all desire for them. Why was this offer rejected? These were the two conditions.

The Transvaal Government said they made that offer on the condition that the present intervention should not be made a precedent for similar action in the future, that no interference with the internal affairs of the Republic should take place, and that her Majesty's Government should not further insist upon the assertion of the suzerainty, but that the subject should be allowed to drop. What was there unreasonable in that? * *

That is the Convention of 1884, and both parties contend that they stand upon the Convention. Then they go on to ask that Her Majesty's Government will not further insist upon the suzerainty, that this subject shall be allowed to drop. It was allowed to drop in 1884. (Hear, hear.) * * *

WHY NOT DROP THE SUZERAINITY?

On the other hand, the Transvaal Government say that they accept the position of the British Government in regard to their general right—not a particular right in the Transvaal by a suzerainty, but the general right of the British Government to protect their own subjects. They say:—

"This Government has neither asked nor intended that Her Majesty's Government should

abandon any right which they have under the Convention of 1884, or under international law, to interfere for the protection of the British subjects in this country as in any other foreign State."

What they do demand is that, having consented to this particular intervention, it shall not be made a pretext or a precedent for further interference, and that the term suzerainty, which was dropped in 1884, should continue to be dropped in 1899. * * *

They referred to the former assertion I have spoken of—to the Transvaal as being a sovereign international State. The British Government are quite right to repudiate this, but they might have said: "Of course we repudiated your claim to be an international State, but we do not insist upon, we drop as before, the term suzerainty." I have always said that that claim upon the part of the Transvaal Government was not justified, that the British Government were right in repudiating it. It was not put forward as a condition to the acceptance of these terms. These conditions having been refused, the Transvaal Government said: "Oh! then we withdraw our offer." And they would recur to the law, the seven years' franchise, which Mr. Chamberlain said was a fair basis of discussion, and they would no longer propose five years. Well, I think the Transvaal Government were wrong; having made the proposal of five years they ought to have adhered to it, and ought to have adhered to the conditions. I think the conditions ought to have been accepted, and, as I said before, the Uitlanders would have had a five years' qualification, and we should be exactly in the position we deliberately assumed in 1884. (Cheers.)

VOICE OF REASON AGAINST WAR.

Now, in my opinion, upon this quarrel, upon an ambiguous suzerainty, you are not to go to the issue of arms. * * *

Is it beyond the resources of diplomacy to retrieve a false position like this on both sides and to restore this offer of August which has now fallen through? * * *

WHAT DOES PARAMOUNTCY MEAN?

We hear a great deal of talk about supremacy, of the paramountcy. They are big words, and these big words you ought to consider and understand what they mean and how far they go and how far they will lead. * * *

When you talk of supremacy, does it mean that you have the right to override and destroy the Convention into which you entered in 1884, and interfere whenever you like and in whatever matters you like in the internal government of the Transvaal after you have guaranteed to the Government of the Transvaal internal autonomy? Is that what you mean? They talk of paramountcy in South Africa. Well, the Transvaal is not the only independent community there which has the right of governing its own affairs. There is the Orange Free State; that is not subject to your authority at all. Is this word "paramountcy" intended to tell the Orange Free State that you claim to interfere with their affairs, too, in all particulars? Is it a wise and statesmanlike thing to flaunt that at this moment in the face of the Orange Free State in South Africa? (Cries of "No.") In my opinion, it is the most foolish and the most dangerous thing you could do at the present moment. (Hear, hear.)

NO CASE FOR ARMED INTERVENTION.

We have obtained already by the representations we have made, and rightly made, a fair offer of an adequate franchise for the Uitlanders upon conditions which are not unreasonable, and to go to war in such an issue as that now before us would be, in my opinion, wholly without justification. There is here—I say it after the deepest reflection—there is no *casus belli*. In saying that I am happy to find from the newspapers of to-day that I am speaking in entire accordance with the recognised leader of the Opposition, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. He has telegraphed, "My view of the question remains precisely as stated in the House of Commons on July 28th. Subsequent negotiations have become complicated and the matter more confused, but the essential merits are unchanged, and the solution not beyond the competence of straightforward diplomacy and good will." And he refers to what he had said in the House of Commons on July 28: "I must only repeat what I have said elsewhere, that from the beginning of this story to the end I can see nothing whatever which furnishes a case for armed intervention"; and again, "a war with one of the independent States in South Africa would be one of the direst calamities which could occur." That is the language of a man who has authority to speak for the Liberal party, and I hope and believe that those are the sentiments which the Liberal party will sustain. (Cheers.) They are the sentiments upon which we have acted in the past, and which I for one, whatever may betide, will act upon in the future. (Cheers.) * * *

WHY CLOSE THE QUEEN'S REIGN IN BLOOD?

A war waged for what? For the details of a Franchise Bill, for a difference of two years in the qualification. A war between the British and the Dutch races throughout South Africa, which when your superiority is asserted—as of course it will be—will leave behind it an inheritance of undying hatred in the hearts of the people among whom you will still have to live—such a war will be a dreadful close to an expiring century and a glorious reign. * * *

Mr. Stead appeals to the People. (*"Are We in the Right"?*)

Whatever may be said as to the popularity of the present war, its popularity is not to be compared with the popularity of the Crimean War. All the false prophets, as in 1853-54, were noisily blatant in their declarations as to the divine duty of going forth to war with Russia. * * *

To this day we are still reaping its inexhaustible harvest of mischief. Having made such an irreparable mistake less than half a century since, we shall indeed do well to look carefully lest once again we may not be committing a similar blunder, and perpetrating under the same pharisaic benedictions a similar crime. * * *

"To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which Secretaries of State, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise."—Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain in the House of Commons, May 8th, 1896.

Can a policy be right now which was publicly demonstrated to be so abominably wrong in

1896 and in 1897? Circumstances alter cases, no doubt. But if we had no right to offer President Kruger anything more than "friendly counsel" in 1896, how comes it that we have now a right to do what successive Secretaries of State have constantly repudiated, viz., to go to war to force reforms upon a State with whose internal government we have admitted over and over again we have no right to interfere? . . .

So far from regarding the Transvaal Government as an intolerable tyranny, Americans, Irish, Germans, Dutch, and French Outlanders have volunteered to fight in the ranks of the Boers against our soldiers. Not a single Government in the whole world has deemed the wrongs of its subjects in the Transvaal worth even a diplomatic representation. Everybody in the world, excepting ourselves, agrees that the state of things in the Transvaal, although far from ideal, is certainly not bad enough to call for any interference from without. . . .

Have we already forgotten Armenia? The tragedy of that unhappy race was only a year or two ago painfully familiar to us all. Within the last few years the Turks and their Kurdish allies have massacred more Armenians than the Outlanders number who are claiming the franchise in the Transvaal.

ON NEGOTIATIONS.

President Kruger said he had only 30,000 burghers; he objected to their being swamped by the new-comers, who numbered from 70,000 to 100,000. (Blue Book, C. 9404, p. 19.) This, of course, was exactly what the Outlanders wanted. Mr. Rhodes in the Cape Parliament described the result of the concession of the franchise in almost the same terms as President Kruger. "There will be peace," he said, "because Mr. Kruger, yielding to irresistible force, will climb down, and be obliged to virtually deliver the Transvaal into the hands of the Outlanders."

"Practically giving my land away," says Mr. Kruger.

"Virtually delivering the Transvaal into the hands of the Outlanders," says Mr. Rhodes.

There is here at least absolute agreement as to what the effect of the concession of the five years' franchise would be and was meant to be.

Mr. L. Courtney at Manchester.

(September 15, 1899.)

Striving to Prevent War.

To him this question was not new, because when he first entered Parliament twenty years ago he took a prominent part in connection with that phase of it which then appeared—(hear, hear)—and he was simply sustaining there what he had endeavoured to do when twenty years younger.

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR MEETINGS.

Many critics would condemn that meeting, many of his own friends had been anxious and apprehensive that it might be injurious to the cause he had at heart. (Hear, hear.) They said: "The moment is critical, the situation is better than it has been. Don't take a step which may make certain that calamity which you so strongly deprecate." If he had thought for one moment that in coming there he should be doing anything prejudicial to the cause of peace he would not have come. But he had come because it appeared to him that the situation was indeed critical. The worst characteristic at this moment was found in

the mistaken temper of our countrymen—(No)—and it was the duty of every man who thought he might in any way say a word that would bring them to a more accurate appreciation of the situation as it was, to a juster judgment of the men with whom they had to deal, to step forward and say it, knowing that by so doing he would be doing the best for the cause of peace. (Cheers.)

THE PERIL OF THE POSITION.

The situation was indeed formidable. Troops were being hurried to South Africa—(hear, hear)—from India, and from our own shores, and it was said that the Boers were arming also and were importing ammunition and rounds of cartridges by hundreds and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, preparing for the fight.

* * * Now or never was the time to speak. Now or never was the time to appeal to the good sense, to the good temper, of our countrymen, and ask them quietly, seriously, as friends in council, to consider what it was they had to deal with. And let him ask them whether there was not ample cause for being even a little tender in respect of our judgment of those Boers whom some of us were so eager to condemn.

WHY THE BOERS DISTRUST US.

What had the Boers had in the course of their history to make them trust us? What was the past on which Paul Kruger had to look back? Let them put themselves for a moment in his place. (Hear, hear.) A boy of six years of age, he was taken by his father and family away from Cape Colony into the wilderness, trekking into the wilderness in order that they might be free. They were followed, they were headed back, they were driven into a corner, and not till after fifteen years of scattered fighting did we ultimately recognise their claim to live apart from our control. In the year 1852 we recognised not merely the South African Republic, or what was its predecessor, but recognised the Orange Free State. And from 1852 to 1877 there was peace—Dutchmen and Englishmen lived side by side and prospered. Why could not we restore, without a miserable attempt at arms which would fail, the situation such as it existed in that quarter of a century? In 1877 we annexed the Transvaal, and we promised them self-government. We never ventured to give it them. We knew that if we created a representative Assembly its first act would be to disown the annexation. In 1881, after the business of Majuba Hill, of which many of them made great store, but which, let it be remembered, within the last month Paul Kruger had spoken of as a slight affair, not determining the fate of his people, because after that we with our force could have annihilated the forces opposed to us. Paul Kruger had recognised that fact—(cheers)—and the noble action of Mr. Gladstone and the English people. He rejoiced that they approved that retrospect, and he was glad to know that a daughter of Mr. Gladstone was there. The point was this—Majuba Hill was a mere episode, a trifle in the history of a great controversy, and it was not because of that, it was because we were convinced that a wrong had been committed that we restored the liberty of the South African Republic. He knew too well there were men—and it would be almost impossible to expect otherwise in the case of soldiers—whose eyes lighted up with satisfaction at the thought of undoing that wretched business. Were we going to be the slaves of military passion? (Cries of "No, no.") A soldier was a good servant, but a very bad master. (Cheers.)

THE QUESTION OF SUZERAINTY.

Well, we restored the Transvaal in 1881, by a Convention, a Convention which gave us suzerainty. Three years passed, and in 1884 there was another Convention, a Convention which said nothing about suzerainty, which dropped the word, and which contained something which Lord Derby, the man who made that Convention, declared was the essential thing he wanted—the word he cared nothing about. He wanted the control of the foreign relations of the Boer Republic. He put that in the second Convention, and nothing more. That Paul Kruger and the Boers again within the last month had declared they had no desire to undo. (Hear, hear.) They recognised most fully that they were bound to submit them, before they concluded treaties with foreign States, for sanction of the Queen. Beyond that they said there was no claim to suzerainty whatever. That was the argument.

A CASE FOR THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE.

Now, was there any reason why an argument of that kind—if it was worth arguing—which dwelt upon the terms of two written documents, should not be submitted to the highest legal opinion to determine what the truth was? (Cheers.) If it was the case between one of our own great corporations and some trading or other company that had entered into a contract with them, and had made two written agreements successively, and one party said the second was a substitution for the first, and the second party said they stood together—was there any reason why a thing of that kind should not be submitted to the legal judgment which alone was competent to determine it? The Boers asked to have it so submitted. He himself held a strong opinion upon it: that there was no suzerainty. Others held that there was. On a point of that kind no man should be rash to declare that he must be right, especially if he was one party to the controversy.

But he was ready to submit, and he said in the House of Commons that if he were President Kruger he would be ready to submit, that question, which was purely a legal question, to the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, barring one or two members of that Committee, who, as members of the Government, had pronounced judgment upon it, and in whom President Kruger would not have perfect confidence. He (Mr. Courtney) knew lawyers, and he was quite confident, even if the legal members of the present Government had seats upon the Judicial Committee, they would be found trying the case, not as politicians, but as lawyers. He would not recommend, and no man with an apprehension of the feelings of others would recommend, that course to the Transvaal Government, but he could recommend, and would recommend, that this question of the suzerainty, if it was worth anything, should be referred to the Judicial Committee. But was it worth anything? Was it worth fighting for? (No.) One party said there was suzerainty; the other said there was not. What came of it? Did they deduce anything from it? The one thing they deduced was the right to control foreign treaties. That one thing the Transvaal allowed. . . .

THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL.

He had endeavoured to show them that up to 1884 the Boers had something to complain of. They had complained that they were not allowed to go out in peace at first, and they have com-

plained, after twenty-five years, that their country was annexed. But had nothing happened since 1884? Why was it that since 1884 our relations with South Africa had not been as specific, as settled, and as satisfactory as our relations with the Orange River Free State? (A voice: "Gold mines.") Gold mines was the answer. (Cheers.) His friend at the back had hit it. It was because there were gold mines there—(cheers)—that was why we had not been able to restore the relations which existed formerly but which did not exist to-day. He was amazed to find in the press of this country, even in such a paper as *The Times*, this statement: "We must, in the interests of the British Empire, insist upon the supremacy of Great Britain throughout South Africa, except the Orange Free State." Why that exception? If supremacy was so urgently wanted elsewhere, why not there? Because supremacy in the one case meant gold, and in the other it did not. (Cheers.) In 1895 and 1896 the Boers had, it must be admitted, two great grounds of jealousy of us, and when it was urged that they should do this and that—that they should admit the suzerainty, and establish equality, and give an equal franchise, was it strange that they should suspect that there was something behind which was going to take away their freedom? He had already dwelt on the suzerainty.

THE QUESTION OF THE FRANCHISE.

He would refer now to the matter of the franchise. The situation now turned, it was said, upon the demands in Mr. Chamberlain's last dispatch. On the whole that dispatch was clothed in language which gave no just ground of resentment to those to whom it was addressed—(cheers) which was a rebuke to the fire-eaters of the press, and most of all to a man whom he knew, whom he held as a friend, a man holding a great position in relation to this matter, whose name he scarcely dared to mention such power he had over it still—but whom he must designate as a lost mind. He meant Sir Alfred Milner. (Cheers.) He had not used that phrase without much hesitation. He did not wish to give pain to a man with whom he had lived in familiar converse, but there were things moving one which were mightier than the susceptibilities of individuals. (Cheers.) He dared not retract the judgment which had been forced from his lips. That dispatch of Mr. Chamberlain had been a great rebuke to the fire-eaters here and elsewhere. He hailed it, he was glad of it, and if he had any influence with Paul Kruger, and if Kruger was able to control his Boers in this matter, he would say, "Accept the proposals of that dispatch and establish equality." But he would ask those present, as fair-minded men, to realise the hesitation which Kruger and his Boers might feel in accepting these proposals. Let them try to put the case in relation to another land, to another set of circumstances, and see how the problem looked. He would take the case of the Yukon, which was rich with mines, and lay within the dominions of Canada, close to the frontier of the United States. There was already a dispute about a boundary, which he hoped, however, would not turn to mischief.

A PARALLEL FROM KLONDIKE.

The citizens of the United States flocked into the Yukon, like Canadians and Englishmen. By-and-bye, probably very soon, representative institutions would be set up. Suppose the United States citizens who flocked in claimed to vote and

to be elected. (A voice: "Let them.") Very well. They went in and became members of the representative Assembly of Canada; and the first thing they did when they got there—if they obtained a majority—was to declare independence of Canada—(Rot!)—and the next thing was to declare in favour of annexation to the United States. ("Hear, hear," and dissent.) His friends at the back thought that was an absurd and chimerical hypothesis. Did they know how Texas became part of the United States? It was exactly in that way. Americans swarmed over and created the Republic of Texas, detaching it from Mexico, and then annexed the Republic to the United States. He did not suppose any danger of that kind would be found in Yukon. They would not like it if it existed; and he was only asking them to realise what a Boer would think if a similar danger attached to his country. (Cheers.) Was there any such danger? (No.) He would ask that gentleman if he remembered that when that claim to be registered and to vote and become citizens of the Transvaal was first advanced it was coupled with a claim not to renounce allegiance to the Queen. They were to have both, and it was not till our lawyers said it was impossible—that they must elect to be one or the other—that they made up their minds.

THE BOERS DO WELL TO BE FEARFUL.

The Boers were naturally alarmed, nevertheless. He (Mr. Courtney) advised the Boers to accept—not because they would be overwhelmed, for if it were wrong to accept on other grounds, and he were a Boer, he would fight and die for it—(cheers)—but to accept for this reason. Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen and Dutch were bound to live together in South Africa. That was what Mr. Morley had been trying to beat into them, and he (Mr. Courtney) hoped and thought he had succeeded. The war party would make it impossible by declaring war. He would advise Paul Kruger to make it impossible that they should separate by giving them the franchise together. (Cheers.) It was his best hope, it was his country's best hope, for the future that the Dutch and English should live side by side, as they had up to 1877, as they would live again were it not for this infernal taint of gold mines—(cheers)—and the miserable inflammation excited by the press, the characteristics of which he could not sufficiently express, but he would say this—void of all conscience and void of all Christianity. (Cheers.)

HIS ADVICE TO THE BOERS.

Now, he had said on the matter of suzerainty that he would advise readiness to submit, but that advice was not necessary, because already the Boers had expressed once and again their readiness to submit to arbitration, the most legal arbitration, but on the matter of the franchise and concurrent demands which completed it he would say, "Accept it, because that's the best way of fighting out your own salvation." But could they believe that Paul Kruger could persuade his Boers to accept that or any other similar solution unless they found some assurance that in England and from Englishmen they would receive fair play—(cheers)—and equitable judgment? (Cheers.) * * *

A FINAL APPEAL.

They thought of attaining justice by war, confusion, the destruction of society. Never! (Loud cheers.) He had come to try to appeal to them to *open their minds in respect of this matter.* He

saw that in the vast majority no such appeal was wanted. (Hear, hear.) He gloried in that fact. "Men and women of Manchester," concluded Mr. Courtney, "be it your just boast that you, foremost of England and of the United Kingdom, were resolved that nothing should be done to destroy the most glorious traditions of our past, that nothing should be done to prevent the future keeping up and sustaining the record of these traditions." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

How and Why We Became Involved in the War.

Sir Edward Clarke, M.P. (Late Solicitor-General).

House of Commons, 19th October, 1899.

"*Parliamentary Debates*" (Authorised Edition).

SIR EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth): I think the House will understand that it is with reluctance I take part in this debate. * * *

It is because I have said elsewhere, and am prepared to say here, that I think there have been errors in the conduct of negotiations, I feel bound this evening to state clearly and distinctly what those errors are. * * *

But I am bound to say the more I read of the correspondence and learn the circumstances of the case the more I am convinced of the errors in the negotiations, and that this lamentable war is absolutely unnecessary. And I would add this—that if I had any doubt when I came into this House, the extraordinary statement which was made by the Colonial Secretary about half an hour ago with regard to the tenor and intention of his answer to the proposals of the Transvaal Government—that statement would have satisfied me that there have been most unfortunate and disastrous blunders in this matter. * * *

It is true we are all agreed there were grievances in the Transvaal, that the rights of British subjects had not been sufficiently respected, that our interests were endangered by the bad government of the country, and that it was the imperative duty of this or any Government to use such measures as might rightly be employed to put an end to the grievances and to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Transvaal. * * *

But I think the best garrison that we could have established in our South African possessions would have been a faith in the perfect straight-forwardness and honour of the diplomacy of this country. I am very much afraid that the course of these negotiations has been such, however we may be able to justify ourselves, that we cannot expect from those with whom they have been carried on the admission that we have been straightforward, frank, and honest in our dealings with them. * * *

The right hon. gentleman read some words from the statement which Lord Derby made in the House of Lords, but the important words of that statement were these:—

"We have abstained from using the word 'suzerainty,' because it is a word which is capable of misconstruction, and leads, maybe, to misrepresentation and difficulty." * * *

If there was a mistake about it, it ought to have been corrected then; but, as a matter of fact, from that time, when Lord Derby spoke in the House of Lords, until October 16, 1897, when the Colonial Secretary revived the claim of suzerainty in justifying a refusal to proceed to arbitration, that word had

never, so far as I know, been used by any Minister of the Crown or in any public document having regard to the Transvaal. * * *

Now, of course, the Transvaal is not an unlimited sovereignty. It is limited by one particular article, but the Transvaal is a sovereign Power. It has international rights. It is entitled to receive Ambassadors or the representatives of Foreign States. It is entitled to send its own representatives to Foreign States, and the only limit upon its sovereign power is that all treaties made by it with Foreign States—which it is perfectly free to make—are not valid unless within six months they are ratified by Her Majesty's Government. That is a derogation from its sovereignty, but it does not destroy the sovereignty. * * *

Before that dispatch was handed in Sir Alfred Milner suggested to the representative of the Transvaal that if the franchise were promptly and satisfactorily dealt with other things might easily be arranged. Upon that hint the Transvaal acted. We talk about criminal obstinacy and their making no advance. It is absolutely absurd.

There was a session of the Volksraad. They prepared a Reform Bill by which a franchise of seven years was given and a certain number of seats were given to the Rand, and in a single fortnight that Reform Bill was passed, and by July 26 the Uitlanders were being enrolled as naturalised burghers under the provisions of that Act. On July 27 the Colonial Secretary wrote a dispatch in which he recognised that this was a great advance, and he went on to say—what was perfectly true—that one could not possibly tell, except by a little experience and investigation, how far the seven years franchise would give the Uitlanders a fair share in the government. That was on the 27th July, but that dispatch was not presented to the Boer Government until the 23rd of August. It was held back for this reason—that it was suggested to the Transvaal Government or by the Transvaal Government (it is not material with whom the idea originated) that it might be expedient to make a further proposal which would suit this country better, and so avoid the necessity of the inquiry into the effect of a seven years franchise, because it was thought that if a five years franchise was granted there would be no necessity for that inquiry. * * *

It is said in many newspapers that the Transvaal insisted on our disavowing and withdrawing our claim to suzerainty. The Transvaal Government did nothing of the kind. The Transvaal stipulated that there should in future be no use of the word which had been abandoned in 1884, and that the controversy on the subject should be allowed to drop. Now, I agree with the right hon. Member for West Monmouth that there was good reason why the conditions attached to the five years franchise proposal should have been accepted. The extraordinary incident that has marked the proceedings of this evening has been the statement of the Colonial Secretary that the answer to that proposal might have been taken as an acceptance. That was the phrase he used, but it is an ambiguous phrase, and I should like to know—Was that answer intended as an acceptance?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: At that time we thought the proposal of the Transvaal extremely promising. We intended to send a most conciliatory answer, accepting, as far as it was humanly possible for us to do so, their proposal, and, as the only point of difference was the

internal intervention, I thought myself it would be accepted.

Sir E. CLARKE: Then I take it that it was intended to be an acceptance of that proposal. Now, Mr. Speaker, if that were so, if, in fact, the Colonial Secretary intended to accept the proposals of the Transvaal, then undoubtedly this Amendment is proved up to the hilt. But I do not think that anyone can read the dispatch which was sent on September 8 and reconcile it with the statement which is now made. * * *

In our telegram of 28th August no reference is made whatever to the claim to be a sovereign international State—

"and they are, therefore, unable to consider any proposal which is made conditional on the acceptance by Her Majesty's Government of these views."

The proposal had never been made conditional on their acceptance.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. member harps upon the word acceptance. He must remember he asked me the question whether we intended to accept. I, myself, should have thought that the Boers would have taken it as an acceptance, but I suppose it may be properly described as a qualified acceptance. We did not accept everything, but we accepted at least nine-tenths of the whole.

Sir E. CLARKE: Really, this becomes more and more sad. It is dreadful to think of a country of this kind entering upon a war, a crime against civilisation, when this sort of thing has been going on. Why, in the very next sentence, the right hon. gentleman says: "It is on this ground that Her Majesty's Government have been compelled to regard the last proposal of the Government of the South African Republic as unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented."

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In the form.

Sir E. CLARKE: Is it a matter of form?

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes. * * *

Sir E. CLARKE: It would have been perfectly right to say, "You have misunderstood our answer; we intended in substance to accept your offer." But not only did they not do that, but they distinctly refused to discuss the seven years' franchise, which had been dealt with in favourable terms by the dispatch delivered on 23rd August. There was here a lamentable departure from the course which our opponents might have expected us to take. If negotiations are going on with a man, and you have come very near a conclusion, and he has made a proposal which you may not think adequate and sufficient, but which gives a basis of agreement, and if he then makes another proposal intended to cut short the discussion by making some other arrangement, and you refuse that—why, in common-sense and honesty you ought to keep open the proposals which you have been considering before. * * *

But not only did they get rid of the proposal of the five years' franchise by not accepting the conditions, and then saying that they refused to go back to the discussion of the seven years' franchise: they actually made the fact that the Transvaal Government had proposed a five years' franchise a reason for saying, "You have actually admitted that a five years' franchise will not do you any harm and we will not go back."

From that time the question was hopeless.

* * *

Everything has been published, whether it ought to have been published or not, and I am convinced that if this House had been sitting during the month of August and the first week of Sep-

tember there would have been no war with the Transvaal. We should have secured without war the five years' franchise, which Sir Alfred Milner said was better than any proposal that he himself had made, or we should, at all events, have had seven years' franchise with an inquiry by joint commission and arbitration on every other point.

I said that I was reluctant to intervene in this matter. It is a great pain to me to take to-night a course which separates me in judgment and in action from many of my colleagues, but it is impossible for me to do otherwise. We have had a specimen of the new diplomacy. If I had read these Blue Books not knowing the persons who were concerned in the matter, I confess that I should have been forced to the conclusion that the correspondence was conducted not with a view to peace. I do not believe that for a moment. We have had the statement of the right hon. gentleman that he has been working for peace, but if he has been working for peace in this matter, I cannot help saying that a more clumsy correspondence is not to be found in the records of diplomatic action, and it seems to me that the publication of certain dispatches in these Blue Books has been most unfortunate. . . .

We are told a most extraordinary thing with regard to the object of the Blue Books. We are told on the highest authority that it is desirable to form the public mind, to raise the public interest and sympathy for the Government. Yes, if the Government were going in the direction of war these Blue Books were the very things to excite sympathy and support for them in this country, and to excite a feeling in the Transvaal which was as hostile to the preservation of peace as was the excitement of a violent war feeling here. I think the course which these negotiations have been allowed to take is greatly to be regretted. I should have been wanting in duty to myself if I had not here said what I have said elsewhere with regard to them. I should like to say one personal word to the hon. friends around me. I have been for 30 years in active political life. I have been for 20 years a diligent worker in the affairs of this House. I think I can say that during that time I have been unwavering in my fidelity to the leaders of my party in this House.

Except on one occasion, when I made a speech with regard to the financial relations of Ireland, I have not in this House spoken against the course which my leaders were taking. . . .

No man can know he is right, but he can know whether his opinion is an honest one, whether it is absolutely unbiassed by any question of personal interest, or by the more subtle influence of personal antagonism. . . .

I think they will acquit me of any disloyalty to the party for having, as I have done, striven to prevent my country from suffering the calamity, and my party from suffering the reproach, of having embarked on an unnecessary war.

Mr. John Morley at Forfar,

January 24th, 1900.

(The Liberal Magazine.)

"This is a charge—I do not make it as a party man—that want of decent foresight and decent information led them to stumble—it is a dreadful expression, but it is a true one—led them to stumble into a war in the dark. It is no ground of attack with me, it never has been, and never will be, against the Government that they made

insufficient war preparations. The ground of my condemnation is this—that, having determined wisely to go to work by gradual and pacific means, they allowed themselves to drift, or to be dragged by what force I know not, into a policy which made war certain. Having elected, as Mr. Balfour admits, to treat war as improbable, having made up their minds—this is remarkable, recollect—not to ask Parliament for the means of preparing for war, they then proceeded with that policy to use language in the House of Commons, and to write and receive dispatches which meant war, or meant nothing. I will not go back upon the famous hour-glass. Lord Salisbury on July 28th made a speech more menacing than any language used in the House of Commons, and when Mr. Balfour says that the Government never used menaces, I think his memory betrays him.

Lord Salisbury's speech is one of those speeches which, if applied to a great Power, would have meant that the Ambassador would ask for his passports, and all Europe would have known that we were clearing the decks for war. I want, if I can, to get at the back of the whole of this unfortunate business. I admit that the Government were misinformed. I would say they were the dupes. I say that cannot be denied if, as Mr. Balfour said, they had the mass of instructed opinion in South Africa. If there is one man in South Africa whose judgment might be relied upon it is that of Mr. Rhodes. I want to show how the Government and we have been duped. Mr. Rhodes made a speech on August 14th. This is his language. He said: 'There was not the slightest chance of war. Kruger must give way as he did on the last occasion. He (Mr. Rhodes) would leave the question now, because it was only the temporary trouble in South Africa.' Upon another occasion Mr. Rhodes said: 'The armed strength of the Boers is the greatest unprieked bubble in the world. Kruger will bluster and bluff, and bully, but it will take a great deal to make him fight.' That was the man whom the Government chose as the most instructed voice in South Africa. There were other voices. There was the voice of her Majesty's Minister in the Cape Colony, who said the exact opposite, who warned the Government that they were on a dangerous track. But the Government and the High Commissioner turned the deaf ear of a headstrong, presumptuous incredulity."

Captain Bethell, M.P.

(House of Commons, February 7, 1900.)

(The Liberal Magazine.)

"It was his clear opinion and firm conviction that this war was an unjust and unnecessary war. . . .

We must, and should, remove the grievances; we could sweep away the armed camp, but we could not settle a racial question by the sword 7,000 miles away from this country. It was as certain as that he was standing there that, if not by the present Government then by gentlemen in some other part of the House, free institutions at the end of the war must be restored to the Republics. No doubt the Republics technically made war upon us; morally he held that we made war upon them. He frankly admitted that mistakes were made by the Governments of the Republics, and he was not going to consent to an amendment which suggested that we should offer terms of peace while the enemy was upon our soil. While

it was essential that we should repel the invader from our territory, it was not essential merely for the glory of defeating the enemy to continue a war after proper and honourable proposals could be made. He supported the view of his hon. and learned friend the member for Plymouth, that when the time came to make peace, when it would be possible to undertake negotiations and to put a stop to this bloody war, when there was once more hope of giving peace to South Africa, it would be shocking if those who were mainly responsible for its having broken out—he meant, among others, the Secretary for the Colonies—should be entrusted with the negotiations.”—

From *The Times*, February 8th, 1900.

His Tory supporters do not like this speech of Captain Bethell's, but they have not evicted him, as Plymouth did Sir Edward Clarke.

Women's Liberal Federation.

Lady Carlisle on the War and the Settlement.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1900.)

Lady Carlisle in her opening address, extended a specially warm welcome to the delegates in view of the importance of their meetings during the week. Much, too much, had happened, she said, since they met last year. A blight had fallen on our land. A great wrong had been done, and a grave danger lay ahead of us. * * *

Their first utterance was just before the war, when their Executive passed a resolution which was drafted by Lady Trevelyan, who had been a tower of strength to them during the year, and which said that "to enforce the demands of England would be an error and a crime," and that "a war would soon resolve itself into an unjustifiable war of conquest." Every word of that resolution had been justified by later events. All the resolutions relating to the war which appeared on their agenda paper condemned the incompetent diplomacy that by its blunders caused the war. Therefore, in their opinion, the war was unnecessary, and, being not necessary, was wicked. There was but a small section of their Federation that found any excuse for it, and she thought the most prevalent excuse was the one about the unsympathetic attitude of the Boers towards the missionaries. But what was the object of Christian missions? Surely to bring the kingdom of Christ into the life of the savage tribes, and if the Boers were tardy in furthering their evangelistic work, did they believe that they could make that kingdom come for which Christians prayed daily by blowing thousand of men into bits by lyddite shells? (Hear, hear.) * * *

Great Britain had a marvellous and unequalled heritage of freedom, won for her by the indomitable spirit of her race. In her day of power and glory should she stoop to crush those little nations that had also descended from a mighty race that helped to build up the freedom of Western Europe? * * *

Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the Government under-estimated the force and valour that would be brought against us by the Boers. Could he never learn by his blunders? Could he not see that that same force and valour which he had so tardily learned to appreciate, would make it impossible to govern that race by force. (Applause.) * * *

But they would say: "Annexation was now inevitable, and what use was it going against the

stream?" Just this—that they would create a fearless and an honourable political party in the country if they stuck to principle and took the consequences. Let them not be an accomplice after the fact. (Hear, hear.) * * *

And now she would ask them what was the lesson they of the Liberal party had learned whilst this national calamity of war had fallen upon us? It was this—"Close the ranks." (Applause.) If they let the war divide them they delivered their country over hand and foot to Chamberlainism. They would live always under the curse of war scares, often of war itself. His hectoring temper in international affairs would embroil us in one disaster after another. (Applause.) He told the House of Commons that the points of difference left between President Kruger and England were not worth a war, yet he had not the sagacity to steer us clear of that war. (Hear, hear.)

Resolutions in favour of Woman's Suffrage and electoral reform, moved and seconded by Mrs. Martin, of Bristol, Mrs. Allen Bright, of Liverpool, and Miss Alison Garland, were passed without much discussion.

Miss Ellen Robinson, of Prestwich, moved: "That this Council regrets the growing spirit of militarism, which threatened to become a curse and a danger, not only to Great Britain, but to the civilised world, and reiterates its conviction that international disputes can and should be settled by arbitration, and declares that in the limitation of armaments and the adoption of arbitration will be found two great means for securing the peace and welfare of the people of the world."

Miss Marion Mills, of West Islington, London, seconded this, and the resolution was agreed to.

Miss Garland said what they wanted was people who would be as ready to fight the famine in India as they were to lay down their lives to take away the freedom of the two Republics in South Africa. (Applause.)

Lord Kimberley on the "New Diplomacy," Feb. 21, 1900.

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

"In the present circumstances it was an absolute duty of the Opposition to call attention to the proceedings of the Government, and there was not a single member of the party who doubted that the Government had shown neither knowledge, nor judgment, nor foresight, and had no notion that the Boers could bring such powerful forces into the field. The Government knew no more of these essential facts than the man in the street. It was incredible that there should have been such ignorance. It was for Her Majesty's advisers to tell the country what, in their judgment, ought to be done, and they were without excuse in not having formed a distinct policy and asked Parliament for what they deemed necessary for the emergency. Did the new diplomacy display judgment in these matters? For his part he would rather be swathed in red tape than conduct delicate negotiations in the manner in which they were carried on by the present Government. The new diplomacy which was practised was of such a nature as must bring calamity to the country. The old diplomacy avoided all language which could irritate, especially if the other party were known to be strong and a dangerous enemy in the event of war. It would carefully, in such circumstances, have avoided the policy of bluff

None of this foresight was displayed by the Government. In face of the policy which was actually pursued it was of the utmost importance that they should exercise to the full, and without curtailment, the right of free speech."

Extracts from "The War in South Africa :

Its Causes and Effects."

(By J. A. HOBSON.)

(From pages 68-70, 96-7, 155-9.)

THE DEMAND FOR THE FRANCHISE.

The Jameson Raid and the recent crisis illustrate the slender attachment which bound them to the country upon whose citizenship they were supposed to set so high a value that England must fight to win it for them. I do not blame them or call them cowards for always "clearing" at the first scare, but merely adduce the fact to show how slight an actual hold the Transvaal had upon them. But the best available evidence of the unsettled and transitory character of the mining population is afforded by the figures which Mr. C. S. Goldmann presented before the Industrial Commission in 1897, which dealt with the white miners of 53 companies, employing 3,620 men, or considerably more than one-third of the total number of miners employed upon the Rand. Of these men only 470, or 12.9 per cent., were married men with families on the property; 1,195, or 33.1 per cent., were married men with families abroad; while 1,955, or 54 per cent., were single men. Still more significant is the statement that, during the six weeks preceding the inquiry, which was a period of normal industrial and political condition, no fewer than 827 miners, or about 27 per cent. of the whole number, threw up their employment at the mines. Of these 827 about 380, or 46 per cent., were ascertained to have left the country, while 447, or 54 per cent., remained, finding, presumably, some other work.

So far as the mining population is concerned, it is evident that only a small number have hitherto looked to the Transvaal as their settled home: most lived there for a time, and, saving money out of their high money wage of £25 to £30 per month, sent their savings home, or stayed long enough to make sufficient to set up in some little business elsewhere, and disappeared. If this was to be the normal condition of affairs in the Transvaal, it seemed idle to clamour and criminal to fight for the franchise and the rights of burghership on behalf of a population which did not value them and could not use them properly. This is the Boer contention: "These gilded butterflies and their parasites are here for a brief day to snatch what gain they can and pass away; they have no solid footing in the country, and no desire to link their lives with its well-being; they have no affection for it. How, then, can they make good citizens?" * * *

Even the fact that they are already owners of the greater part of the land and other property in the country is no sufficient argument for giving them that citizenship which in every country implies personal interests and obligations, and not mere investments. If a property stake is in itself a right basis of a claim to burghership, then all the European holders of any considerable stock in Rand mines might have fairly claimed the franchise. * * *

A GENERAL ESTIMATE OF GRIEVANCES.

In the last few chapters I have given a detailed examination of some of the leading "grievances" which led to British pressure being brought to bear upon the Transvaal Government. Those who consider that England was justified in carrying this pressure as far as war, generally maintain three connected positions—first, that the misgovernment of the Outlander population was so oppressive that armed interference with the internal affairs of the Transvaal, though expressly excluded by convention, was justified as a last resort; secondly, that no adequate redress could have been obtained either by voluntary concessions, or by the moral influence of diplomatic representations; thirdly, that a successful war will be followed by a peaceful settlement, which will speedily restore political and social tranquility to the Transvaal and to the rest of South Africa. * *

Some of the alleged grievances I have found quite unsubstantial, as, for example, the dangers to person, liberty, and property upon the Rand, and the charge of excessive as distinct from unwise taxation. Other grievances though substantial, had neither the bulk nor the aggravated character imputed to them. To this class belong the charges of official corruptness and of maladministration, especially of laws affecting the labour in the mines, the abuse of coloured British subjects, and the education issue. A third class is attributable to the conservatism or slow adaptability of the Boer character, and is represented by defects of the political constitution and of finance, and by a reluctance to face the inevitable progress of the British race and language. The accumulation of these grievances did not weigh heavily upon the Outlander population. Certain classes of individuals were annoyed, but not oppressed; the average dweller on the Rand was not subjected to any serious inconvenience through Government action or inaction from one year's end to the other. That serious scandals did exist in the Government was evident, but taken neither individually nor collectively did they constitute the intolerable burden which has been pretended. * * *

Mr. Hobson believes, and to some extent was able to obtain information which shows, that corruption of public servants, from policemen upwards, was common; but much of it consisted of small bribes to gain prior and immediate attention to matters of ordinary and official routine, and not involving acts of turpitude. The Government and its staff moved much too slowly to suit the temperament of the active and impetuous controllers of the mining and associated industries. More serious charges were made, but rarely substantiated by proof.—H. J. O.

WHY DID THE BOERS ISSUE THE ULTIMATUM?

If neither the Government nor the people of the South African Republics desire to fight, how then did it come to pass that an ultimatum, amounting to a declaration of war, proceeded from them? * * *

Not only the President and those who share most largely his stubborn and intolerant spirit, men like Messrs. Burger and Wolmarans, but milder and more enlightened officers of State like General Joubert, Mr. Reitz and Mr. Smuts, were firmly persuaded that Great Britain did not genuinely desire a peaceful settlement, and was not really conducting her negotiations to that end. This conviction they supported by appeal to a series of crucial events dating from the Jameson Raid. The unsatisfactory inquiry of the Com-

mission, with its perfunctory condemnation of Mr. Rhodes, followed by the eulogistic exculpation rendered by the Colonial Minister, and endorsed by nearly all the English public opinion which reaches South Africa, destroyed the belief of the Republics in the British sense of justice, and suggested suspicions of collusion or connivance on the part of Mr. Chamberlain, which, however groundless, was only a natural interpretation of events by a people unaccustomed to the niceties—(is that quite the word?)—of English politics and finance. Rightly or wrongly, these people are great believers in the personality of Mr. Rhodes, and when that gentleman, failing to get his end by private force, announced his intention to compass it by "constitutional means," they took him at his word. * * *

When the High Commissioner, who had never set foot in the Transvaal, was visibly captured by these hostile influences, and was induced to throw the full weight of his authority upon the British Cabinet, the constitutional raid definitely began.

* * *

So, while tedious and tortuous negotiations were proceeding between the Governments, a British press and people in South Africa were calling for war. Is it strange that the Transvaal should have believed that Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain also meant war? Not once or twice within the last few years the Transvaal had proposed a general submission to arbitration of all disputed issues, and Mr. Chamberlain refused. Throughout the whole course of the negotiations no *bona fide* proposal of arbitration was proposed or accepted by Great Britain; for the proposal to arbitrate, while refusing to name the issues reserved from arbitration, cannot be regarded as an offer. Add to this the strenuous and successful endeavour made by Great Britain's representatives at the Hague Conference to limit the use of arbitration so as to exclude the Transvaal. Did this look as if England desired a peaceful settlement? * * *

This brings me close to the question, Why did the Republics issue the ultimatum? * * *

Formally the Boers were the aggressors, actually the landing of British troops and the movement of them towards the frontiers, under a false pretext of self-defence, were the first acts of hostility. This indeed is virtually admitted in the reply made by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir A. Milner when they explained that the troops were there not only for defence but for "eventualities." The veiled menace of that phrase was substantially a declaration of war, and was gleefully welcomed as such by the Jingo press of the Transvaal and the colonies. * * *

Mr. Bryn Roberts.

(House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1900.)

* * * It was at one time asserted that these armaments were procured before the Raid. That contention was practically given up, or destroyed, at any rate, by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Balfour) by his speech at Manchester. He said that the Jameson Raid fettered the Government, that it was impossible for them to remonstrate with the Transvaal on account of the armaments because of the Raid. That must prove that the excessive armaments were required after the Raid, because that remark would not be relevant if they were got before the Raid. * * *

Sir Hercules Robinson, telegraphing to Mr. Chamberlain, March, 1896, says:—"The *Cape Times'* correspondent telegraphs yesterday from

Johannesburg as follows: 'The rumour and reports are numberless, and are of the most alarmist character, exciting the whole of Johannesburg; but I can state authoritatively there is not the slightest foundation for them. There is a great "bear" movement in progress, and strife is being stirred up for this object, and this object alone.'"

It has been truly said that the trail of finance is visible throughout all these deplorable events. We pride ourselves on the enthusiasm that has been shown by volunteers coming in, but compare that with what the Boers have done. They have commandeered all men between the ages of 16 and 60, and if we made similar sacrifices for this war 6,000,000 men would be at the front. It is impossible to believe that in a nation like the Transvaal, which is a pure democracy of universal suffrage, every burgher over 16 years of age having a vote, all the male population between 16 and 60 could be got to leave their homes and businesses, and stop the whole business of the country, in order to wage an aggressive war in another country, simply to play the game of ambitious politicians. The entire male inhabitants of no country in the world could be got to enter on such a war if it was not for one of the two strongest motives that can impel human nature—one the defence of religion, the other the defence of our nationality. Would we do it? I hope we would for the defence of our religion. I know we should for the defence of our nationality. This is done by the Boers, who make no boast of it whatever.

They go readily to the front, ready to give up their lives in defence of their country. But then it is said Mr. Kruger is really an autocrat and forces the people. He is an autocrat who rests entirely on the goodwill of his burghers and their conviction that he is an able and honest leader, just as Mr. Gladstone's power rested solely on the conviction of his supporters of his honesty and truth. * * *

You never see a reference to a single detail, but only to the "intolerable oppression of the Uitlanders," and vague statements of that kind. What are these alleged grievances? Why, let me give examples: one is that one public meeting in the Transvaal was disturbed, whereas the opponents of this war in this country have had their meetings broken up on scores and hundreds of occasions by Jingo roughs. You know what took place in Trafalgar Square, but does anyone suggest on that account the English people should be deprived of their Government? * * *

I utterly deny that the Uitlanders' grievances were great even down to the initiation of the negotiations, and even if they were, are we to make war on any Government which falls away in the slightest degree from perfection? If so, what are we to do with our Government? I venture to say that the grievances of the Uitlanders, when examined and divested of exaggeration, were of the flimsiest description, and of the same character as exist in every country under the sun, and will exist until the millennium. * * *

But I hold that even if the grievances did exist to an intolerable extent, there was the unanswerable argument that we had no right to interfere. It has been admitted over and over again that the Transvaal was an independent Government so far as regards internal affairs. Lord Salisbury has said so, the First Lord of the Treasury admitted it,

and so did the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, who said that it was a cardinal principle of the settlement of 1881 that the Transvaal should be independent in its internal affairs. The same was also judicially held by the Lord Chief Justice in the trial of the Jameson Raid prisoners. As for the Colonial Secretary, he has admitted it times innumerable. * * *

It does not rest with the Government of a country in which Jack the Ripper ran riot, and where there was a total failure to discover that terrible murderer of thirteen women in almost successive weeks to complain of a failure to discover one murderer in the Transvaal. It should be remembered that the Transvaal Government did their best, they issued a reward of £500 for the apprehension of Mrs. Appleby's murderer, and that the police at Johannesburg were increased by 200. * * *

Six days before that promise was made he (Mr. Chamberlain) publicly acknowledged that one of the obligations of this country was to respect the internal independence of the Transvaal. He secured the lives of the prisoners (Jameson Raiders) on the assurances given; but the history told by these Blue Books shows that in dispatch after dispatch, the promise made by the Colonial Secretary has been broken; and still the supporters of the Government retain a Minister in office who had departed from his pledged word, and who goes about the country denouncing the men whose clemency he has acknowledged, and urging the country to go to war with them. I will only deal with another matter in connection with the cause of the war.

I will tell the House what was the real cause of it. It may be summed up in one word, "Bluff—bluff!" I am perfectly certain that the country never intended to go to war on account of these grievances. We were assured by the Cape press that we had only to be firm in our attitude and point our cannon at President Kruger and he would climb down. We were told that it was only necessary for us to be firm to secure acquiescence; and I am afraid I cannot acquit the Liberal party from some share of blame in the matter. My conscience, at any rate, is entirely free from the stain of a single drop of the blood that is being shed in South Africa. I protested last year, and the year before last, in season and out of season; but I am afraid some of our Liberal friends did not do as much as they might. They wanted to give the game of "bluff" a chance of succeeding. * * *

As long as the country remained cool and calm, the disproportion between the trumpety issues in dispute and the horrors of war would be kept steadily in view. But once let popular resentment loose, and cool reason and fair argument would not be listened to. * * *

The normal garrison in South Africa was 10,000. Between June and October last the normal garrison sprang from 10,000 to 24,700 men; and it was increased with a view of enforcing our demands upon the Transvaal. Nevertheless, President Kruger did not make war. It was on the 29th September last, according to the speech of the Under Secretary of State for War, that the Government came to the decision to send an armed force to South Africa.

That decision was immediately announced in the *Government organs*. The newspapers all stated that a field force was going to be sent to South Africa, and that Parliament was going to be called

together in order to vote Supplies. Nevertheless, even then President Kruger did not send an ultimatum. He was asked to take the assurances of certain newspapers. He said: "I do not care what the newspapers say, I look to the actions of Her Majesty's Government." Then on the 7th October came the Royal Proclamation calling this House together to vote those ten millions, in order to send out that field force. On the 9th October, two days later, he sent the ultimatum. Now, if the ultimatum caused the war, then the Government must be impaled on the horns of the dilemma.

The Government undertook to send out 48,000 troops in addition to those sent out already, to march through our colonies to the frontier of the Transvaal; then, having done that, our ultimatum was to be sent to President Kruger formulating our demands. If President Kruger declined our demands, we would either have to order that army of 75,000 men to the right about, and ship them back to England without fighting, or declare war. It was either that or we meant war. I venture to say there is not a statesman or military man in the world who would not say that there were only two alternatives before President Kruger after we decided to send that force for purpose of invasion—either complete submission or war. No, sir, this is what I have all along regarded as an unjust and iniquitous war. It is a war waged on behalf of capitalists, and the most unscrupulous set of capitalists that the world has ever seen. That charge has not been met. It has been evaded in the most puerile fashion. Lord Salisbury, referring to it, said that "it was suggested they (the Ministers) wanted to put money into their pockets." We do not suggest that. What we do suggest is that they were the willing dupes of the people in South Africa who wanted to put money into their own pockets. Not only did the capitalists make war, but the Press made war. Mr. Hobson, in his articles in the *Speaker* and *Contemporary Review*, has shown how the South African financiers hired journalists from Fleet Street to edit newspapers in South Africa to stir up the agitation, and we are now face to face with the consequences—the terrible consequences—in the slaughter of hundreds of lives. * * *

Mr. Goldwin Smith on the War.

(*Manchester Guardian*, January 12th, 1901.)

Apart from the question of justice, all who are not still under the influence of the war-fever must surely have begun to question the wisdom of the war. What was the object? If we may trust the solemn and repeated declaration of the Government, it was not territory or mines, but the rectification of the Transvaal franchise. The difference at last was that between a five years' and a seven years' qualification. * * *

Kruger was the support of the existing system of government. It was against Kruger, we are told, not against the Dutch, that you took up arms. Kruger was 75, so that you had only to wait a few years, even if in the meantime the Outlanders, growing in numbers and wealth, failed to gain their vote, as other excluded classes have done, by internal agitation. The more corrupt the Government was, the greater the political influence of the Outlanders' wealth would have been. Mr. Conan Doyle, in a work generally fair as well as interesting, says that "such a case of

taxation without representation as that of the Transvaal has never been known." Has he forgotten what, well within living memory, was the state of the franchise in his own country? Would the taxation of Manchester and Birmingham without representation, while Old Sarum and Gatton were represented, have justified foreign intervention? British Columbia is now full of American miners. Would their Government be warranted in demanding for them the franchise of the Dominion? Yet they are not utterly alien to the Canadians, as the Outlanders are to the Boers; they would not import such habits as those of the Johannesburgers are stated by trustworthy witnesses to be; nor have they conspired against the Canadian Government as many of the Johannesburgers have against the Government of the Transvaal. * * *

English industry has had two great starts. The first was after the Napoleonic wars, when Continental manufacturers had been killed and England was left without a rival. The second was when Great Britain alone embraced Free Trade, and by so doing made the wealth which Jingoism is now expending on its game. If the British people allow their energies and resources to be turned from the industrial sphere into mad enterprise of Anglo-Saxon conquest and domination the benefit of those starts will be lost; and whence a third is to come does not appear.

Lord Crewe's Advice to the Liberal Party.

MEETING AT WALTHAMSTOW.

(Daily News, August 10th, 1900.)

Mr. Sam Woods, the member for the district, who preceded him, referring to the intention of the Conservative party to fight the next General Election on the khaki policy, said he objected altogether to the Tories specifying the issue on which the people were to vote. But the reason they wanted to fight on the war policy was that they had nothing else to fight on. Liberals and Radicals would insist upon judging the whole policy of Ministers, which was one-sided and half-hearted.

The Earl of Crewe, supporting a resolution of confidence in Mr. Woods, said the question which was exercising all their minds just now was when the great battle of the General Election was to take place. Any honest Conservative candidate would admit that it was likely to take place when affairs in South Africa and China were going in a way that suited the party now in power. * * *

Referring to the question of responsibility for the war, he said he would not say that the Government or that Mr. Chamberlain wanted war; but there was a war party at home, at the Cape, and in Pretoria, and for all those war parties Mr. Chamberlain made it easier to go to war and harder to keep the peace. He objected to the word "inevitable" in this connection. It was like a patent medicine prepared by quacks, and intended to be swallowed by fools. (Laughter.) With regard to the future settlement in South Africa, the one thing to be arrived at as soon as possible was to try and create there a class of men of moderate opinions. In view of the coming fight, it behoved the Liberal party to close up its ranks, and, when the time came, face the enemy, not merely on the issue of the war, but on their policy as a whole. * * *

Interview Between the Special Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" and Dr. Leyds and Mr. Fischer, at Brussels, January 14th, 1901.

"Well, however that may be, the past is past and cannot be recalled. What is interesting, because still capable of being modified and even radically changed, is the future. Now how do you look upon the prospects of peace at present?"

"In the light of the past," replied Mr. Fischer and Dr. Leyds, "and that is just what your people do not realise; and until they or their rulers do grasp it, well, their mistakes will continue. You look upon us as conspirators before the war and as wanton shedders of human blood now that hostilities are, in your opinion, ended. In both cases you are mistaken. We lived in friendship with the British element of the population before; we were desirous of seeing all the inhabitants welded together in one homogeneous whole."

"Yes, but was it not on condition that one element should predominate?"

"Our principle was give and take, not one or the other alone. We took over more British customs, ways of living, and views of things political than your people have any idea of. The South African Republic, without ceasing to be Dutch, was permeated with a current of English modes of thought far stronger than any which has ever made itself felt at the Cape. Our people took kindly to English institutions; they learned the English language; they measured many things by British standards. Here am I now, for example, speaking your language as if it were my own. My son was in the same position. He studied at Cambridge, and took his degrees of B.A. and LL.B. there. I can assure you that the Dutch of the Orange Free State have offered less objection to English ways or legitimate English influence than the Cape Colonist. And the process of blending was going on rapidly and with admirable results. It is a work of time and mutual confidence and mutual respect. It is as easily destroyed as an oak is cut down, and as difficult to cause to grow again. If the representative of the British people wanted that wholesome state of things to bear fruit, nothing could have been more simple. If we had had as High Commissioner an English gentleman of the good old type, in which I still believe, although its ranks have sadly shrunk of late, a man like Sir Hercules Robinson, for example, no clique or party could have brought on war between the Republics and Great Britain."

"But did not Sir Alfred Milner fight shy of war and do his best to hinder its outbreak?" I asked.

"What he did is a matter of history, open to all to judge of. He may have intended his action and his attitude to make for peace. I am not prepared to assert the contrary. But I have no hesitation in saying that the gist of his programme was this: Humble the South African Republics in the dust—if peacefully, well and good; if with war, so much the worse; but humble them in any case. Mind, I do not maintain that Sir Alfred Milner acted with full and complete knowledge of all the factors of the problem. He most certainly did not. And I am disposed to believe that if he had to play his part over again he would go to work in a radically different way. But he chose as his counsellors men whose views were warped by strong bias, and who were known to favour a

war which they held would be short, sharp, and final. . . .

"Whenever there was a hitch in the negotiations, we all appealed to Mr. Kruger, and begged of him to go still a step further. But our great difficulty with Sir Alfred Milner was that, while he was not chary of his criticism of points which he objected to, he would never put down in black and white the concessions which would wholly satisfy him. He always confined himself to vague generalities, and never allowed even these to appear in black and white as the minimum of what he would accept. When it became known to us that he had informed his Government that intervention was indispensable we ceased to feel surprise that his manner of conducting the negotiations betokened his absence of faith in their success."

The "Daily News" will Again Support Freedom.

(*The Speaker*, January 12th, 1901.)

Liberals are to be congratulated upon a recent change in the proprietorship of the *Daily News*, whereby that important newspaper will in future express views in opposition to the policy of the present Government. Under the able guidance of the late editor, Mr. Cook, the *Daily News* had allied itself directly to the interests of such men as Rhodes and Beit in South Africa; that is, in the one question that is of supreme moment for Englishmen, it took up the defence of Mr. Chamberlain's policy and of the cosmopolitan financiers. In this spirit it employed as South African correspondent a gentleman in the employ of these financiers, himself editor of the *Cape Times*, and the principal journalistic fomentor of Sir Alfred Milner's disastrous policy. It suppressed all mention of the Hawksley letters, and for many weeks left its readers ignorant of the *Morning Leader's* revelations with regard to Mr. Chamberlain's connection with companies contracting for the Government.

Quotations Worth Remembering.

(*S.T.W.C.'s Publications*.)

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, in the Trial at Bar of Dr. Jameson and his men, defined the Transvaal as "a Foreign State with which Her Majesty was in friendly treaty relations."

"The trail of finance," says Mr. LECKY, Tory historian and Unionist M.P., "runs over the whole story." Turning to Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Lecky asks: "What can be thought of the language of a Minister who volunteered to inform the House of Commons that 'In all the transactions I have described, Mr. Rhodes, though he had made a gigantic mistake—a mistake perhaps as great as a Minister could make—had done nothing affecting his personal honour'?"

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in a dispatch written at the time of the Jameson Raid, acknowledged the South African Republic as "a Foreign State, a Foreign Power, with which Her Majesty is at Peace and in treaty relations."

(*National Reform Union Publications*.)

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, May 8th, 1896: "To go to war with President Kruger, to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which Secretaries of State, standing in their places, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action which would be immoral."

How complete this "repudiation" of "all right of interference" has been is shown by the following declarations:—

MR. W. H. SMITH: "It is a cardinal principle of that settlement (viz., the Convention of 1884) that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with."

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (at the trial of Dr. Jameson, July 28th, 1896): "The position of the South African Republic . . . is determined by the two conventions of 1881 and 1884. The result is that under these Conventions the Queen's Government recognise the complete independence and autonomy of the South African Republic, subject only to the restriction contained in the Convention of 1884, to the effect that that State should have no power to enter into any treaties without this country's consent, except as regards one or two minor States, one of which is the Orange Free State."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN (writing to President Kruger in January, 1896, on behalf of Dr. Jameson and his followers, who were then prisoners in the hands of the Boers): "For myself, I have always felt confidence in your magnanimity. . . .

Your Honour may rest confident that I will strictly uphold all the obligations of the London Convention of 1884."

LORD DERBY, Feb. 15th, 1884: "By the omission of those articles of the Convention of Pretoria which assigned to Her Majesty and to the British resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, your government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirement embodied in the fourth article of the new draft, that any treaty with any foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

MR. BALFOUR, January 15th, 1896: "The Transvaal is a free and independent government as regards its internal affairs."

LORD SALISBURY, January 31st, 1896: "They (the Boers) have absolute control over their own internal affairs."

Arbitration and the Liberal Party.

"The necessity for war is in proportion to the number of unjust persons who are incapable of determining a quarrel but by violence."—RUSKIN.

There seems to be no moral argument in favour of warfare except such as can be advanced by the weaker party, and he is restricted to showing that it was in defence of his rights, and that he had no option. No sane person would elect to decide his case by combat if he was satisfied that he must be worsted. Aggressive warfare, even if successful, brings its own retribution, and its gains are barely recorded before they pass away, as all history shows.

Everything won by the sword is dearly bought, and still more dearly held ; these operations breed a false sense of security, and tend to laxity of morals and carelessness in prosecuting the arts of peace, and ultimately result in the deterioration of the workman and the decay of commercial enterprise. Then follows the inevitable break-up. It is too old and well-worn a story to need further comment.

The late Armenian massacres offer, perhaps, the best instance of the necessity, at times, of drawing the sword ; but in this case it would not have been warfare between two or more nations, but the avenging blade of Justice, wielded by outraged humanity, and directed against one notorious criminal. The probable result would have been the speedy collapse of his ascendancy, and the resurrection of his country under a purer and more enlightened government.

A Good Opportunity Missed.

The steady enfranchisement of the masses, with its accompanying responsibility, has caused great advancement in our political and social education. We have left behind the ignorant and brutal system of settling our private differences by means of pistols or fists, and prefer the solution supplied by the law courts. If this is better in personal, why not in national affairs? *Arbitration* deals out Justice or a very near approach to it. It is one of the glories of the Liberal Party that it set an example in adopting this principle in the Alabama dispute, whereby it removed bitterness and saved Canada. The present Government followed that good example in consenting to submit the Venezuela boundary dispute to arbitration. Unfortunately they cannot be credited with doing so willingly, as we had arrived at the stage of telling the Venezuelans that we were tired of negotiations, and were prepared to enforce our views at the point of the sword ; and except for the intervention of the United States, we should have made our threat good.

What a mockery this war appears to be after the recent Hague Conference ! That was a fortunate opportunity to show the World that, whatever others intended, we, at any rate, were in earnest, and that, notwithstanding that these two little Republics were entirely at our mercy, as we and everybody else believed, we declined to take advantage of our power, and preferred to abide by the judicial decision. This would have been a good "set off" to the Venezuela case.

Chapter and Verse.

It must be remembered that the Boers asked *repeatedly* for full *arbitration*, even offering to exclude the introduction of Foreign Powers, as the Blue Books conclusively prove.

No. 2. High Commissioner Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain.

Telegram (Received June 8, 1899). From Blue Book [C.—9415].

Summary Report of Bloemfontein Conference.

* * * His Excellency had acknowledged that his Honour's proposal was a considerable improvement on the existing law, and he would also acknowledge that it would be desirable to have this proposal adopted by the Legislature of the Republic apart from the fact that his Excellency did not consider it went far enough; on the other hand, his Excellency had acknowledged that his Honour's request for arbitration by other than foreign Powers on all points of future difference under the Convention was reasonable.

Before separating the President said:—

"That he was very pleased at the friendly way in which the discussion had been carried on, and hoped that in future they would be better able to understand one another, and that matters in dispute would come right."

No. 11. Vice-Consul for the South African Republic to Colonial Office.

(Received June 16th, 1899.)

58, Victoria Street, S.W., June 15th, 1899.

Sir,—With regard to certain newspaper reports to the effect that the franchise proposals of the Government of the South African Republic are conditional upon arbitration by a foreign Power on the questions pending between her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic, I have the honour to inform you that I have been instructed to contradict these reports, and to state that such a supposition is decidedly inaccurate, and that the question of arbitration by a foreign Power has never been considered. * * *

No. 13. High Commissioner (Sir A. Milner) to Mr. Chamberlain.

(Received June 16th, 1899.) Telegram.

Resolutions passed at crowded meeting of burghers and sympathisers with South African Republic Government last night at Johannesburg approving proposals of President South African Republic; affirming desirability of South African Republic Government making every effort to solve all difficulty with other Governments by arbitration; and voting thanks to South African Republic President, South African Republic Government, Orange Free State Volksraad, and to Afrianders in Cape Colony and Natal for sympathy past and at the present time.

No. 44. High Commissioner (Sir A. Milner) to Mr. Chamberlain.

(Received July 10th, 1899.) Telegram.

Referring to your telegram 30th June, Government South African Republic state Consul-General at London 14th June published statement that franchise proposal independent of arbitration. * * *

Conclusion of a Dispatch from the Transvaal Secretary of State to our Representative at Pretoria.

* * * *Having regard to this serious danger that is spreading a dark cloud over the otherwise fair future of South Africa, and in full confidence that her Majesty's Government will not refuse to work with it in order to reconcile races in South Africa, and to cause old feuds to give way to a new spirit of co-operation and progress, this Government once more makes this appeal for arbitration, from its feeling, not alone of right and equity, but also of anxiety for the future of this our beloved portion of the world. (Blue Book 9518, p. 3.)*

The two following despatches, taken from the same source, show the anxious efforts to avoid war which were being made by *Mr. Schreiner* and his Government. It will be remembered, however, that at one time he was suspected of disloyalty. Our eyes were then opened, and he was begged to show his *patriotism* by continuing to hold office.

No. 31A.

From Blue Book [C.—9445].

The Premier of Cape Colony visits Sir A. Milner, who telegraphs Mr. Chamberlain.

(Received July 6th, 1899.)

• • • He (Mr. Schreiner) said that he did not wish to make a statement in contradiction of yours, but he was bound to clear his own and colleagues' position. The only thing that restrained their party from holding peace meetings was their confidence that the Ministry would impress upon me that there was nothing in the situation to justify war, while at the same time they strove with the assistance of Hofmeyr, to move the South African Republic Government to make great advance in the matter of franchise. The idea given by your answer as reported was that the Ministry was passive. This was unfair and damaging to them, since they had been doing what they could to bring about a better understanding between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic from the proposal of the Conference onwards.

No. 37.

(Reporting the substance of a letter in *South African News* from Mr. Schreiner.)

High Commissioner Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain.

(Received July 8th, 1899.) Telegram.

• • • It is well, however, briefly to record fact that, while anxious and continually active with good hope in the cause of securing reasonable modifications of existing representative system of the South African Republic, this Government is convinced that no ground whatever exists for active interference in the internal concerns of that Republic.

Same paper states :—

We are at liberty to say that this Government regards these proposals as adequate, satisfactory, and such as should secure a peaceful settlement.

Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, March 15th, 1901, admitted

“That we obtained at one time from the Transvaal Government several important concessions with reference to the franchise.”

Suzerainty and Paramountcy.

Although these words were much in evidence a short time ago, and had a sinister influence on the negotiations, it is unnecessary for me to do more than draw attention to two or three points which naturally present themselves to anyone who closely examines the subject. Lord Derby was responsible for the Second Convention, and, in his explanation of omitting the word suzerainty, he said :—

“The word ‘suzerainty’ is a very vague word, and I do not think it is capable of any precise legal definition. Whatever we may understand by it, I think it is not easy to define. But I apprehend, whether you call it a protectorate, or suzerainty, or the recognition of England as a paramount Power, the fact is that a certain controlling power is retained when the State which exercises this suzerainty has a right to veto any negotiations into which the dependent State may enter with foreign Powers.”—(Hansard, vol. 286, p. 7, March 17, 1884.)

His Lordship forwarded the Draft on February 15th, 1884, with this comment :—

“By the omission of those Articles of the Convention of Pretoria (1881) which assigned to Her Majesty and to the British Resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, your

Government will be left *free to govern the country without interference*, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject *only* to the requirement embodied in the fourth Article of the new draft, that any treaty with any foreign State shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

Mr. Mackarness, to whose chairmanship the South Africa Conciliation Committee owes much, contributed a letter to the *Times*, on October 10th, 1899, from which I quote, if only to do justice to the late Earl.

"Mr. Carver, if he has read these things—of which his letter shows no trace—thinks they may all be disregarded. I differ from him, not merely as a lawyer, but more strongly as an Englishman who declines to believe that British statesmen like Lords Derby and Rosmead could be parties, by the use of the word 'articles' in the new preamble, to a piece of 'smart' drafting—as I have heard it described—to hoodwink the Boers.

"And if Mr. Carver is right in his startling contention that not merely the preamble, but the whole Convention of 1881 'has never ceased to operate,' I cannot help asking what the unfortunate Boers gained by their new Convention in 1884. They came all the way here and spent months away from their own country only to impose upon themselves two Conventions instead of one, and to subject themselves to a suzerainty more dangerous in its indefiniteness than the one they wanted to get rid of. That they should do this with their eyes open is, of course, incredible. To me it is not less incredible that they should have been induced or allowed by Lord Derby to do it with their eyes shut."

On December 31st, 1895, Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the Transvaal as

"A foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Great Britain."

On May 8th, 1896, he said:

"To go to war with President Kruger to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State in which successive Secretaries of State, standing in this place, have repudiated *all right of interference*—that would be a course of action which would be immoral."

Some of the leading members of his party have been equally clear in the statement of their views.

For instance:—Lord Salisbury, January 31st, 1896:

"They (the Boers) have *absolute* control over their own internal affairs."

The late Mr. W. H. Smith:

"It is a cardinal principle of that settlement (viz., the Convention of 1884) that the *internal government and legislation* of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with."

Mr. Balfour, January 15th, 1896:

"The Transvaal is a free and independent Government as regards its internal affairs."

Why it Became Necessary to Claim Suzerainty.

After reading the above, one wonders why Mr. Chamberlain attempted to resurrect this suzerainty, and the only explanation, which is disagreeable and contemptible, is that it was necessary as a ground for interfering with the INTERNAL affairs of the South African Republic. Much that is now difficult to comprehend will, at some future time, become clear enough. In the meantime the writer surmises that in his dealings with President Kruger Mr. Chamberlain has suffered from pique. Having set out on his career as Colonial Secretary with the determination to show the country that *to whatever department of administration* he chose to devote his talents, uninterrupted.

success must ensue, and on the particular lines he thought fit to lay down, and, finding himself unable to do more than remonstrate and protest with the Transvaal Government (both of which he was fully entitled to do), he grasped desperately at the Suzerainty or Paramountcy as a ground for threats of armed interference, while, at the same time, he hoped and believed the absolute necessity for carrying them into effect would never arrive. But what are we to think of a statesman who would incur such a terrible risk except under the most vital necessity?

This assumption of Suzerainty was first revived by Mr. Chamberlain as an excuse for refusing an offer of arbitration tendered by the Transvaal. In the last section I endeavoured to prove that to avoid war the South African Republic accepted even this injustice and indignity. That eminent lawyer and powerful debater, Sir Edward Clarke, who tells us that his separation from his party has been one of the most painful experiences of his life, describes this act of claiming Suzerainty as a "BREACH OF NATIONAL FAITH."

The Liberal Party and its Policy.

From the commencement of hostilities the Government and its friends adopted the policy of asserting that, whatever other nations might think or say, we, at least, were a united nation, and were satisfied as to the justice of our cause. They know perfectly well that this assertion is far from the truth, but it is steadily employed in the hope of deceiving our neighbours and the simple, non-reading section of the public at home, and it may be conceded that, as mere party tactics go, it was the best course to adopt. The large number of our most capable thinkers and writers who have openly denounced the war is clear proof that we are *far* from being a *united nation* on the subject.

The Liberals So Far have been Gagged.

But what will be the position when the terms of settlement come up for consideration? It is hardly necessary to say that the Liberal party, and, to their great honour, a few distinguished members of the Unionist party, have unequivocally condemned the character of the negotiations preceding the war. Moreover, although the Liberals had no choice but to vote supplies, and assist the Government in every way to clear our colonies of the enemy, they are, as yet, happily, entirely free from supporting the Government's policy to be adopted in the settlement which must follow. It is at this point where it is yet to be hoped that the nation will make a stand.

The Liberals, true to their creed, would, if they had been in office, have adopted *arbitration*. That policy the Tory Government rejected. Will the country ultimately support or condemn them? Surely, when the full measure of the burden of taxation, and of the misery caused by the war has come home to the people, be it sooner or later, the verdict will be one of strong condemnation.

International Arbitration and the Peace Association.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 29th, 1900.)

The Bishop of Hereford presided yesterday afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel over the annual meeting of the International Arbitration and Peace Association. There was a large attendance.—Mr. J. F. Green, secretary, read letters from (amongst others) the Countess of

Carlisle, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, president of the Association, Mr. J. Bryce, M.P., Mr. P. Stanhope, M.P., Mr. T. Burt, M.P., Mr. J. Burns, M.P., the Rev. Dr. J. Clifford, and Mr. Russell Scott, the treasurer of the Association, expressing regret at their inability to be present. Mr. Bryce wrote:—"I cannot see how I could speak about arbitration without condemning in strong terms the way in which proposals for arbitration have been treated by the British Government last year, and that, too, immediately after our expressing the

warmest sympathy with the principals of the Hague Conference." (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, referred to his distinguished predecessors in that chair—the late Lord Shaftesbury, Cardinal Manning, Lord Farrer, Lord Herschell, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Ripon. Possibly in some of those earlier years the subject of arbitration was, he said, thought to be a more academic one than it was now. Whatever it might have been in years gone by, they must all feel that the Hague Conference last year brought it within the range of practical politics, and at any rate it could no longer be regarded as the special field of sentimental philanthropists. (Hear, hear.) There was one feeling always uppermost in his mind with regard to his own personal relationship to the subject of arbitration, and it was that the clergy were specially bound to be promoters of it. (Applause.) Finally, the Chairman expressed the hope that when the feverish stage through which we were passing had vanished the experiences and memories of the South African war might, as the martyrs were the seed of the Church, prove the seed of a higher public political life for our Empire than we had generally had hitherto. (Applause.)

Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P., in seconding the motion, said a determined attempt was being made to introduce military drill into our schools—an attempt which should be resisted wherever made. However dark the prospect, the more need was there for them to continue energetically their protest against the whole spirit that led up to the war and the spirit which war created. (Hear, hear.) Nothing had happened within the last few months to show them the reasonableness of war and unreasonableness of arbitration. The facts pointed in quite the opposite direction. While the two Republics had not gained by war we had suffered an enormous loss of life and money and incurred a vast amount of demoralisation. He could not view the attitude of the clergy and ministers of all religious denominations in so favourable a light as their chairman. Nothing had been more distressing and embarrassing than that clergymen and ministers who professed to preach the doctrine of the Prince of Peace should have given way to the national fanaticism in the manner witnessed during this war in South Africa. The miserable excuse they made was that we did not begin the war. He would not enter into the question of who began it, but some of them felt very strongly that the Boers were goaded into war. (Cheers and a voice, "So they were.") Supposing the Boers took a wrong step, was that any justification for ministers to abandon peace principles and declarations in favour of arbitration? (No.)

The resolution was adopted *nem. con.*

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, M.P., next moved:—

"That this meeting endorses the Executive Committee's condemnation of the war in South Africa and of the policy of the British Government which led to it; it also cordially approves the Committee's efforts to procure the earliest cessation of hostilities, and its protest against the destruction of the independence of the Republics." He said he had always been at a loss to know what the Crimean war was for, and the cause of the South African war was doubtful; but he had an idea why we went to war in this case. It was to put down the Tory party in the Transvaal and to establish Liberal principles. (Laughter.) We were told that the Tory Transvaal Government was a corrupt oligarchy—just like government by

our own House of Lords. (Laughter.) What, he asked, was the good of going to war in any circumstances? It was just like a man jumping into a raging torrent to save his hat and losing his life in the adventure.

The Rev. J. PAGE HOPPS, who seconded the motion, remarked upon the fact that Jingoism mainly pervades the upper and the lower classes of this country. The latter—or the mob, as they were called—had an instinct of justice which had been perverted. They had, he said, been "lied to" by the few newspapers they read and the people who had got at them. His experience was—and he had a rough experience at Croydon the other Sunday—that they were amenable to education, and when they learned the truth their Jingo ardour vanished.

Liberal Conference in London—The Rossendale Election.

(Manchester Guardian, February 15, 1900.)

Mr. A. G. SYMONDS, Secretary of the National Reform Union, said he had recently come from Rossendale, and he brought to the Conference a message from the working men of Lancashire that they cordially approved of this resolution denouncing the war. (Applause.) The Conservative candidate deliberately selected this point as the ground upon which he would fight the election. Mr. Mather faced it as squarely as an Englishman could, and the working men recorded their votes, not only for Mr. Mather, who was not there, but against a policy which they opposed heart and soul, and which he believed at least three out of five Englishmen were against to-day. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was unanimously passed.

American Missionary's Opinion.

(Manchester Guardian, April 10, 1900.)

The American Missionary, the Rev. LEWIS GROUT, who has spent fifteen years in Natal and has written several works dealing with the Zulus, in a pamphlet entitled *THE BOER AND THE BRITON IN SOUTH AFRICA*, summarises briefly the main facts of the historical relations between the races, and comes to the conclusion that the differences leading to the war "might have been happily averted by arbitration had there been any real desire on the part of the English to have the controversy adjusted and settled in that way."

Lord Randolph Churchill on the War of 1881.

(From "Men, Mines, and Animals in South Africa.")

The surrender of the Transvaal and the peace concluded by Mr. Gladstone with the victors of Majuba Hill were at the time, and still are, the object of sharp criticism and bitter denunciation from many politicians at home, *quorum pars parva fui*. Better and more precise information, combined with cool reflection, leads me to the conclusion that had the British Government of that day taken advantage of its strong military position, and annihilated, as it could easily have done, the Boer forces, it would indeed have regained the Transvaal, but it might have lost Cape Colony. The Dutch sentiment in the colony had been so exasperated by what it considered to be the unjust, faithless, and arbitrary policy pursued towards the free Dutchmen of the Transvaal by Sir Bartle

Frere, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and Sir Owen Lanyon that the final triumph of the British arms, mainly by brute force, would have permanently and hopelessly alienated it from Great Britain. Parliamentary government in a country where the Dutch control the Parliament would have become impossible, and without Parliamentary government Cape Colony would be ungovernable. The actual magnanimity of the peace with the Boers concluded by Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, after two humiliating military reverses suffered by the arms under their control, became plainly apparent to the just and sensible mind of the Dutch Cape Colonist, atoned for much of past grievance, and demonstrated the total absence in the English mind of any hostility or unfriendliness to the Dutch race.

The Dutch Reformed Church Appeals to Sir A. Milner.

"ARE WE IN THE RIGHT"?

As men holding the responsible position of members of the Moderamen of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, as preachers of the Gospel of peace, as representing a Church one in creed, language, membership, blood-relationship with the burghers of the Transvaal, as loyal subjects of our beloved Queen, we desire to urge upon your Excellency to leave nothing undone which may tend to avert active hostilities. We shudder to think of the consequences which are sure to follow such an eventuality. The race-feeling between the Dutch and English would be intensified, the breach between the two sections of our South African community would become irreparable, the allegiance of Her Majesty's loyal Dutch subjects would sustain the severest shock it has ever been subjected to, and the hope of a United South Africa would be gone for ever.

Mr. Stead Before the War began.

(Issued Sept. 21, 1899.)

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

I conclude this hurriedly compiled pamphlet by a direct personal appeal to every one who reads these pages.

What are you going to do? * * *

This is no mere matter of party politics. I rejoice to believe that there are, among Ministers of the Crown, men with as deep an abhorrence of the crime which is contemplated in South Africa, as anyone in the Empire, from our gracious Sovereign, whose reign must not be sullied by so foul a stain, down to the poorest of her faithful subjects who night and day pray in an agony of supplication that we may not be allowed to imbrue our hands in our brothers' blood. But the forces which press for war are mobilised and loudly articulate. Those which long for peace are without organisation, and the still small voice of reason is drowned in the brazen clangour of preparations for war. * * *

It rests with us private citizens, each to the full measure of our own capacity and influence, to exert ourselves to the uttermost to avert the threatened war. Woe be unto each of us if in this supreme moment we ignore the appeal which rings trumpet-tongued through the land to be up and doing before the fatal die is cast which dooms us to war.

A thousand causes, each affecting the welfare of far more fellow-creatures than all the Out-

landers ten times told, are crying unheeded for the thought, the treasure, and the energy that will be wasted on the slaughtering our Brother Boers. It is easy to begin a war, but the end who can see? Our Empire is not so well beloved by all its neighbours that we can afford to dissipate in the subjugation of another and more distant Dutch Ireland the meagre resources of our military strength.

If after due consideration you, my reader, are convinced that there is no just cause for the war, if you come to the conclusion that you have no mandate from God or man to slay your Brother Boer, then in God's name give neither rest to your limbs nor slumber to your eyelids till you have done the utmost that in you lies to rouse your fellow-citizens to a sense of their peril.

Ministers of the Prince of Peace, leaders of labour organisations, representatives of all those who in any way are able to influence or to rouse the attention of their fellow-men, now is the time to speak. To-morrow it may be too late!

Mr. Stead After the War began.

(Issued Jan. 9, 1900.)

TOO LATE.

But when there was still time it was pressed upon Lord Salisbury that the principle of special mediation laid down at the Hague Conference afforded an admirable method of extricating both Powers from the hopeless *impasse* in which they had been involved by the incredible diplomacy of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner. To have proclaimed a truce for thirty days, during which the question might have been entrusted to new negotiators on each side, would certainly have prevented a war, which is due to misunderstanding and misapprehension. Ministers had in Lord Pauncefoot an ideal negotiator, ready to their hand and eager to be employed in this mission of peace. But it was all in vain. * * *

Seeing that these warnings were sounded in their ears day after day in the fatal month that preceded the outbreak of war, only ignorant impudence can bring against us the charge that we waited too long in raising our protest. Yet the very people who scoffed at my anxiety and derided my forebodings when I published "Shall I Slay my Brother Boer?" now with calm effrontery object to further protests on the ground that they come too late. If they would have paid heed to the timely warnings of September they would never have had to face the miseries and disasters of the present war.

ARE THE PEACE PARTY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR?

Whenever England is involved in a war, the party who makes the war invariably declares that the whole responsibility for bloodshed lies with those who endeavoured to keep the peace. One of the most fantastic, and yet most persistently circulated fables of this kind is that as to the alleged action of the Quakers in bringing about the Crimean War. * * *

The accusation brought against us is that President Kruger was led to believe, by the speeches made in opposition to war in this country, that he had nothing to fear by persisting in his opposition, and that the friends of peace, therefore, are responsible for luring him to his doom. The absurdity of this assertion can be conclusively proved by a simple reference to details. The first public protest by any public man against the war was made

by Mr. Morley, at Arbroath, on September 6th. Until then Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner had been allowed to have everything their own way. They had been allowed to make their own proposals without criticism, and nothing was said or done to make the Boers believe that there was even a single public man in the country who was not entirely in accord with the Government. But the Boers had made their last offer four days before Mr. Morley spoke. It was the rejection of this offer by Mr. Chamberlain which brought about war. * * *

But, it will be urged, that after September 8th, President Kruger was buoyed up by the agitation in this country in favour of peace, and encouraged to reject Mr. Chamberlain's demands for a five years' franchise without conditions. So far from this being true, every Liberal speaker and most Liberal writers did their utmost to induce President Kruger to concede the demands of the Government. On September 15th Mr. Morley and Mr. Courtney, speaking at Manchester, both urged the President to yield to the demands of our Government. * * *

BUT THE BOERS BEGAN THE WAR!

There is no more nauseous piece of cant used in the whole of this controversy than the pitiful plea that the Boers are waging war upon us, that the Boers have invaded our territory, and therefore they are the aggressors, and we the poor innocent victims of their insatiable ambition. * * *

Nothing could be more simple, more obvious, and more necessary than the action which the Boers took, when once they were satisfied that they had nothing to hope from the British Government but the alternatives of complete submission or "War to a finish." President Kruger would have been a traitor to his own people if he had not launched the ultimatum. Of course, that was perfectly well known to Mr. Chamberlain. It was mere child's play for him to play his cards so as to compel President Kruger to take the initiative. The first necessity was to draw up a scheme to destroy the independence of the Transvaal in such a way that we could interfere in its internal affairs at our own will and pleasure. Secondly, to prepare a great army in order to compel him to accept these terms. Thirdly, to keep back these terms day by day for a fortnight, and all the time to push forward military preparations. After these three moves the fourth step, the ultimatum, resulted almost automatically. Ministers had then the tactical advantage for which they had played, of appealing to their countrymen on the ground that the Boers had begun the war. * * *

They could, of course, have avoided it, but on one condition only—namely, their complete surrender to the will and orders of our Government. But the State which submits to orders from a foreign Government has ceased to be an independent Power; and the Boers having to choose between the loss of their independence and war, chose the latter. But the whole responsibility for their choice rests undivided upon those who shut them up to that alternative. * * *

WAS THE WAR INEVITABLE?

When people tell us that this war was "inevitable" I feel moved to reply, "Inevitable! Do not dare to speak of this war as inevitable. It is a devil of a word." * * *

How often have we not heard it employed to justify or excuse folly and crime? It is the devil's favourite trap for the unthinking and unwary. For years the "inevitable" war was a war with Russia. War with the great Colossus of the North we were told was "inevitable," and thereupon many men personally pious and presumably sane did all in their power to plunge us into that "inevitable" war. * * *

The first and most obvious method by which the war could have been prevented was by consenting to the urgent and constantly-renewed entreaties of the South African Dutch to allow the differences between us to be submitted to arbitration. We refused this peremptorily, from sheer arrogance. We haughtily refused to allow any but minor, subsidiary questions to be referred to arbitration. * * *

We would not demean ourselves by permitting arbitration between us and our vassal. The old school of employers used just the same kind of arguments to justify their refusal to permit arbitration in their disputes with their men. They were masters. They would not tolerate the intervention of any third party in a dispute with their men. That haughty and arrogant spirit has long ago been exorcised from industrial disputes; but it flourishes in the domain of our colonial policy. * * *

THE ALLEGED DUTCH CONSPIRACY.

When we ask for proofs we are told that President Kruger has never loved us. Admitted. Is that proof of conspiracy? What it proves is that President Kruger, being human, has not learned to love his enemies as a good Christian should. Do we love our enemies? Does Mr. Chamberlain love France? or does England love Russia? But animosity is not the same thing as conspiracy. * * *

"Oh, but," reply the war party, "no one threatened the Boers! Their armaments were a distinct menace to us." But did not we threaten the Boers? Nay, did we not actually seize their country in 1877, and raid it in 1895? We have armed against France many a time without half the justification that the Boers can allege in defence of their armaments. The fact that the Boer armaments were all admittedly purchased to be used against us, in case we attacked them, does not prove conspiracy. It implies organisation, forethought, preparation, of which it would be well if we had somewhat more in London. * * *

But the conclusive proof that there is no general Dutch conspiracy to drive the British out of Africa lies in the fact that only one-third of the South African Dutch has made any adequate preparations even for a defensive war. That third, consisting of the burghers of the Transvaal, happens to be the only section of the Dutch whose independence we have menaced. Of the other two-thirds, one, the Free State, has made no military preparations. It has not even created any defences for its capital. Its frontier is open to any invasion. Down to last December its conduct in relation to us was so frank and friendly that Mr. Balfour has told us he was no more prepared for its hostility than for a declaration of war from Switzerland. The remaining section, consisting of the Cape Dutch, so far from entering into a conspiracy to expel us from Africa, has distinguished itself by voting £30,000 a year for the maintenance of the British Navy.

Cheap Labour and Lightly-taxed Goldfields as Millionaires' Aims.

Mr. Chamberlain asked whether it was reasonable to expect any sane persons to believe that we were carrying on a war to further the interest of a group of millionaires, and their following, who hold stock in the Transvaal gold-mining companies. He told his audiences that he would not insult their intelligence by dwelling upon the charge, but would dismiss it as arrant nonsense. There is little doubt that up to a very recent date this method of dealing with the subject answered the purpose. The country had not then realised the extent of the task undertaken, either as to the losses and suffering in human and animal life, the cost in money and wasted effort, or the degradation of the national standing and character which the circumstances of the case, and the anxieties of the Government to bring the war to a speedy conclusion at as *low an expense as possible*, have occasioned. The great wave of Jingoism carried almost everybody with it, and the few who endeavoured to make a stand against it, and arrest the attention of the millions it bore along, received slight recognition and less respect.

The Old Tactics will no longer answer.

One can imagine that Mr. Chamberlain's next move may be to admit that a small number of persons might possibly have had an idea of working up a war fever, which was to result in the advancement of their material welfare, and then to ask his hearers whether they think such objects have been attained. He may seek to show them how both political parties have decided upon making the mines contribute largely to the cost of the campaign; that business operations there have been at a standstill for nearly two years, machinery and mines deteriorating all the time; that expenses in other ways, and personal discomfort, must have been great; and again conclude by waiving aside such an assumption, when directed against a smart, far-seeing body of business men. The public, however, in these calmer moments of to-day, will remember that Mr. Rhodes and his satellites never anticipated any resistance worth speaking of, and will likewise recall Lord Salisbury's astonishment, and that of other members of the Government, on learning of the preparations for resistance which the Republics, fearing the worst that might arise, had made. All this has been discussed in Section 4.

The Methods of the Millionaires.

When a charge is made such as that indicated here, it is necessary to bring arguments and proofs in support of it. As this Section and No. 3 are closely allied, it is better, as I have there suggested, to glance over the contents of this after reading the former. It is difficult, even under these circumstances, to prevent some overlapping. I shall, therefore, depend mainly on the valuable information taken from the works mentioned below, and the other miscellaneous contributions that complete the extracts, and content myself with a few general observations indicating the objects that the leading *spirits had in view* and their methods of proceeding.

(1) Above all, labour was to be cheapened and either put under the "compound" system as at Kimberley, or in native locations along the Rand, where the Kaffirs would be forced to labour in the mines.

(2) A new government was to be created under the direct influence of the mining interest, so as to facilitate the rapid development of the mines, and save all expenses of armaments.

(3) Railway freights were to be reduced, the duty on dynamite lowered, taxation was to be placed on agriculture, the cost of licenses to be increased, and hut taxes and other charges imposed on coloured labourers who objected to work in the mines.

Millionaires' Influence and Power is Undeniable.

How is this shown? In the first place they brought about the Jameson Raid. That was war on a *small* scale, but no thanks to Mr. Rhodes. If the people of Johannesburg had been foolish enough to respond to the call he made to them, the Boers would have had a more serious task, although they would no doubt have accomplished it. Most of us know the great influence that money plays in almost every undertaking. It is difficult to estimate the amount at the command of these people. For instance, in the *Investors' Review* of December 1st, 1900, is the following indication:—

The Wealth of Cecil Rhodes.

A correspondent in Manchester has written to ask if we can state the profits made by Cecil Rhodes over the Jameson Raid episode through his dealings in "Chartered" shares. We cannot. The figures are undiscoverable. Rhodes did boast after the Raid, as we know on unimpeachable authority, that he was worth £10,000,000, but how much of this he raked in through Stock Exchange operations at that period we do not know. . . .

Unfortunately, neither the Chartered Company's share list nor that of the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa Company is open to us, the latter being a Transvaal Company whose documents are hid from inquisitive eyes and the former sheltered by its charter. Mr. Labouchere printed in *Truth* some time ago sundry figures illustrative of the share traffic of peers, spongers, and magnates, and in March last we copied into the *Investors' Review* the tables laboriously compiled by Mr. John Burns, M.P., from the Chartered Company's lists deposited in the House of Commons. Both statements only faintly adumbrate the facts, we were assured by one who had no small part of the business through his hands. From first to last, if the fool-public has lost a shilling by the Chartered and allied share gambles, it has lost £30,000,000.

Mr. Hobson and Mr. Hirst, in the extracts (pages 95, 89), throw considerable light on the uses to which wealth can be put. A press can be purchased and an agitation raised which leads to a horrible war.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, on January 16th, 1901, says:—

I believe that arrangements are being made for a complete amalgamation of the great mining interests in the Rand, and that practically the future Government of the Transvaal will have to deal with a single Wernher-Beit-Neumann-Farrer-Robinson-Albu trust. Only one of the firms I have mentioned stands, I am told, outside the amalgamating process, which has been going on since the war began, and its resistance is now merely formal and may at any moment cease altogether. I need not remind my readers that outside the *Africander* press and the *South African News*, practically the *entire journalism of South Africa* will be in the hands of this gigantic combination and its *Rhodesian annexe*.

We cannot fail to realise, after reading Mr. Robinson's interview with Mr. Kruger (page 25), the constant anxiety and fear which the President felt in consequence of his knowledge of Mr. Rhodes' character and the power which the command of enormous funds gave him. The influence of his earlier surroundings at Kimberley, joined to the rapid and speculative manner in which he accumulated his immense fortune, seems to render him quite insensible to the promptings of the inner conscience, and leads him to push right ahead with his grandiose schemes, irrespective of the injury and wrong that may arise therefrom.

Here are two quotations from his speeches, which indicate the working of the man's mind. In referring to the advantages to be derived from direct connexion with Great Britain (money, apparently, being always uppermost in his thoughts), he speaks of our flag as "the greatest commercial asset in the world," and again:—

(*Daily Mail*, August 14, 1899.)

They were not going to war for the amusement of Royal Families, as in the past; but *they meant practical business*. (The italics are mine.)

A Moderate Imperialist on South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA : ITS HISTORY, HEROES, AND WARS. By Professor Douglas Mackenzie and Alfred Stead.

(REVIEWED *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 1, 1900.)

This handsome volume, originally prepared for the American reading public, has many of those extrinsic virtues which Americans demand in books. * * *

The intrinsic worth of the book as an impartial treatise is, however, much impaired by the fact that it was avowedly undertaken to correct the "pro-Boer" tendencies of the American press and public. For this purpose the blackening of Dutch South African character, especially in the treatment of natives, is accorded a large amount of space, and large quantities of unproved and unprovable assertions are made. * * * The following is a glimpse of the empire-maker's morals and methods:—

On the whole, it must be, not without regret, acknowledged that he is, in his estimate of the honour of men, a cold cynic. He not only believes but acts upon the belief that men can be bought, and that it is right to buy them; that men can be manipulated in the political as well as in the commercial world, and he has manipulated them or attempted to do so freely and constantly. * * *

Not only Mr. Rhodes but the capitalism which he represents is regarded with grave suspicion by Professor Mackenzie, who evidently shares the feeling of uneasiness which he thus describes:—

Since the days when members of the Royal Family and Dukes and wealthy politicians became members of the Chartered Company, and since its directors began to operate in London as well as at Capetown for the development of plans affecting South Africa, plans which worked altogether towards the ultimate aggrandisement of that Company, the English people have been troubled with an uncomfortable and often ill-defined suspicion. They have not hitherto been easily affected by the vague cry and the indefinite accusations against capitalists as such; yet they have come to feel that, through the influence of this Company, capitalists have at last succeeded in actually touching and directing Parliamentary affairs for their own sakes (p. 484).

Still bolder are the author's grasp and presentation of the dishonesty of the Raid and his conviction that not merely the Colonial Office but Mr. Chamberlain personally was implicated in it:—

When Mr. Rhodes appeared before the Select Committee he took up a position which, while puzzling to many at the time, it is impossible not to admire. He said to a friend, before the inquiry began, that it was not his intention to betray the part which the Colonial Secretary had taken in the plot. "He has stuck to me," Mr. Rhodes said to his friend. "How can I go and give him away?" Mr. Rhodes accordingly adopted the very effective plan of declining to answer all those questions which he could not answer truthfully without letting the real facts regarding the Colonial Office leap to light.

(See page 23. *Is the Hawksley Dossier to have a sequel?—H.J.O.*)

Professor Mackenzie does not regard this as mere cunning on the part of Mr. Rhodes, for he significantly concludes his chapter with these words, "At the same time, Mr. Chamberlain was undoubtedly saved awhile by the loyal silence of Mr. Rhodes." (p. 458.) * * * But does he look forward with real confidence to an effective Imperial control over that great centre of population Johannesburg, of which he gives the following picture?—

The most noticeable feature of the crowds in the streets is the great number of Jews that are to be seen. Polish Jews, Russian Jews, German Jews—all sorts and conditions of Jews are there, but always well to the front, with the customary display of diamonds. Round the Stock Exchange and the headquarters of the innumerable lottery and sweepstake offices they naturally are well represented. But, really, the whole of the male population seems to think it as much their duty to take a lottery or sweepstake ticket as it is to drink with any acquaintance they may meet. The moral tone of the community is debased and degraded (p. 366).

Such is the picture drawn by a strong, genuine Imperialist of the people for whom we are fighting.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD TRUST, 50 PER CENT. DIVIDEND.

Lord Harris, chairman of the South African Gold Trust Limited, addressing a meeting of the shareholders in London yesterday. * * *

In moving the adoption of the report, the Chairman said the realised net profit on the year's working amounted to £242,834, out of which they recommended a dividend of 25 per cent. and a bonus of 25 per cent. on the original ordinary shares.

* * * —*Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 22, 1901.

The Evil Effects of Share Distribution.

Reference to Stock and Share lists will show the terrible temptations to endeavour to amass wealth (without giving in return any genuine labour), that is offered by the holding of the South African Mining Shares. It will be seen that there are numerous stocks, representing enormous capital, some of which have risen to *six* times only, others to *forty-five* times, their original value, and these immense profits are considered as the mere precursors of what may be forthcoming.

The scores of millions of capital represented by such quotations, apart from the interest held by a few millionaires, have a most pernicious influence over the minds and judgments of those who hold the shares: and it must be remembered, as we know only too well from recent disclosures, that there is great foresight exercised in the distribution of share capital. It follows therefore, that all kinds and conditions of persons, from

the decoy-Duke downwards, are made use of; the shareholders' minds are apt to become warped, and their hearts hardened, and the appeals of reason and justice run a great risk of falling unheeded on their ears.

This accounts for much that is sometimes difficult to reconcile and understand; but beyond this there is the sprinkling of smaller interests, over a very wide area, which comes about in a natural manner, and is generally purchased by speculators who like to dabble in highly fluctuating stocks and enjoy the excitement of a slight "flutter," particularly if it happens to come off successfully. Unhappily, we cannot overlook the fact that these irresponsible, and often simple persons, holding a small—aye, even a serious—interest in a limited company, too readily content themselves with trusting implicitly to their chairman and directors for all guidance, and as long as comfortable dividends are declared, they do not much concern themselves as to the principles which regulate the management.

Since writing the above I have noticed the following corroboration of my view:—

Gold and diamonds have been South Africa's curse, bringing swarms of human locusts down upon the country, corrupting its simple people, debasing their political life, and filling the land with the false and demoralising lure of sudden wealth. To us also, to all Europe, these precious minerals have been anything but a blessing. Their discovery and extraction have been the means of developing habits of gambling and of reckless living—among all classes of the people—utterly subversive of their morals. "People do not nowadays ask for safe investments," said a broker to us the other day; "they want to buy something certain to give them a profit." (*Investors' Review*, January 12th, 1901.)

The Paralysing Influence of Brewing Companies.

The present almost universal practice of floating private so-called "Brewing" interests, thereby showering the unhallowed gain on all orders of society, has been done with the same object and has brought about similar results. The shares of these gigantic runners of gin palaces and viciously-managed public-houses, pay such high dividends that it requires great moral courage and self-denial to resist the temptations that the holding of their stocks offers; and the supporters of Temperance Reform are proportionately lessened and its enemies materially increased. This is an evil we have grown accustomed to, and do not see its heinousness as strangers do, as witness the following:—

The Rev. C. M. Sheldon on "Signs of the Times."

(*Daily News*, July 2, 1900.)

The Rev. C. M. Sheldon, the Congregational minister of Topeka, Kansas, who has made himself famous by writing religious novels and delivering them as sermons from his pulpit, and quite recently by showing practically for a week how he thought a daily newspaper should be conducted, preached at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, last evening.

"It was painful to him that England, so great, so marked by the finger of God in much of her history, looked on the gigantic evil of drink with helpless bewilderment. In a very short time he had seen more drunken men and women in Edinburgh, the most beautiful city of the world, in Glasgow, Dundee, and London than he had found in Topeka during twelve years. One of the saddest things he had discovered in this country was a list furnished in Liverpool by the brewers, and showing how many clergymen and others who belonged to the Churches held shares in breweries. *Liquor was entrenched within the very citadel of God.*"

The Government Cannot Shake Off the Rand Magnates.

Notwithstanding the losses and disgrace the war has brought upon us, we are still in the power and at the mercy of these people. A discussion recently took place in the House of Commons on the appointments Lord Roberts had made in his efforts to form some kind of Administration of the Transvaal, on which occasion Mr. Markham surprised the House with an exposition of our utter helplessness.

Mr. Markham, after paying a tribute to the honesty of purpose of Sir A. Milner, said that "he (Mr. Markham) had travelled through all the countries in South Africa from the Zambesi to the Cape; he had been down many of the mines, and he had inspected the goldfields. * * *

He thought it fair to tell the House that he had been for the last ten years a shareholder in the Witwatersrand Mines; but as soon as he was adopted by the Central Council of the Mansfield Division, he instructed his brother to sell all the Transvaal shares that he held. (Cheers.) He had never been connected with the promotion of gold-mining companies; all he had done was to invest his money in mines after he had inspected them." He continued as follows: "The most serious matter which he had to bring to the notice of the House was that every appointment of any value in the Rand and in the Orange River Colony had been given to men directly connected with the Raid." (Opposition cheers.) * *

Mr. Markham said the appointments had been made for capitalists' benefit and not for the benefit of South Africa as a whole. The Civil Commissioner of Johannesburg was Mr. Samuel Evans, who was a director of Eckstein's. (Laughter.) Mr. Van Hulsteyn, who had been appointed legal adviser to the Field-Marshal, was the solicitor to the Eckstein Company. Mr. Emery Evans, who had been appointed Controller of the Treasury, was a director of several mining companies, and had an appointment in the East Rand Debenture, with which Mr. Eckstein and Mr. Farrar were connected. Mr. J. A. Hamilton had been appointed Financial Adviser to the Military Governor, and was interested in concessions granted by the Transvaal Government. He had the power of inspecting the books of all the banks in the Transvaal, a power against which the Standard Bank and the Bank of South Africa had protested. Mr. Wybergh, who had been appointed Minister of Mines, was president in 1898 of the Johannesburg branch of the South African League. He was an employé of Beit's in the Consolidated Goldfields. Mr. George Farrar, with his attorney, Mr. Solomon, was solicitor to the Consolidated Goldfields, in which, again, the Beit interest prevailed. He had been sent to investigate alleged rebel cases—a man who had been convicted of high treason. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. Fraser, the late British Agent in Pretoria, who had been appointed to Goertz as their Johannesburg representative, had no knowledge of the industry. Mr. Monypenny—(laughter and cheers)—had an appointment in Johannesburg, and he was, as the House knew, the representative of Messrs. Beit and Barnato in the *Star* and in every other financial paper except one in South Africa. (Cheers.) He did not know what the appointment of Mr. Monypenny was, but what he did know was that he was acting in a position of trust on behalf of the Government in Johannesburg. (Cheers.) Mr. Goldman, a director of forty-three companies—(laughter and cheers)—and, he believed, the representative of *The Times*, though he was not sure on that point, had also, he thought, an appointment. * * *

Mr. Markham said that Mr. Fitzpatrick, the author of "The Transvaal from Within," was a director of four companies holding direct concessions from the Transvaal. * * *

Mr. Fitzpatrick was a director of the Cement Concession, which the Chamber of Commerce, in their protest to the Government in 1897, said was "a parasite on the industry." (Cheers.) * * *

Again:—

Lord Charles Beresford, speaking at York on November 13, 1900, said that the responsibility for the War should be attached almost entirely, if not entirely, to the lamentable and contemptible Raid of Dr. Jameson. He added:—

"No one who had anything to do with that affair, directly or indirectly, ought to have anything to do with the administration of the Transvaal in future."

Loyal as Long as it Pays.

Mr. J. B. Robinson, who is Chairman of the South African Banking Company, and an owner of gold mines, and it is perhaps hardly necessary to add, one of the most influential members of the millionaire group, on the 2nd of November, 1900, used these words :—

"It had been argued in the Press that it was the intention of the British Government to impose taxation in the Transvaal for the purpose of reimbursing the Exchequer for the outlay that had been incurred on the War. If they were to do so they would find that, instead of obtaining from the country this expenditure, they would simply plunge the whole country into misery, retard its development, and stir up a feeling of resentment and animosity which would prove a great danger to Imperial interests."—(*Star*).

The *Star* comments upon it and concludes thus :—

"It is glorious to feel that our boys are dying for Mr. J. B. Robinson, Mr. Rhodes, and Herr Beit."

In the month of December, 1900, there was a correspondence in *The Times* between Mr. Robinson and Sir W. Harcourt, of which I subjoin the following extracts :—

(*Times*, December 17th, 1900.)

Sir,—Mr. J. B. Robinson complains that I have misrepresented his views as to the contribution by the gold mines in the Transvaal towards the cost of the war. Nothing could be further from my intention. I laboured diligently through eight or ten closely-printed columns of the *Economist* newspaper of November 10th, which reported textually his speech addressed to the South African Bank. I cannot expect you to reproduce this voluminous document *in extenso*, but the following passages will be found fairly to represent its scope and aim :—

" To tax the mines or impose any burden of debt on the newly-acquired States for the purpose of paying a portion of that £60,000,000 or £70,000,000 would, in my opinion, be perpetrating a very great injustice upon the whole population of South Africa. The taxation that was in existence up to the time of the war will have to be reduced, and reduced very considerably."

Mr. Robinson proceeds to denounce with bitterness "some men connected with some of the mines who would like to see a gold tax imposed by the Imperial Government." To impose a tax on gold, he says, would suit their selfish views with the object of shutting out the competition of the low grade ores. He "feels confident that the men who administer and regulate the affairs of the Imperial Government will not be induced to adopt measures which will recoil on themselves and be contrary to the interests of the mother country." Such a course, he says, would "create a discontented population, would menace the whole position of affairs in the country, would endanger Imperial interests, and force the British Government into a very false position—i.e., of course, the position of incurring the resentment of the gold-mining interest. A policy of this kind would exercise a most baneful influence, not only on the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, but upon every other South African Colony. . . . "

The Outlanders are not at present in a particularly flourishing condition and are, no doubt, eagerly awaiting the franchise which the war was to obtain for them ; but the war, which we are assured by Lord Roberts is over, has not even secured to them the permission to return to their homes or the means of subsistence when they arrive there. I sometimes think that those bellicose gentlemen—especially those who do not fight—must occasionally cast "longing, lingering looks" towards the times before they were subsidised by the authors of the Raid to bring about the position in which they now find themselves. If, as I believe, when the civil administration is established in the Transvaal Colony, and after extracting all that can be got out by taxation of the gold mines, the

expenditure of the colony largely exceeds its income, the colonial finance will exhibit a balance-sheet even more insolvent than that of the Chartered Company in Rhodesia. And, so far from contributing to the relief of the British taxpayer, the British Exchequer will have to defray the deficiency in the ordinary cost of the colonial Government.

* * * * *

We vote Estimates of £16,000,000 in a jiffy, but we do not stop to remember £16,000,000 represents an odd additional 8d. on the income-tax to redeem it. * * * * *

Mr. Robinson thinks it prudent to ride off from the awkward question of the taxation of the gold mines for the cost of the war by a long tirade against the policy of the Government of Mr. Gladstone in 1881. I would refer him for a defence of that policy to the Duke of Devonshire, who was a leading member of that Administration, and to Mr. Chamberlain, who was a principal promoter of that policy, and who undertook its official vindication in the House of Commons as the only policy consistent with ordinary justice or national honour. Mr. Robinson cannot do better than peruse the admirable speech delivered by the present Colonial Secretary on that subject. At least that policy, whatever other defects it may have had, was not inconsistent with the accumulation by Mr. Robinson and his friends in the Transvaal of fabulous wealth, until Mr. Rhodes and his allies, in their greediness for more gain, and in order to obtain for the capitalist lower taxation and cheaper labour and to impose on the natives higher taxation, lower wages, and "regulated" labour, embarked on that criminal enterprise which has been the *causa causans* of this horrible war. It is high time that the eyes of the British nation should be opened to the projects of the class of men who are likely to dominate the administration of the colony we have annexed, but not subdued, at such a cost of blood and of treasure. It is not so much the British purse as the British name (not at present in too high repute throughout the world) which is at stake.—Your obedient servant,

W. V. HARCOURT.

Cheap and Abundant Labour the Main Point.

The chief ground for this statement is that more money is to be got out of reducing the price of labour than in any other way. To make success complete, it is necessary to obtain enough cheap labour to develop the whole of the mining districts of the Transvaal at a rapid rate. The condition of the Kaffirs around Johannesburg, under the Boers, was one of much greater liberty and higher pay than exists at Kimberley. An idea of the results to the millionaire mineowners from stealing diamond mines (see History, page 14), and sweating and enslaving labour will be gained by reading the report of De Beers' meeting, *Times*, February 27, 1900.

Mr. Rhodes began by announcing that the profits for the year ended in July last amounted roughly to two millions. * * * * * To the imaginative he presented an eloquent picture of what these mines would be 100 years hence, mirroring European civilization in the Far North.

Olive Schreiner depicts life in Kimberley, as follows:—

A country which is rotten with opportunism, and where we have reached a point in which a man dares hardly to give utterance to his political convictions, and in which hundreds of men and women sit spellbound, afraid of losing their daily bread if they utter a word in condemnation of the existing powers.

The value of the annual output of diamonds during the last nine years has averaged nearly £4,000,000. Kaffirs trying to escape are shot down. It is proposed to import Chinese, Abyssinians, and Somalis for the Rhodesian mines, and the importation is suggestive of the old slavery days. If the reader cares to know these things, he must read the accompanying extracts.

(Contributed by Mr. W. P. BYLES, formerly M.P. for Shipley, Yorkshire.)

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

HIGH DIVIDENDS: CHEAP LABOUR.

"Imperialism run by financiers," "Capitalism using Imperialism," are ominous phrases recently employed by public men. Mr. Courtney, M.P., speaks of Imperialism as "a fatal growth which is fastening like a cancer upon our national life." Mr. Morley M.P., says: "I do not like the name Empire; it conveys ideas of mastery over unwilling populations." The capitalists at the Rand are using Imperialism for their purposes. A ring of financiers there, mostly Jews, are really responsible for the war. They are making cent. per cent. out of the richest gold mines in the world, and yet want more. Their object is to get rid of the Transvaal Government because it protects labour, and to substitute a British Colonial Government (which they would control) in order that they might have more *Freedom*—freedom to enslave labour.

Out of their own mouths let us judge them.

Practical Business.—Mr. Cecil Rhodes, as reported in the *Daily Mail*, August 14th, says: "We are not going to war for the amusement of Royal families as in the past, but we mean *practical business*."

Cut Down Wages by One-half.—At a meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company of South Africa, held November 14, Mr. John Hays Hammond, the consulting engineer, reported that *under English rule* he hoped to be able to *cut down the wages of the Kaffirs by one-half*. He calculated that by *compelling* the natives to work a saving of 6/- a ton of gold ore could be effected, which would result in a gross increase of dividends of *two and a quarter millions* sterling.

Kaffirs Running to Waste.—At the same meeting, Mr. Hammond frankly explained to the shareholders how his calculation was justified:—

There are in South Africa millions of Kaffirs, and it does seem preposterous that we are not able to obtain 70,000 or 80,000 Kaffirs to work upon the mines.

With good government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour *there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages*, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount. (Laughter). His wages are altogether *disproportionate to his requirements*. (Renewed laughter.)

Compel Them to Work.—Mr. Rudd, who is Mr. Rhodes's right hand man, and a philanthropist to boot, said :—

If they could only get one-half the natives to work three months of the year it would work wonders. He was not pleading for the mines, or urging the views of capitalists, but from the point of view of progress, agriculture, public works, mines, and the general prosperity of the country. *They should try some cogent form of inducement, or practically compel the native, through taxation or in some other way, to contribute his quota to the good of the community, and to a certain extent he would then have to work.*

Not Slavery ! Oh, no !—Mr. Rudd went on :—

He was not advocating slavery. As in everything else, there were the use and abuse of labour, and there was constantly the deliberate misuse of the word slavery by those who wanted to raise it as a bogey. If under the cry of civilisation we in Egypt lately mowed down 10,000 or 20,000 Dervishes with Maxims, surely it cannot be considered a hardship to compel the natives in South Africa to give three months in the year to do a little honest work. We have in power to-day a strong Government, but there is a morbid sentimentality among a large section of the community on the question of the natives, and Government require the support of the majority of their countrymen.

So the mowing down of 20,000 Dervishes by Maxim guns has now become the standard for treatment of natives. As England has done that, Englishmen may now do anything short of it.

Rand Wages too High.—Mr. Fitzpatrick in his widely read book, "The Transvaal from Within," says (p. 105) :—

In January, 1891, the average wage for native labourers was £2. 2s. per head per month. In 1893 it had risen to £2. 8s. 10d.; in 1895 to £3. 3s. 6d. In other South African States wages run from 15s. to 30s. per month, and the failure to facilitate the introduction of natives from outside, and to protect them, is largely responsible for the high figures paid on the Rand. If decent protection and facilities were given, the wage could be reduced to £1. 15s. per month. A reduction of £1. per month—that is, to £2. 3s. 6d.—would mean an annual saving of £650,000.

Kaffirs Getting too Rich.—In his examination before the Industrial Commission, Mr. Albu, another of its financial group, testified as follows :—

The native at the present time receives a wage which is far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The native earns between 50s. and 60s. per month: and then he pays nothing for food or lodging, in fact he can save almost the whole amount he receives. * * * * *

If the native can save £20 a year, it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. In five or six years' time the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more. The consequences of this will be most disastrous for the industry and the State. This question applies to any class of labour, and in any country, whether it be in Africa, Europe, or America. I think if the native gets enough pay to save £5 a year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements, and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time.

You say the native does not require luxuries, and if he has worked for a year *he has saved enough to go back to his kraal and remain idle?*

Yes.

Can you suggest any remedy for this?

The only remedy I can suggest is that we pay the native a wage which, whilst enabling him to save money, will hinder him from becoming exceptionally rich. * * *

Is it in the control of the mining industry to regulate the wages of Kaffirs?

To a great extent it is, provided that the Government assists us in bringing labour to this market.

White Labour: Try Starvation.—But it is not Kaffir labour only, but the wages of the white miners (Cornishmen and Northumbrians) which concern these philanthropic gentlemen. Mr. Albu's evidence proceeds thus :—

Are you of opinion that the wages paid to (white) miners at the present moment are abnormal?

In some instances they are abnormal,

Is there any chance of getting these abnormal wages reduced now that there are so many out of work?

Certainly there is: I think the white labourers are prepared to accept the lesser of two evils. If we close down the mines a lot of white labourers will be thrown out of employment.

Political Salvation—Economic Gain.—*The Mining World and Engineering Record* of December 16th, 1899, makes no concealment of the policy. It says :—

White wages have not been reduced in the past, because the Uitlanders desired to work together for political salvation, and any attack on the white labourers' pay would have caused a split in the ranks. However, when new conditions prevail, white wages must come down.

Such are the designs upon labour, openly avowed, of the Rand capitalists. On British territory (Rhodesia and Cape Colony) the desired conditions already to some extent prevail, and at any rate administrators like Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Earl Grey, who are themselves directors of the Chartered Company, with a large financial interest, may be relied on for the legislation and taxation requisite to produce the conditions necessary, that is to say, to pull down wages, or to "compel" "voluntary" work. Read their own words :—

An Incentive to Labour.—At the Chartered Company's meeting on December 14, 1899, Earl Grey, recent Administrator in Rhodesia, and one of the directors, said :—

I look forward with absolute confidence to a rapid development in the mining industry of Rhodesia; in fact, I feel that the rapidity of this development will only be limited by the labour which it is possible to obtain. It is obvious that the black labour of the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa must be, to use a military term, our first line of defence. The problem, then, for the administration of Rhodesia and for the settlers is how to secure an adequate supply of this labour—of course at a fair wage. Means have to be found to induce the natives to seek, spontaneously, employment at the mines, and to work willingly for long terms of more or less continuous employment. An incentive to labour must be provided, and it can only be provided by the imposition of taxation. I look forward to the imposition of a hut tax of £1. per hut, in conformity with the practice which exists in Basutoland, and I also hope that we may, with the permission of the Imperial authorities, be able to establish a labour tax which these able-bodied natives should be required to pay who are unable to show a certificate of four months' work.

In England we think that high wages are the best "incentive to labour," but in South Africa the incentives are to be low wages, compulsory service, loss of freedom, and punitive taxation !

Two Pence a Day.—The Glen Grey Act, passed by the Cape Parliament when Mr. Rhodes was premier, throws a flood of light on the labour policy which Earl Grey was advocating. The Act is limited in scope at present, but is "capable of wide application," and its operation can be extended *by proclamation*.

The labour clauses of this Act provide that no male native who is "fit for and capable of labour," and who is not himself the possessor of an allotment, shall be allowed to remain in the district unless he pays a "labour-tax" of ten shillings a year, or can show that during three months in each twelve, until he has completed a total of thirty-six, "he has been in service or employment beyond the borders of the district." This rule practically necessitates either the expatriation of all young men in the district and their obtaining work elsewhere, for three months in each year, or their being heavily fined for staying at home. In default of fine the native becomes "an idle and disorderly person" and is liable to "imprisonment with hard labour for a period not exceeding twelve months."

The avowed purpose of this "labour-tax" and its penalties, as explained and defended by Mr. Rhodes, was the forcing on of so much competition in the labour market at Kimberley and elsewhere, that the wage rate would not exceed his ideal of 2d. a day. "If they could make these people work, they would reduce the rate of labour in the country," he said in one speech; and in another, "It was wrong that there should be a million natives in that country, and yet that they"—that is, the Kimberley mine owners—"should be paying a sum equal to about £1 a week for their labour, while that labour was absolutely essential to the development of the country. (See "Blacks and Whites in South Africa," by H. Fox Bourne, pp. 45-6.) The land clauses of the Glen Grey Act break down the old system of communal tenure, and substitute individual ownership.

Working-men, Beware !

Trade Unionists, you are making sacrifices, submitting to levies at home *to keep wages up* : Don't support a war in Africa which aims *to get them down*.

That is not the object of our Government, it is true ; but they have been inveigled into this quarrel by powerful trading companies, controlled by clever, rich, influential men who mean "practical business." Nor is it the object which has won the sympathy and support of the British public. They have been hoodwinked by exaggeration and misrepresentation. The financiers have bought the South African press, and through it have steadily, persistently, methodically poisoned public opinion both there and here.

Their ultimate object is bigger Dividends, and their method of reaching them is **CHEAP LABOUR**.

The war is condemned by the best men in England. Outside England it is condemned by the whole civilised world. It will be condemned by the British nation as soon as the light of truth breaks upon it.

LABOUR LEADERS AND THE WAR.

(See List of Names at End.)

"Now tell us all about the war,
And what they killed each other for."—*Southey*.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

You have been led to believe that the present war against the Boers is being waged on behalf of justice and freedom for industrious Britons. As a matter of fact, President Kruger offered to concede to the Outlanders as much as the British Government demanded for them. The outbreak of the war made it clear that a large proportion of them were not British subjects at all. According to Lord Rosmead, the late Governor of the Cape, more than half of the Outlanders were on the side of the Transvaal Government; and the *Cape Times* (a war journal) asserts that 8,000 of them are now fighting against us. In 1897 the Gold Mining Companies of the Transvaal had an output of £11,500,000; but they employ very little British labour, and they would employ still less if they were able to control the government of the country.

The Real Object of the War.

You will naturally exclaim: "There must have been some real object in the war." Yes, there was; it is a war waged by Capitalists with the object of gaining greater profits through cheap "nigger labour." We shall prove this out of their own mouths. A meeting of the "Consolidated Gold Fields Company of South Africa" was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, London, November 14th, 1899, and is fully reported in the *Financial News* of November 21st. Lord Harris, the Chairman, stated that upon the working capital of **£2,147,000 the profit for the year had been £1,006,000!** But this enormous profit does not satisfy these people. They want more, and they mean to have more.

Mr. John Hays Hammond, Engineer of the Company, said in his speech that he estimated that **after the war they would increase their profit to £2,199,000.** So this single company stands to make over a million a year profit by the war. This is the real reason why war was **inevitable.** Do not think that this means a splendid opening for British labour; it means nothing of the kind. The plan is to apply as little British labour as possible, and to reduce the wages of native labour to the smallest pittance. These men do not conceal it. Mr. Hammond said: "**There ought to be no difficulty in obtaining 80,000 Kaffirs to work the mines.**" Where does the British working man come in? Mr. Hammond further said:—

"With a good Government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact, he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount."

British working men under such circumstances would not work at all. But these South African Capitalists mean to have a Government which shall

Exploit the "Niggers" in their Interest.

The tax collector is to be the crimp of the gold-mongers. Mr. C. D. Rudd, a director of the Company, said :—

"If they could only get one-half the natives to work three months of the year it would work wonders. They should try some cogent form of inducement or practically compel the native, through taxation or in some other way, to contribute his quota to the good of the community, and to a certain extent he would then have to work."

There can be no mistake as to Mr. Rudd's meaning, for he went on to say **"they might fairly call upon the native to contribute to the Government in kind or in cash."** That means that the Government is to impose on the natives taxes which they cannot pay, and that the Company is to collect the tax in the form of labour. It is only **slavery** under another name.

Labour Where Mr. Rhodes Holds Sway.

In the Kimberley Mines, controlled by Mr. Rhodes, the ordinary wage of Kaffirs is from 1s. to 2s. per day for a day of ten hours, and the law allows them to be worked seven days a week.

Labour Where the Boers Hold Sway.

The ordinary wage of Kaffirs in the Transvaal is 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per day. They only work eight hours per day, and by the Transvaal law, six days in the week. It is clear that the owners of the Transvaal Gold Mines hope, by means of the war, to reduce their Kaffirs to the same conditions as those of Kimberley.

Cheap and Forced Labour.

is therefore the chief object of the Capitalists. The pay of natives employed in the Kimberley Mines is 1s. to 2s. a day ; Mr. Cecil Rhodes hopes to reduce it to a few pence per day. As long ago as 1894 Mr. Rhodes made a speech in which he said that **"IF THEY COULD MAKE THESE PEOPLE WORK THEY WOULD REDUCE THE RATE OF LABOUR IN THE COUNTRY."** Thus Rhodes and his fellow conspirators intend to teach the natives "the dignity of labour" by reducing them to a condition of practical slavery.

No White Man Need Apply.

Earl Grey, in addressing the Chartered Company's Shareholders (reported in *The Times*, December 15th), said :—

"We must dismiss from our minds any idea of developing our mines with white labour. . . . It is obvious that the black labour of the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa must be our first line of defence. * * * An incentive to labour must be provided, and it can only be provided by imposition of taxation. I look forward to the imposition of a hut tax of £1 per hut in conformity with the practice that prevails in Basutoland, and I also hope that we may, 'with the permission of the Imperial authorities,' be able to establish a labour tax which those able-bodied natives should be required to pay who are unable to show a certificate of four months' work. I may add that the directors are already making inquiries on their own account as to the possibility of obtaining 'Asiatic' labour."

At the same meeting the Duke of Abercorn said that Her Majesty's Government will, in the settlement following the war, "neither wish *nor be able to disregard* the sentiments of their loyal supporters in South Africa."

Why We Refused Arbitration.

With such damning evidence as to the real objects of those who promoted the war it will be easily understood why Mr. Chamberlain to please the millionaires refused the repeated offers of President Kruger to submit any matters in dispute to arbitration. We had a very weak case, and a body of arbitrators would speedily have found that out. Away, then, with the delusion that this war is waged in order to open up new territory to British Colonists. The capitalists, who bought up or hired the Press both in South Africa and in England to clamour for war, are largely Jews and foreigners. The cry which they raised about the Outlanders' grievances, the arming of the Boers, a Dutch conspiracy, &c., were mere pretexts to deceive you. The enormous sums which they made out of the Rhodesian Diamond Mines emboldened them in their efforts to become absolute masters of the Transvaal Gold Mines also. They have all along wanted war to double their profits by cheap forced native labour. This is now proved out of the mouths of the capitalists themselves. And for this despicable object the British people have to pay untold millions, and British blood has already been poured out like water on South African soil!

How the Boers Hate the War.

The Rev. Reginald Collins, one of our army chaplains, who was engaged for three days burying our dead within the Boer line, says:—

"The Boers, great numbers of them, as they inspected the ghastly piles of our dead, cried 'Good God, what a sight!' 'I wish politicians could see their handiwork,' 'We hate this war.' 'It is not our war; it is a war of the millionaires.' 'What enmity have we with these poor fellows?' 'Would that Chamberlain, Rhodes, and the millionaires could see these graves.' 'We hate all war; we want to go back to our homes and farms, to sow our seed and reap our fields.' 'Good God, when will it end' ? "

And these are the men who, we are told, desire to drive the British out of South Africa! How can any sane man believe it?

The description and status attached to some of these signatures are for information only, and do not in any way commit the Organisations mentioned to approval of the opinions expressed in the Manifesto:—

JOHN ABBOTT, Branch Trustee, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, *Wigston*.

THOS. B. ANDERSON, Engine Keepers' Mutual Protection Association of Scotland, *Penicuik*.

JOS. ARCH, M.P., Ex-President Agricultural Labourers' Union, *Barford*.

MATTHEW ARRANDALE, C.C., J.P., United Machine Rulers' Association, *Manchester*.

GEO. N. BARNES, General Secretary Amalgamated Society of Engineers, *London*.

JOHN BATTERSBY, Councillor, J.P., Ex-Secretary Typographical Association, *Glasgow*.

ALFRED BAXTER, President Trades and Labour Council, *Portsmouth*.

JAS. BEEVER, Assistant Secretary Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers, *Manchester*.

RICHARD BELL, General Secretary Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, *London*.

W. BEESTON, Secretary Amalgamated Society of Tool Makers, Engineers, & Machinists, *Birmingham*.

- OWEN A. BINNEY, Silver and Electro-Plate Finishers, *Sheffield*.
 HY. BROADHURST, M.P., Ex-Secretary Parliamentary Committee Trades Union Congress, *Cromer*.
 JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C.
 THOS. BURT, M.P., Ex-President Trades Union Congress, *Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
 THOS. CARTER, Secretary Trades' Council, *Leicester*.
 J. CHAPLIN, Councillor, Secretary Leicester Amalgamated Hosiery Union, *Leicester*.
 WASHINGTON CHAPMAN, Dist. Secretary Amalgamated Society of Boot and Shoe Makers, *London*.
 JOB COBLEY, President Trades' Council, *Leicester*.
 BEN. COOPER, L.C.C., Secretary Cigar Makers' Association, *London*.
 GEO. H. COPLEY, National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen, *Rotherham*.
 W. E. CRAWFORD, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, *Doncaster*.
 PETE CURRAN, National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, *London*.
 DAVID R. DANIEL, Secretary North Wales Quarrymen's Union, *Chrwilog*.
 T. BRETT DAVIES, District Secretary, Dockers' Union, *Middlesbrough*.
 BEN. DEAN, J.P., Miners' Federation, *Walsall*.
 THOS. DOBSON, National Amalgamated Society of Enginemen, Cranemen, &c., *Stockton-on-Tees*.
 ARTHUR EADES, Secretary Trades Council, *Birmingham*.
 JOHN EDMONDS, Branch Secretary Amalgamated Society of Engineers, *Birmingham*.
 THOS. ELMES, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters (Treasurer Trades Council), *Brighton*.
 ELIAS EVESON, President United Chain Makers' Association, *Lye, Stourbridge*.
 HUGH R. FARREN, President Trades Council, *Coventry*.
 C. FENWICK, M.P., Ex-Secretary Parliamentary Com. Trades Union Congress, *Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
 JAS. FLYNN, C.C., Iron Ore Miners and Quarrymen's Association, *Cleator Moor*.
 C. FREAKER, L.C.C., General President National Union Boot and Shoe Operatives, *Leicester*.
 ALLEN GEE, Councillor, General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers, *Huddersfield*.
 ALFRED GILL, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (Trustee Trades Council), *Brighton*.
 THOS. GRIMSHAW, General Union of Railway Workers, *London*.
 JAS. D. GROUT, Wireworkers' Society, *London*.
 JOHN G. HANCOCK, Secretary Nottinghamshire Miners' Association, *Nottingham*.
 A. HAYDAY, Alderman, Secretary Trades and Labour Council, *West Ham*.
 W. BOYD HORNIDGE, General Secretary National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, *Leicester*.
 JAS. INGHAM, Secretary Trades Council, *Brighton*.
 J. JENKINS, General Secretary Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners, *London*.
 A. W. JONES, Typographical Association, *Manchester*.
 DAVID JONES, Treasurer Trades Council, *Birmingham*.
 J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., Editor *Labour Leader*.
 CHAS. KINGGATE, United Kingdom Society Coachmakers, *London*.
 JOS. LEICESTER, Ex-M.P., Secretary Glass Blowers' Society, *London*.
 J. MACDONALD, Secretary Trades Council, *London*.
 F. MADDISON, M.P., Ex-President Trades Union Congress, *London*.
 J. MADDISON, General Secretary Friendly Society Iron Founders, *London*.
 W. McDONALD, Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders' Society, *Jarrow-on-Tyne*.
 PETER MCFARLANE, Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland, *Larkhall, N.B.*
 J. J. MCSHEEDY, Urban District Councillor, Editor *Labour Journal*, *Walthamstow*.
 J. MILLER, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, *Nottingham*.
 JOS. MILLINGTON, President Trades Council, *Birmingham*.
 W. G. MILLINGTON, Councillor, J.P., Associated Shipwrights' Society, *Hull*.
 J. T. MORRISON, Secretary Harness Makers, *London*.
 GEO. NEWCOMBE, Secretary Trades and Labour Council, *Coventry*.
 J. O'GRADY, General Organiser Cabinet Makers and Furnishing Trades Association, *London*.
 H. PICARD, Councillor, National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, *London*.
 BENJAMIN PICKARD, M.P., President Miners Federation of Great Britain, *Barnsley*.
 G. PINSON, Secretary, Wire and Tube Workers' Society, *Birmingham*.
 W. G. POPE, Branch Secretary Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, *Bristol*.
 E. POULTON, Alderman, Branch Secretary National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, *Northampton*.

JOHN RAMSDEN, Branch Secretary Brass Workers' Society, *Aston, Birmingham.*
 D. J. SHACKLETON, Councillor, J.P., Weavers' Association, *Darwen.*
 JOHN SIDEBOTHAM, Secretary Power Loom Overlookers' General Union, *Droylsden.*
 ROBERT SMILLIE, President Scottish Miners' Federation, *Larkhall.*
 CHAS. SMITH, Branch Secretary Tin Plate Workers' Society, *Wolverhampton.*
 D. STANTON, J.P., National Union Boot and Shoe Operatives, *Northampton.*
 W. C. STEADMAN, M.P., Secretary Bargebuilders' Society, *London.*
 J. V. STEVENS, Councillor, Secretary Tin Plate Workers, Ex-Pres. Trades Union Cong., *Birmingham.*
 T. STOATE, District Secretary Amalgamated Society of Engineers, *Bristol.*
 H. R. TAYLOR, L.C.C., Operative Bricklayers' Society, *London.*
 WILL THORN, Councillor, National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, *London.*
 W. J. VERNON, Typographical Association, Ex-President Trades Union Congress, *Plymouth.*
 PAUL WEIGHILL, President Stone Masons' Society, *London.*
 JOHN WHITBURN, General Secretary Northern Enginemen's Association, *Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
 S. H. WHITEHOUSE, Somersetshire Miners' Association, *Radstock.*
 JOHN WILSON, M.P., Secretary Durham Miners, *Durham.*
 ARTHUR E. WOOD, Secretary Typographical Association, *Plymouth.*
 E. WOOLLER, Branch Secretary Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, *Sheffield.*

The Trades Union Congress.

(*Manchester Guardian*, September 5, 1900.)

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Congress proceeded to discuss the report of the Parliamentary Committee, of which an abstract appeared in yesterday's "*Guardian*."

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CONDEMNATION.

Mr. J. Ward (Navvies', Builders', and General Labourers' Union), London, said he wished to move that the Congress protests against the fact that the report did not refer to the disastrous effect upon the trade and industry of this country which has resulted from the cruel and unnecessary war now being waged against the two Republics of South Africa—(hear, hear,)—and further protests against the suppression of these two independent States, at the dictation of cosmopolitan capitalists, as a blow aimed at the independence of South African labour and against those principals of national freedom which had characterised the history of the closing century. He said he did not believe that the resolution passed at the last Congress effected the purpose they had in view.

If every man who had been really opposed to the war—a war which they knew quite well Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Rhodes, and others had intrigued for and were determined to bring about—if the decided opinion of the majority, or, at least, the best-informed opinion of the British community had been given expression to before the war, as it had been given expression to since the war began, he thought the war would never have taken place. (Applause.) Even now it was not too late to take some step. They knew the disastrous effect that the war had had upon the trade of the country; they knew quite well that the state of our national finances was such that old-age pensions, which were within the range of practical politics, and other urgent social reforms had been thrown to the winds on purpose that we might succeed in a constitutional raid against the Republics of South Africa.

As all were aware, the franchise question was used in the earlier stages of the matter.

As workmen they were much interested in that controversy, and to some extent they sympathised with the agitation. But everybody knew now, by the proclamation of the mouthpiece of the Government annexing those two independent States to what was termed the British Empire, that the question of the franchise was a mere bogey—(applause)—and that the real reason for the war was to secure the gold mines of the Transvaal. (Loud applause.) He was not interested so far as party was concerned. He knew that at the Congress at Plymouth it was said they had no right to engage in party politics. (Hear, hear.) Well, he agreed with that. They now knew, however, the reason for the war.

We had spent £100,000,000 practically of the ratepayers' money in trying to secure the goldfields of South Africa for a number of cosmopolitan Jews, most of whom had no patriotism and no country. (Hear, hear.) It was also most important that they should consider the question from the labour point of view. Did anyone imagine that the wages that ruled upon the Rand under the auspices of the old farmers of the Transvaal would ever again rule under the control of the representatives of gold speculators? (Cries of "No.") They knew well that they would not. The question was clearly one of wages, and he therefore said it was the duty of that congress, representing the organised working men of Great Britain, to raise its voice in defence of people who were rightly struggling to be free. (Loud applause.)

Mr. S. Masterson (Ironfounders' Friendly Society), London, said he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He especially endorsed the last words of the proposer—that they should look at the question from its labour aspect. Whatever their opinion might be with regard to the justice or injustice of the war, they were firmly convinced that the ultimate result would be detrimental to the interests of the working classes of the country. (Hear, hear.) As a body of workmen representing the highest intellect of the working classes, it was their duty to protest in the most earnest manner against a policy that had been detrimental to their interests in the past,

was detrimental to their interests in the present, and would be detrimental to their interests in the future. (Applause.)

There were loud cries of "Agreed." A show of hands was taken, and the President declared the resolution carried "by a small majority."

(*Westminster Gazette*, September 11, 1900.)

If the Trade Unions Congress had done no more than solve the problem of the president it would be memorable. Custom rather than principle has determined his election in the past. * * *

It is seldom that Mr. Ward, of the Navvies' Union, carries a Congress so thoroughly with him as he did in his resolution on the South African War. He believed that war to be a crime, and said so, and applause rose on all sides. He also contended that the "cosmopolitan Jew" was a man without patriotism or country and always a sweeter of labour, and denounced the hypocrisy of a free nation destroying freedom in a nation weaker than itself. * * *

There was no question of the feeling of the delegates in this matter, nor of the feeling of those in the gallery who were not delegates. At the passing of this resolution only did it become necessary for the President to address the spectators, and inform them it was not their business to applaud the speeches in Congress, but only to listen to them.

Durham Miners' Gala.

SPEECHES OF LABOUR LEADERS.

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 30th, 1900.)

The twenty-ninth annual gala of the Durham miners was held at Durham on Saturday. * * *

The miners entered the city in processional order, each of the lodges of the association being headed by a band and banner. * * *

Mr. Tom Mann, speaking in support of a resolution expressing satisfaction at the present prosperous condition of the coal trade, and noting that the membership of the Association, standing at 64,563 full members, was stronger than at any previous period in its history, advocated the federation of all trades, the nationalisation of mines and railways, and a legal eight-hour day for miners. * * *

Mr. Atherley Jones, Q.C., M.P., supported a second resolution expressing regret at the continuance of the Transvaal war and the desperate situation in China, and urging the adoption of some system of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes without resort to the dread arbitrament of war. Mr. Jones said the only outcome of the Transvaal war would be to take away for ever the liberties of 40,000 men. He strongly condemned the diplomacy which led up to the war. Referring to the situation in China, he said it was the result of the policy of aggression against our neighbours—of the pure unadulterated burglary in which England, with other European nations, had participated. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Mr. John Burns, M.P., speaking in support of the second resolution, urged the miners to adapt their splendid organisation to every aspect of life, and whether as colliers or citizens to stand behind the trade union, which was the only collective means of defence they had against the encroachment of capital and man's inhumanity to man. (Applause.) * * *

Instead of giving them old-age pensions, the Government had wasted the money in the prosecution of a costly and unprofitable war. He hoped that in the forthcoming elections the men of Durham would not forget to tell the Tory candidates how they had broken their promises of domestic legislation and had wasted the blood and treasure of the country. The outlook abroad was, he went on to say, black and dangerous. Already trade was beginning to shrink. In regard to the China trouble, they were beginning to see that it was a mistake to black the eyes of their best customer. And what right had they to talk about spending the nation's money on the civilisation of China? Before they attempted to take the mote out of the Chinaman's eyes they had better take the beam out of their own. (Hear, hear.)

After the War—Cheap Labour.

(*Star*, June 21, 1900.)

A representative of the Exchange Telegraph Company has had an interview with Mr. Edgar P. Rathbone, late Transvaal Government inspector of the Rand mines, in regard to the future of the gold-mining industry of South Africa.

In reply to questions Mr. Rathbone said:—

REDUCE WAGES.

"If the representatives of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines take this opportunity, and work solidly and harmoniously, it should prove possible to make a great reduction in the rate of wages paid to the natives. If ever a determined stand is to be successfully made by the mine-owners, now is their golden opportunity. The enormous importance of the question cannot be overrated, seeing that the whole prosperity of the Transvaal, and especially its future agricultural prospects, to which so many intending emigrants naturally look forward, will entirely depend on this question of a fair and reasonable rate of wages being paid all over the country to the natives. The farmer cannot compete with the mine-owner in paying an extravagant rate of wage. Before the discovery of the goldfields the natives on the farms only received at most some 20s. per month, frequently less, and they were quite as happy and contented as they were when paid £3 or £4 per month to work in the mines. * * *

OTHER ECONOMIES.

"Doubtless satisfactory economies in the cost of working will be effected by reasonable reductions being made in the cost of dynamite, and the excessive railway rates charged by the Netherlands Railway on the transport of coal to the mines: but the great reduction can only be made by reducing the pay of the natives. * * *

WHITE LABOUR NOT WANTED.

"The palmy days of fortune-making and great 'booms' enjoyed during the few years after the first discovery of the goldfields have doubtless departed for ever, and everything now will be more than ever reduced to the dead level of crowded competition. I should therefore strongly advise the emigrant to give the goldfields a wide berth; only those supplied with plenty of capital to invest, or who are skilled workmen—mechanics, carpenters, masons, &c.—should give it a trial, and then only when the country is in a fairly settled condition under British administration."

The Labour Question.

(Star, August 3, 1900.)

It is evident from several letters which have reached this country during the last week that the whole question of native labour in the Transvaal is entering on a critical phase. We have always argued in these columns that one of the main motives of the Rand mine-owners for forcing on this war was a desire to exploit Kaffir labour more successfully. We know that Mr. Rhodes has told us that he went to war "not for the amusement of royal families, as in the past," but "because he meant practical business." . . .

A letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, over the well-known signature of Major Robert White, of Jameson Raid fame, brought the good news from Capetown to Capel Court. The "representatives of the leading houses"—Beit, Eckstein, Goerz, Albu, Barnato, Joel, and the rest—he tells us, "are making every effort to deal with the matter."

"They have realised that now, if ever, is the moment at which a common understanding may be arrived at. The working of the mines is forcibly suspended, enormous numbers of the natives usually employed are absent, the fever of competition has for the time abated, and a general feeling obtains as to the absolute necessity of mutual assistance. During hostilities the Transvaal Government—for the time without rivals as gold producers—fixed a scale for the payment of natives employed on the Rand. The remuneration for such labour, during this period, was not permitted to exceed 20s. per boy per month as an average. . . .

While at Cape Town, I was unofficially informed that a scheme for native employment had been agreed upon, and received the support of practically all the representatives of the various mining companies interested. Much time and care have been spent in drawing this up so as to reconcile the interests of all parties."

There will be nothing then for Sir Alfred Milner to do, it seems, save to give his sanction to this scheme conceived in the interests of the "leading houses." Major White is chary of detail. We know that the supply of black labour was slack when the mines paid as much as £3 or £4 per month to the Kaffir. What devices, then, are to be adopted to stimulate the supply while the wages drop to an average of 20s.? We are told very little, but we learn that there is to be "organisation and regulation of supply." The natives, moreover, are to be housed in "properly supervised rest-camps." We dislike this talk about "organisation" and "supervision." Under the circumstances it can be only a thin disguise for the press-gang and the prison. The supply of labour would "regulate" itself if an adequate wage were offered.

We commend these extracts to two classes in particular—first, to those who think that we annex and expand in order to spread the Gospel and civilise the native, next to those working men who still believe that Imperialism is going to bring them an era of unexampled prosperity. It is not at all to evangelise the nigger that we are conquering the Transvaal. It is to exploit his labour, to lower his wages, and as a necessary consequence to make him in all but the name our slave, our living tool. The working man for his part, will probably be quick to infer that the "leading houses" which can combine to lower

native wages and so eliminate competition would find no difficulty in coming to an agreement as regards white labour also. South Africa is not a white man's country. There is room there for the speculator and the clerk, and for supervisors of unskilled labour. The actual manual work is done by Kaffirs, and as they gain skill as artisans there will be less demand even for English foremen and supervisors. As Earl Grey put it to the Chartered Company's shareholders last December:—

"We must dismiss from our minds any idea of developing our mines with white labour. . . . It is obvious that the black labour of the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa must be our first line of defence. . . . An incentive to labour must be provided, and it can only be provided by imposition of taxation. I may add that the directors are already making inquiries on their own account as to the possibility of obtaining 'Asiatic' labour."

The new Imperialism is the policy of the capitalist and the financier. He looks to it for dividends, for forced labour, even for Asiatic labour. But he has no thought for making homes and opportunities for the English masses. The old free colonies helped to solve the problem of overcrowding. The new slave dependencies will only add to our taxes and double our military burdens.

How to get Cheap Labour.

(Star, Jan. 1, 1901.)

The other day Mr. Rhodes and his entourage indignantly repudiated any intention to introduce Chinese labour into Rhodesia. At the time, we received these denials with scepticism. Our attitude is amply justified by the report of the Rhodesia Exploration and Development Company, Limited. Mr. Rochfort Maguire and Dr. Rutherford Harris are directors of this company. In the Engineer's annual report we find some very suggestive remarks under the heading "Native Labour." . . .

We fear the gentleman "doth protest too much." His real views leak out in this significant paragraph:—

I think the introduction of Chinese would be preferable to the introduction of coolies from the mining districts of India, for the reason that whereas we could legislate for the Chinese and treat them as aliens, we could not do so in the case of Indians from India, because they are essentially British subjects, and would have every right arising therefrom. . . .

Another reason for introducing Chinese Labour is equally cynical:—

The introduction of a little extraneous population of, say, 10,000 Chinese would create a feeling of rivalry among aborigines of the country, because they would argue then, "If many of these people are coming, we shall not get work from the white men, even when we come to ask for it."

This picture of the Rhodesian native is nobly pathetic, in view of the fact that he does not yearn for work in the mines at all, but only asks to be let alone. Our engineer winds up with the declaration, "Labour we must have." And we may add they will not be too particular as to the means they adopt to get it. Of course, he exults in the "recent acquisition of the Transvaal and Orange Free State

by the British Government" as "an important factor in accelerating the progress of Rhodesia." He envisages railways from Bulawayo and the different districts of Rhodesia to Johannesburg. The benefits which will result, he says, "it is needless to particularise, as they are far too obvious." They are, indeed, "far too obvious" to some of us. It is clear that Mr. Rhodes and his friends expect to profit by the war.

The "Manchester Guardian," August 1, sums up the case in the following humorous and pithy article:—

The force of Mr. Rhodes's remark that what was meant in this war was "practical business" is brought out in a letter which was written by Major White from Johannesburg to the London *Daily Telegraph*, and which seems to be raising a glow in many hearts in the London stock market. Major White dwells with gusto on the prospect of cutting down the wages of negro miners after the war. It seems that during the war the Boers have been paying the native miners at a greatly reduced rate, and Major White points out that "it would be well if this or some similar rule could be adhered to in future." The letter breathes throughout a spirit of tender regard for the native who is exposed to so many temptations to excess by the receipt of more than £1 a month. It seems that some of the Rand mine-owners who have been blessing our arms from Capetown during the war have also put their heads together to form a sort of trade union in which the principle of combination is a common determination to expose Kaffir "boys" to these temptations no longer. Now, as Major White points out, is the golden time for action. When the mines are at work again and competition keen, employers might be sorely tempted to give miners the market value of their work unless they had bound themselves strictly enough beforehand not to do so. By a stroke of humour, which pleasantly relieves the dryness of this philanthropic document, it is proposed to give the natives additional protection on their way home after their work, lest their wages should be stolen from them. It would surely be simpler to remove all temptation from the path, not only of the miners, but of the thieves, by making the miners work, without any more ado, for the "dignity of labour" pure and simple.

Labour for the Mines.

(*Daily Telegraph*, January 7, 1901.)

The German liner *Hertzog* has arrived with 136 Abyssinians and Somalis on board for work in the Rhodesian mines. On the passage, the natives had been told by the firemen on board that they would have to work in chains, and they consequently refused to land. The overseer, therefore, called two Portuguese police on board to arrest the ringleader, but they were attacked and maltreated. A large body of police then boarded the steamer. They were assisted by Portuguese soldiers and by the passengers. The natives had baricaded themselves on the fore-deck, and a serious fight ensued, lasting for an hour. The Portuguese got the upper hand, but nine of the police were wounded, while one Somali was killed and twenty-six were wounded. Fifty were found on board, but the remainder are missing, having jumped overboard.—*Reuter*.

Chinese Cheap Labour.

SOUTH AFRICAN PROTESTS.

(*Daily Telegraph*, September 14th, 1900.)

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

The alarm at the prospect of the introduction of Chinese cheap labour into Cape Colony and Rhodesia, a scheme which, it is understood, is favoured by Mr. Rhodes, is spreading among all classes of colonists. The mercantile community have already protested in the strongest manner, and to-day the Cape Town Corporation decided to send a deputation to Sir Alfred Milner to offer an equally emphatic protest.

Kimberley is quite hostile to the project, which is regarded as likely to be altogether injurious to the welfare of British artisans and workmen who may settle in the country after the war, besides introducing the immorality and uncleanness of the lowest class of Chinese.

There will certainly be vehement opposition to the dumping of the Yellow trouble in South Africa, not stopping short of forcible resistance.

Mr. Rhodes' North African Natives.

(*Daily News*, January 5th, 1901.)

Three hundred North African natives were imported by Mr. Rhodes, as an experiment for mine labour. Differences arose in connection with their religious practices, as there are several sects among them. The police were called out, but the natives seemed in no fear of their lances or revolvers. They uprooted the poles from their huts with which to defend themselves. Some armed civilians volunteered to assist the police, and the natives were pacified without bloodshed. Forty of them were marched off to gaol.—*Reuter*.

Escaping Niggers Shot Down.

(*Morning Leader*, Dec. 17th, 1900.)

A lurid light has been thrown upon the compound system of the De Beers Company at Kimberley by an inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of Titsane, a native who was shot whilst attempting, with others, to escape from the Premier Mine, Wesselson. It appears that on the night of 29 October last the deceased, with others, at about a quarter-past six, endeavoured to escape. He had, of course, undertaken to remain in the compound and to work for the De Beers Company for a certain period. That period was not completed.

A NIGGER HUNT.

The manager of the compound had placed five of the compound guards at the Major's disposal as a patrol, and consequently when the natives attempted to escape he thought it only fair to assist the other compound guards, so he instructed Sergt. Howard of his regiment to "send down a few men to help round up these 'boys.'" In all, some 13 or 14 men of Her Majesty's army were engaged in this work, five of whom were Royal Artillerymen and three were Imperial Yeomanry. The Major meanwhile—to quote his *ipsisima verba*—"watched the hunt after these boys." The Major heard all three shots fired. One man was killed and two were wounded as the result of this "hunt." The verdict was to the effect that the evidence did not disclose by whom the fatal shot was fired.

This is a matter which calls for very urgent and searching inquiry, for at present it seems as if Mr. Rhodes, the President of the South African League, in his capacity as chairman of the De Beers Company, can requisition the services of detachments of the British army.

IMPORTED LABOUR (NOT SLAVES ?)

In vain we look to-day for a single protest against the slavery impudently practised by Mr. Rhodes and his colleagues in international villainy. Not one word of rebuke has our noble, dignified, honourable, humane, and patriotic London Press for the infamous doings of this crew, who if they had their deserts, would receive the same shrift as any Arab slaver. * * * *

It may be said that this is an exceptional abomination, but it is not exceptional. It is normal. * * * *

Instead we have the oleaginous cant of the Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, whose gratitude for the donations given to the Methodist Church by Mr. Rhodes is so great that he hails him as an ally in the work of spreading the Gospel, and declares that the war we are waging is a war to free the natives from Dutch oppression. Of such is latter-day Christianity!

The history of Mr. Rhodes and his Chartered Company is one long river of blood. It was his attempts to enslave the natives which provoked the Matabele to revolt. We all know how that revolt was suppressed, and how the soil of South Africa was soaked with the black man's blood in order to supply the mines with labour. These men have no heart and no conscience. * * *

If we mean as a nation to make slavery a cornerstone of our Empire, let us do it openly, and not in the dark. Away with this cant, this loathsome hypocrisy which is making our Pulpit, our Press, and our Parliament stink in the nostrils of honest men! Let us tear the masks off our faces and see ourselves as we are.

Mr. Rhodes's 33 per Cent. of Taxation.

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 21, 1900.)

Rhodesia, Limited.—Mr. R. J. Price, M.P., chairman of Rhodesia, Limited, presiding at the shareholders' meeting held in London, yesterday, said that with the increase of capital from £300,000 to £600,000, the bulk of which was taken up by the shareholders at half a crown premium, the company was now one of the strongest and most solvent doing business in Rhodesia. * * * *

But he believed that in a short time the Chartered Company would find it necessary to make some modification in their terms. Thirty-three per cent. was too large an amount to pay them, and the consequence was that every day new enterprises were retarded or nipped in the bud through this heavy imposition, and he felt convinced there must be a change before long.

Extracts from

"Liberalism and The Empire."

"Imperialism and Finance,"

(By F. W. HIRST.)

(Taken from pages 49-57.)

* * * With friends and co-operators like Messrs. Barnato, Beit, and Eckstein, Mr. Rhodes was now able to test still more thoroughly the

truth of that venerable saying, "Every man (and every newspaper) has his price."

Encouraged by the achievement of Kimberley, and by some minor successes over Imperial officers, he proceeded to form a new scheme, which required a visit to London and an application to metropolitan society of the same methods which had been found effectual in Cape Town. * * *

Avidity still overrules statesmanship, and endangers empire with the Black Magic of Imperialism. A cheque of £10,000 paid by Mr. Rhodes into the Irish Home Rule Funds secured the sympathies of the Nationalist party and of Mr. Parnell, without leading a Unionist Government to suspect the character of Mr. Rhodes's Imperial patriotism. No Parliamentary inquiry was granted; no Parliamentary debate was allowed, Baron de Worms was put up to give evasive replies to inconvenient questions; and at the end of the session of 1889, by an exercise of a prerogative of the Crown, on a petition signed by Mr. Rhodes, a native of Hamburg, and one or two noble decoy-ducks, a Royal Charter was granted to the British South Africa Company to exploit the vast territory of Rhodesia. This was the first act in a new South African tragedy. * * *

There is a quaint clause in the charter providing that directors of the company should be British subjects, but that this provision should not apply to any person named as director in the charter who did not fulfil the condition. It was a little awkward that the charter could not speak of "our loyal subjects." * * *

Within a few months the one million original shares had been syndicated, and the right to apply for the £1 shares of the new issue sold for £4 a share. So that a present of the value of £3,000,000 had already been made to the grantees of the Charter. * * *

In the October before the Raid "Chartered" stood at 8. A month after the Raid they were bought and sold at less than half that figure. In July, 1895, Mr. Rhodes had 166,057 shares in his sole name, and Mr. Beit 122,376. In March, 1896, they held 29,463 and 7,496 shares respectively. In the same interval the firm of Beit and Rhodes had sold 209,491 shares. * * *

The profits realised by some of the principal shareholders from these operations have been calculated (by Mr. Labouchere, whose exposures of the South African gang in the House of Commons and in *Truth* gave him a claim to the gratitude of his countrymen) on a moderate basis as follows:—

NAME.	PROFIT.
Duke of Abercorn	£14,324
Duke of Fife	14,708
Earl Grey	27,612
Lord Gifford	38,388
Sir Horace Farquhar	60,928
Mr. Rhodes	546,376
Mr. Beit	459,520
Mr. Rochfort Maguire	228,860
Goldfields of South Africa	477,108
Lord Rothschild	167,596
Beit and Rhodes (in joint names)	837,964
Rhodes and Beit (in joint names)	45,600
Rhodes, Rudd, and Beit	68,000

I need not describe the Jameson Raid, which constitutes the third act of the tragedy. * * *

When the chief villain of the piece was let off, and his agents, local and Imperial, left untouched or visited with trifling punishments as a prelude to further promotion, Dutch suspicion of Mr.

Chamberlain's complicity deepened into certainty. Even Mr. Lecky saw the trail of the financial serpent. * * *

Now, that they anticipated a vast increase of dividends from the termination of Boer Government on the Rand (and still more, perhaps, from the exploitation of other goldfields in the Transvaal) is shown conclusively, not only in Mr. Fitzpatrick's book, but also by many official statements made in the year 1899 by directors and experts at meetings of shareholders in the principal companies affected. Several millions were to be saved annually by the reduction of black and white wages, by facilitating the importation of niggers, and by introducing some form of compulsory labour for the blacks on the Kimberley or Rhodesian pattern. * * *

Speculators who bought on a large scale at the end of September, 1899, and sold towards the end of November, made fortunes almost beyond the dreams of avarice. Take a few quotations at four different dates. * * *

	Oct. 3, 1899.	Oct. 20, 1899.	Nov. 23, 1899.	Jan. 31, 1900.
East Rand..	4½	7½	7½	5½
Rand Mines	27½	38½	42½	30½
Goldfields ..	5½	7½	8½	6½
Chartereds..	2½	3½	4½	3
Modders....	7½	10½	11½	7½

Views of a Discontented Conservative.

(*Manchester City News*, September 1st, 1900.)

Captain Bethell, R.N., the Conservative member for Holderness, whose attitude on the war has caused the party to select another candidate in his stead, has written a letter to his constituents explaining his views on the war.

Having traced the history of the two Republics, he says that people were fond of saying that war between the British and Dutch was bound to come. He believes that to be an entire mistake. The causes of the war lie on the surface, and might have been readily avoided. He does not deny that the Outlanders have grievances, but says that in reality they all hang on the dynamite and liquor questions. Every country has a right to defend its citizens dwelling abroad if they are persecuted and oppressed, but he is absolutely certain nothing of the sort occurred in the Transvaal, and he was persuaded that the Government and people had unintentionally become tools of men who had to pay too much for their dynamite, and could get too little labour for the mines, and who sought to secure the removal of these obstacles by the stupid and wicked raid.

Captain Bethell blames Sir A. Milner's unsympathetic and aggressive attitude for the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference, and condemns Mr. Chamberlain for his refusal of President Kruger's "very liberal offer" of five years' franchise, coupled with three conditions which, he says, were not of any importance. He thinks the Boers were both foolish and wrong to start the war by invading our territory, but he cannot deny we did very much to goad them into the step they took, and, in his clear judgment, we are in far the greater degree morally responsible for the war. In short, by ill-temper, aggressiveness, and bad management on our side; by extreme suspicion and unnecessary obstinacy on the side of the Boers, we blundered into a war which could profit no one, except, perhaps, the mine-owners. He believes the conspiracy to turn

the British out of South Africa a myth. As to the future, it is his opinion that annexation is a profoundly mistaken policy, and contrary to our interests as an Empire.

Some of Those We are Fighting For.

(*Morning Leader*, May 31, 1900.)

Sergeant Medland Newsham, of the Durban Light Infantry, writes to his parents at Northampton: "It makes me disgusted when I think of the many lazy Transvaal refugees loafing about Maritzburg and Durban, running down everybody and everything. They are the ones who have caused all this row. There are hundreds of able-bodied men loafing about, leaving others to fight their cause. It is all right for the women and children, but the men want kicking."

Letters from South Africa.

Stop the War Committee's Publications.

"Some came here as clerks, some as labourers in the mines, and some are merchants who brought £10 worth of goods out from Birmingham a dozen years ago. They tell you that they have left £100,000 worth, or £80,000 worth, of goods in their shops, and that altogether £25,000,000 is in danger of destruction in Johannesburg.

"It is enough to make a statue ill to have to hear and see them and move among them. The war has jeopardised their property, and they have a keener interest in it than any Tommy or any officer now at the front. How can they see the cream and flower of English manhood rushing down here to spill its precious blood for them and never feel a blush of shame or a pang of any emotion except grief over losses which will still leave many of them rich?"

A correspondent of the *Cape Argus*, a paper very hostile to the Boers, thus describes some of the other sort of Uitlanders who came down from the Transvaal in the refugee train. He says:—

"British subjects? They were not subjects, they were objects: moth-eaten, foul-mouthed specimens of humanity, the very lowest type of refuse on the face of the earth. The Transvaal was well rid of them, and if the train had been run right into the sea a double purpose would have been served."

Stolen Diamond Fields.

"Perhaps," says the historian *Froude* ("Oceana," p. 45), "there would not have been" any further breach "had no new temptation come in our way. But . . . diamonds were discovered in large quantities in a district which we had ourselves treated as part of the Orange Territory before our first withdrawal, and which had ever since been administered by Orange Free State magistrates. There was a rush of diggers from all parts of the country. There was a genuine fear that the Boers would be unable to control the flock of vultures which was gathering over so rich a prey. There was a notion also that the finest diamond mines in the world ought not to be lost to the British Empire. It was discovered that the country in which it lay was not part of the Free State at all, and that it belonged to a Griqua chief named Waterboer. This chief in past times had been an ally of the English.

The Boers were accused of having robbed him. He appealed for help, and, in an ill hour, we lent ourselves to an aggression for which there was no excuse. . . .

The manner in which we acted, or allowed our representatives to act, was insolent in its cynicism. We had gone in as champions of the oppressed Waterboer. We gave Waterboer and his Griquas a tenth of the territory. We kept the rest and all that was valuable for ourselves. . . . We have accused 'the Dutch' of breaking their engagements with us, and it was we who taught them the lesson. . . . Our conduct would have been less entirely intolerable if we had rested simply on superior force—if we had told the Boers simply that we must have the diamond fields, and intended to take them; but we poisoned the wound, and justified our action by posing before the world as the protectors of the rights of native tribes whom we accused them of having wronged, and we maintained this attitude through the controversy which afterwards arose. I had myself," continues Froude, "to make inquiries subsequently into the details of this transaction, perhaps the most discreditable in the annals of English Colonial history."

A Campaign to suit Millionaires.

(Morning Leader, August 2nd, 1900.)

Thanks to the occasional indiscretions of those on the spot, the truth even about military operations usually leaks out in the end. It is thus that Mr. Pearse, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, gives the clue to the protracted activity of General De Wet and his handful of men upon our communications. To have ignored his presence is now generally admitted to be a mistake. But

"Lord Roberts was naturally anxious to save the mines of Johannesburg from destruction, and that, no doubt, was the reason why he pushed on by forced marches from the Vaal."

That is to say, that the claims of the financiers—political considerations, as they are called by an excess of courtesy—prevailed once again. As in Natal, when Sir George White was in command, as at head-quarters when Sir Redvers Buller came out to take command, as at Kimberley, when Mr. Rhodes urged the advance of Lord Methuen, and our plan of campaign was shattered, the military necessities of the situation were subordinated to the fears of the mine-owners. The country cannot be indifferent to what this means. Lives have been lost, hard-won savings are being poured out during these latter weeks of the war that might have been preserved. And this not for the honour of the flag, but for the security of certain cosmopolitan pockets.

Rhodesia and Its Government.

By H. C. THOMSON.

There can be no doubt of the view the Dutch take of the matter. Against England as a nation, and against individual Englishmen, they have no bitter feeling. The marvellous humanity with which they have behaved during this terrible conflict has furnished sufficient proof of that, if there were any doubt about it before. But how is it possible that it could be otherwise, bound together as the two races are by the closest ties of relationship and marriage? President Steyn's wife is

Scotch; Mrs. de Villiers, the wife of the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, is Irish. . . .

General Joubert, when deploring the death of General Symons, said the war had been brought about by capitalist intrigues, and President Steyn, nearly two years ago, stated, both in public speech and in a private conversation to the writer of this article, that the real nature of the struggle in South Africa was utterly misunderstood; that it was not a struggle between the English and Dutch races, but between *capital* and *labour*, between *monopoly* and *individual effort*, between company serfage and freedom.

The Trail of the Financial Serpent.

Speech in the House of Commons by
John Burns, M.P., Feb. 6, 1900.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea): The right hon. baronet the member for the College Division of Glasgow, to whom I always listen with interest and sympathy, was under the impression that the House of Commons in this, the time of peril, ought to be engaged in a better and more dignified task than criticising the causes and the preparations for this war. . . .

Out of a mistaken sense of patriotism men have been silent in this House at the suggestion of a clique too long. The financial elements, the military caste, the society set, have dictated African policy too long, with fatal results. . . .

He said that the only effect of this debate will be to stimulate the Boers and give them an incentive to fight. What more incentive do they want from the military point of view? Fifty or sixty thousand peasant farmers, market gardeners, and undisciplined troops are fighting under the greatest stimulus men can ever have—a deep religious motive, a patriotic impulse, and a love of liberty. . . .

When I hear men talk about the British Empire being broken up I do not believe a word of it. It is not true. It would not happen even if we lost South Africa, as Empire depends on other qualities than military loss or failure. That kind of clap-trap was indulged in when we lost the American colonies, but from 1780 up till 1900 has been a period of unexampled prosperity, and so long as our people are industrious and our merchants honest the British people will go on. . . .

Did the gullible readers think that the proprietors of the *Daily Mail*, which has been mainly responsible for egging the people of this country on to this war—that Alfred Harmsworth had 500 shares in the Chartered Company; that Cecil Harmsworth was also a "chartered libertine," and that another Harmsworth was one of the Rhodesian gang? . . .

It is creditable that men like Lord Methuen, Sir George White, General Symons, and, indeed, all who have come into contact with the Boers either here or in the colonies, have admired the strategy, chivalry, devotion, courage, and humanity of every man who follows the Boer flag. We have a right to say that. Respect for a brave foe is the first step to know how to vanquish him, and when beaten how to treat him. . . .

Then the Colonial Secretary talks about victory. I do not yet see it in sight—although like all men I would like to—when we know that we have lost 10,000 men, killed, wounded, missing, or prisoners; or when this lamentable fact is brought to light, that in three years in the Crimean War we had 851 officers killed and wounded; whereas in three months of this war we have 615 officers killed,

wounded, missing, or prisoners. It is not for us to boast of victory after four months' war, or to talk about magnanimity being a mistake, in face of tragic facts like these. It is not for us to talk about no repetition of Majuba, which was a military blunder on our side, and for which no fault could be found against the Boers. What we have got to do in our struggle with the Boers, whilst prosecuting our military aim with their ability, resource, and common sense, is to avoid provocation and boastful threats, and what we have a right to do when war ceases is to make it possible for our enemy to enter into negotiations for a lasting and permanent peace, which shall be beneficial to both sides. * * *

I take up higher ground, and accept the challenge of the right hon. the Colonial Secretary. I maintain as against him that this war is unnecessary, unjust, and immoral, because I recognise the Boer Republics as independent States, owing us no suzerainty except in one particular which has not yet been infringed. * * *

What is more, if the most elementary precautions and patience had been taken the cause of war could have been removed, if what others saw had been seen by the Colonial Office. * * *

Well, it was because the Colonial Secretary had allowed Mr. Rhodes to go back to South Africa, and did not deprive him of his Privy Councillorship, of which he ought to have been deprived; because he allowed Earl Grey to dodge the Committee and slip away out of the country; because he promoted Sir Graham Bower and retained Mr. Newton; because Willoughby and White had been reinstated whilst the correspondence between Mr. Hawksley and the Colonial Secretary showed how the instigators of the raid, the real cause of the war, had been treated—it is because of all these blunders and entanglements that we are involved in this lamentable war. * * *

But it may be said that I want to see British subjects in South Africa treated better. Of course I do. * * *

I say by diplomacy, yes; by representations, yes; by war, no: a thousand times no, because you have no right to dictate to the Transvaal on its internal affairs. But you did dictate, and demand and persuade with such effect that Paul Kruger climbed down considerably, and with such rapidity that the Colonial Secretary himself was astonished at the rapidity and amount of the concessions. And I venture to say that if he had continued to squeeze the sponge it would not have been necessary to grasp the sword. If he had been more tactful and conciliatory, and had known better the traditions of our old diplomacy, we might have done with the velvet glove of conciliation what he is trying to do with the iron glove of war. If the ingenuity for war had been used for peace, this conflict could have been avoided. * * *

Well, we have had in this war gallant deeds done by the fighting 5th Northumberland Fusiliers. I know them well. They are our collier lads from Northumberland and Durham, and fine soldiers they are. When at home every man joins his trade union, and every man is a keen politician and an enemy of oppression of every kind. * * *

A Cornish miner, when interviewed, said that "the five or seven years' franchise did not trouble us." He said further on: "We had no complaint about the hours; we went to make money; this is a capitalists' job from beginning to end, and we have really no interest in it." * * *

I asked him, "Have you had any meetings in the Transvaal?" And he said "No." "Have you

pulled down any park railings?" "No." "What demonstrations, then? Have you fought for the vote as long as Englishmen did at home?" "No." "Do you know that the Lords, in July, 1898, by 86 to 36, excluded aliens, and that 30 per cent. of your fellow countrymen in England either cannot vote for Commons or influence the Lords?" But he had not any proper answer to give. * * *

He had been used to getting 30s. a day in Johannesburg instead of 30s. a week in this country, and he showed all the impetuosity of the *nouveau riche*. He said: "We don't want to listen to the Colonial Secretary and his talk of the franchise; what we want is the confounded country." * * *

Again, what did Mr. Lionel Phillips, one of the Rhodesian conspirators say? "As to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it." * * *

Let us see how the franchise is used by Rhodes, Harris, Fuller, and Co. These gentlemen in the Lower House in Cape Colony, in August, 1899, obstructed and got rejected by two in the Cape House of Lords a 6d. in the £ income tax because the De Beers millionaires would have had to pay the tax equally with the poor people. But not only that, these people who call the Boer Government a corrupt oligarchy were so keenly interested in doctoring the registers of the Capetown Parliament that Rhodes' agents put on 7,000 false votes, largely forgeries, and in over twenty cases Rhodesian agents were convicted by the courts of offences against the electoral laws, and one agent got four months' imprisonment with hard labour. And then we are told that the gentlemen who do these things have sympathy with the British working man, believe in the purity of government and honesty of administration? * * *

Then, coming to the natives, I have had the pleasure, and perhaps the pain, of being one of the pioneers of Africa. * * *

At the best I have seen cruelty practised there which has filled me with shame for my country, and both Boer and Briton need not be too proud of their treatment of the natives in any part of Africa. * * *

Then take the compound system. In the Wellington Barracks the death rate is 6 or 8 per 1,000 per annum; but when we go into the Kimberley compound, which is filled with people of just as strong physique as the soldiers in Wellington Barracks, we find, from reports of returning miners, the death rate runs from 40 to 70 per 1,000, almost the death rate of the Middle Passage. These men work hard at low depths, are liable to accidents, and when they come up they are not allowed out of the compounds, and the consequence is their only recreation is drinking, gambling, and fighting, with their attendant results in life and limb. Once a week they are subjected to strong purgatives to see that they do not secrete diamonds in their stomachs, and I now read that they go over each native with a sounding hammer to see whether he has a diamond hidden about him in his flesh. * * *

I believe while we are prosecuting this unrighteous war against these people we ought to prospect for peace; we ought to ascertain Kruger's mind as to what the ultimate terms should be. We can do so without loss of dignity and respect, without loss of power or prestige. * * *

Except Ireland. Britain has been through centuries the knighterrant of the smaller peoples. Who set Belgium on its legs, gave Greece its inde-

pendence, helped united Italy, and stood by Switzerland from time to time? England.
* * *

I spent my Christmas holidays going through the books of the Chartered Company's shareholders, and I find that nearly every one who has spoken in this debate here, in the House of Lords, and in the country, has his patriotism strengthened and his speeches lengthened by the amount of his holding in the stock of the South Africa Company * * *

350 generals and army officers, and newspaper proprietors by the yard. Then we find the shareholders in the books of the Chartered Company are also the men who figured as the Johannesburg prisoners, four of whom alone owned £12,000,000 of money, poor oppressed creatures; they were also the Jameson raiders. * * *

Then we come to the Rhodesian press, and we find all the newspapers were captured by the Rhodesian gang, and I am surprised and ashamed that a great paper like *The Times*, the greatest newspaper in the world, but the smallest organ for oppressed humanity, should have employed the Money-pennys and such people as correspondents. Wherever we go in this matter we see the same thing. * * *

The trail of the financial serpent is over this war from beginning to end. I consider it my duty to the labour constituency I represent to say that I have a right to protest against this war. The Highland Brigade, with typical valour and character, share the brunt of battle with Welsh, Irish, and English men, of the most serious struggles which have ever been compressed into three or four months of hard fighting; those men have shown they were heroes, but it is heroism wasted for ignoble ends. You should have gone to the relief of the Armenians against the Turk if you wanted war merely for war's sake. The crime of it all is that these brave lads from Inverness and Glasgow and the Rifle Brigade are fighting for an unrighteous cause, a cause which brings no military credit, will deprive a brave people of their freedom, and ultimately land us in conscription. The Highland Brigade, for example, who had so nobly done their duty by the side of men of other nationalities, were too good to waste on Mr. Rutherford Harris and Mr. Beit. I protest against the incompetency displayed in the arrangements for the war, the hollowness of its object, the immorality of its aim, the stupidity with which the negotiations were conducted, and, above all, the want of taste, tact, and temper too frequently shown by the Colonial Secretary, the result being that we have been dragged into a war that has besmirched the fair name of the country. (Cheers.)

"Truth" (Christmas Number) on the Mine Owners.

The "Outlanders" were forced to leave

The parts Johannesburg surrounding,
And shortly after war commenced

In Cape Town they were found abounding.

Some, it is true—the better sort—

Their bounden duty far from elighting,

Resolved to try and right their wrongs

And so went in at once for fighting.

But others—these the baser kind—

Who in the Rand had great possessions

Were quite content to strut about

And make inordinate professions.

Go to the front, forsooth! Not they;

The streets of Cape Town they pervaded;

Held the hotels in mighty force,

And all the drinking-bars blockaded.

Meanwhile, as troops from England came,

They cheered them lustily on landing,

And in champagne (of costly brands)

Drank to the health of those commanding.

To go and join the fighting line

Occurred not to these wealthy shiverers,

They thought that they had done their share

When they had toasted their deliverers.

(Later on the Mine Owners are represented at dinner (telling coloured drawing) and, along with the ladies, are much bejewelled with Kimberley diamonds. Lord Roberts and Kitchener are in the doorway watching the scene.—H.J.O.)

They could at best but blush with shame,

Afraid to slink away,

As Kitchener spoke out his mind,

In this perverid way :

"These are the men for whom we fight,

For whom we risk our lives and limbs,

That they, the slaves of appetite,

May sing unharmed their Jingo hymns.

Mark them again, this gorging set!

- Lest you forget! Lest you forget!

Above the popping of their corks

They cannot hear the sounds they dread—

The shrieks of sorely wounded men,

The sound of shrapnel overhead.

Above their conversation's hum

The roar of lyddite does not come.

Whilst they are fighting, course by course,

Through their elaborate evening meal,

Our soldiers force their onward way

By dint of bullet and cold steel.

They march to death in dauntless line,

Whilst these 'Outlanders' safely dine."

Extracts from

"The War in South Africa :

Its Causes and Effects."

(By J. A. HOBSON.)

(Pages 10-12, 24-5, 94-5, 189-195, 206-18, 226.)

JOHANNESBURG IN THE SUMMER OF 1899.

After one has travelled for a thousand miles through a bare and desolate country, in which no single human settlement, with the solitary exception of Bloemfontein, the Free State capital, can even pretend to be a town, Johannesburg, the golden city of Africa, with its eighty miles of streets and its hundred thousand inhabitants, makes a powerful impression. * * *

The entire city is the product of thirteen years' growth, and the amount of energy put into this little stretch of forty miles of gold reef has been prodigious. * * *

If one takes the recent figures of the census, there appears to be less than seven thousand Jews in Johannesburg, but the experience of the streets rapidly exposes this fallacy of figures. * * *

So far as wealth and power, and even numbers, are concerned, Johannesburg is essentially a Jewish town. * * *

Though figures are so misleading, it is worth while to mention that the directory of Johannesburg shows sixty-eight Cohens against twenty-four Joneses and fifty-three Browns. The Jews mostly took little active part in the Outlander agitation; they let others do that sort of work. But since half of the land and nine-tenths of the wealth of the Transvaal claimed for the Outlanders are chiefly theirs, they will be chief gainers by any settlement advantageous to the Outlanders.

* * *

PERSONALITY OF PRESIDENT KRUGER.

But the real interest lies in the light it throws upon Kruger's conception of politics. Fighting has played so essential a part in the making of the nation, that it seems to him that such personal service is the only basis of burgher rights. "How," he would ask himself, "can these Johannesburg people become true and worthy citizens? Even were they well disposed they would be incapable of fulfilling the first duty of a burgher—that of fighting against our foes." Animated by such feelings, one can understand how he regards the agitation of the speculators and tradesmen of the Rand, who look on the burghership not as linking them with the destinies of a country for which they are prepared at twelve hours' notice to mount their horses and fight till death, but rather as a means of helping them to develop the industrial resources of the country and make a pile. I do not say this position is ultimately tenable, but it is inevitably the position which such a man as Mr. Kruger was bound to take.

THE DYNAMITE MONOPOLY.

That the high price of dynamite is to be regarded as an intolerable burden on the mining industry cannot be maintained. In his evidence before the Industrial Commission, and again in his book, Mr. Fitzpatrick admits that the Chamber of Mines was ready in 1893 to enter into a contract for no less a period than sixteen years with Nobel for the delivery of No. 1 dynamite at 90s. per case. Now, since 1897 the price of this dynamite has been 75s. per case, and this year an offer was made which, had it proved acceptable to the mining interests and the British Government, would have secured dynamite for the mines at the price of 70s. per case.

But though there is certainly no reason to claim for the Transvaal immunity from the vices which are prevalent in the oldest and best-established Governments of the world, it is quite unwarrantable to assume that every failure to safeguard the public interests is attributable to official bribery. Maladministration, with some considerable measure of corruption, are genuine grievances of the Transvaal. But they are not specifically or chiefly Outlander grievances; they are rather to be looked upon as diseases of the entire body politic, and impartial inquiries will disclose the fact of a growing disposition among the burghers and in the official ranks to recognise this grave evil and to seek means of genuine redress.

FOR WHOM ARE WE FIGHTING?

A few of the financial pioneers in South Africa have been Englishmen, like Messrs. Rhodes and Rudd; but recent developments of Transvaal gold-mining have thrown the economic resources of the country more and more into the hands of a small group of international financiers, chiefly German in origin and Jewish in race. By superior ability, enterprise, and organisation,

these men, out-competing the slower-witted Briton, have attained a practical supremacy which no one who has visited Johannesburg is likely to question.

It should be distinctly understood that the stress which my analysis lays upon the Jew has reference to the class of financial capitalists of which the foreign Jew must be taken as the leading type.

Before I went there the names of Beit, Eckstein, Barnato, &c., were, of course, not unknown to me; the very ship in which I crossed bore many scores of Jewish women and children. But until I came to examine closely the structure of industry and society upon the Rand I had no conception of their number or their power.

* * *

It is not too much to say that this little ring of international financiers already controls the most valuable economic resources of the Transvaal.

The first, and incomparably the most important, industry—the gold mines of the Rand—are almost entirely in their hands. The following brief enumeration of the leading companies, which represent the recent consolidation of many mining interests, will serve to show the extent of their power. First comes Wernher, Beit, & Co., more commonly known by the name of the managing director as the "Eckstein Group." This comprises twenty-nine mines and three other financial businesses. The nominal capital is £18,384,567, but the market value at the beginning of August, 1899, was over £76,000,000.

It is, I think, correct to say that the destiny of almost all these leading companies is controlled by foreign financiers. There is, moreover, no reason to believe that the capital thus wielded is chiefly owned by English shareholders. Though no means of close calculation exists, there is good reason to suppose that the French and German holdings, taken together, largely outweigh the English interest in Rand mines.

This is the case with the dynamite monopoly. Every name connected with the present and past of this scandalous economic episode is significant. Lippert, Lewis & Marks, Vorstmann, Phillip, Nobel. The rich and powerful liquor trade, licit and illicit, is entirely in the hands of Jews, from the supreme control of the liquor kings (Messrs. Lewis & Marks), down to the running of the meanest Kaffir bar. That greatest of gambling instruments, the Stock Exchange, is, needless to say, mostly Jewish. The large commercial businesses are in the same hands, in particular the important trade in horses and other highly speculative businesses. The press of Johannesburg is chiefly their property: they control the organs of Outlander agitation on the one hand, the *Star* and the *Leader*, while the Government organ, the *Standard and Diggers' News*, is under similar control.

The Transvaal is a country especially adapted to the money-lender and the stock-jobber, a land of hazards and surprises, booms and slumps, where the keen-sighted speculator and the planner of bold, complex combinations has unrivalled opportunities.

Dull and depressed as was Johannesburg when I visited it, the savour of gambling was in the air. Though talk of stocks and shares was in abeyance, not so the gambling side of sport. One final testimony to the supreme genius of the European speculator stood plastered upon every wall. Sweepstakes upon races are in Johannesburg not a casual caprice of a sporting few, but an important, well-organised, and enduring trade,

supported, apparently, by a very large proportion of the men, and even the women, of the place. A "sweep" upon a single race meeting often amounts to £120,000 or £150,000—a sufficient evidence of the popularity of the demand, which extends to every class of the community. * * *

The "industry," I am told, is a most remunerative one. Phillips has now a good handful of competitors: the names of Moss, Legate, Hess, and Herff stare upon you from the back of every newspaper. It is needless to dwell on the demoralising influence of this great and growing gambling trade. * * *

The newspapers of September 13th contained the announcement: "There will be no performance at the Empire (music-hall) to-day by reason of the Jewish Day of Atonement." The Stock Exchange was also closed upon that day.

When the British arms have established firm order, this foreign host will return with enhanced numbers and increased power. During the distress of last autumn they bought up, often for a song, most of the property and businesses that were worth buying, and as soon as a settlement takes place they will start upon a greatly strengthened basis of possession. * * *

A CHARTERED PRESS.

This war is often described as press-made, but few of those who use this expression understand the all-important part which the great factory of public opinion has been made to play. Everywhere the less reputable organs of the press are rightly regarded as disturbers of the public peace, living upon strong sensations; unwilling, and often unable, to check the accuracy of the wild rumours which they promulgate. The "Yellow Press" is a danger in every "civilised" country to-day. It is not, however, necessary to assume that this Yellow Press is engineered by outside interests making for war; its own trade interests may often suffice. South Africa presents a unique example of a large press, owned, controlled, and operated in recent times by a small body of men with the direct aim of bringing about a conflict which shall serve their business interests.

When Mr. Rhodes, failing to obtain forcible control of the Rand by the clumsiness of Dr. Jameson and the vacillation of his confederates in Johannesburg, spoke of an appeal to "constitutional means" for gaining his ends, he well knew what he meant to do. * * *

Some considerable time ago he had acquired, with Messrs. Eckstein and Barnato, a leading interest in the *Cape Argus*, the evening paper at Cape Town. The Argus Company has now so far expanded its field of operations as to own also the *Johannesburg Star*, the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, the *Rhodesia Herald*, and the *African Review*. The *Cape Times*, the most influential paper in South Africa, has come under the control of the same body of capitalists, half its shares having been bought by Mr. Rutherford Harris, the well-known director of the Chartered Company, and the active coadjutor of Mr. Rhodes in many financial exploits. Last year the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, of Kimberley, passed into the same control, under significant circumstances. * * *

(Mr. Hobson gives details of very large payments and expenses in acquiring and conducting these and other newspapers.—H. J. O.)

Since the Jameson Raid the entire weight of the capitalist press has been thrown into the scale of a drastic Imperialist policy, the "constitutional means" which Mr. Rhodes, with or without the

express assent of Mr. Chamberlain, had devised. So far as the Colony was concerned, this engine of education was directed to sow aspersions of disloyalty against the Bond and their British supporters, and to drill into the public mind by constant droppings the notion of a Dutch conspiracy throughout South Africa. * * *

There is something distinctly humorous in these papers parading among the Outlander grievances the Press Law, at a time when, day after day, they were permitted to use language which, even in times of ordinary tranquility, would have ensured the arrest and prosecution of editors and publishers in any other country of the world except England and the United States, and which in either of these last-named countries would have evoked popular reprisals at least as formidable from patriotic citizens. * * *

I will ask readers to consider a few samples of the language by which this Capitalist Press was allowed to stir up rebellion in the Transvaal, and to provoke the armed intervention of an outside nation for many months, before any step was taken to stop them.

Take, first, the following paragraph from a leading article, entitled "Justice in the Transvaal," on July 17th:—

"But nothing is easier than to rig justice in the Transvaal, if only the interested parties are of the beloved Burgher flock. The wily Koetser, doubtless backed in influential quarters, appealed to that excellent institution, the High Court, with a result that his term of imprisonment was reduced from six months to one. The Executive has also reduced the penalty in the case of the other offenders. It is the sort of thing that breeds contempt for the very name of justice as administered in the Transvaal. It will soon become impossible to get a Boer punished, no matter what his crime. We venture to think that there would have been precious little clemency had the offenders not been burghers of the State. It is doubtful whether in such a case the distinguished Chief Justice would have suspended the operation of the High Court. But the woman's name was O'Neill, and the offender's name was Abraham Koetser, and that makes all the difference."

Would such a flagrant contempt of court be permitted to an English newspaper? How much less reason to permit it when it is made a part of an organised attempt to overthrow, not merely the respect for justice, but the entire Government? * * *

From a considerable number of articles advocating internal rebellion or external coercion I select the following, which were among those read in court at the preliminary examination in the Pakeman case:—

"Even yet there is time for some strong and just man to arise and lead the burghers to Pretoria and sweep the gang from power, to annul the decree of the Raad by a *coup d'état* and eject the dynamitards from the State. * * *

"The die is cast, the siege is finished; yet those who have risked their lives and have seen their fellows die around them will remember the vanity of attempting to conceal guilt by guilt, and will visit the black crime upon those who have cheated them to their fate."

In the same issue there appears an article headed "The End of Patience," which concludes as follows: "We will have no half-settlements, and if we can't win a full and honourable citizen rank as British subjects, we shall win it in another way."

In an issue of the Leader of August 23rd

appeared the following: "The abolition of the Republic is not the end that we anticipated and hoped for: yet we fully recognise the necessity for the step in view of the hopeless attitude of this Government. * * *

"Although some have talked of the necessity for reform, and many have bewailed the disgrace brought upon the country by the tactics of the junta at Pretoria, nothing effective has been done, and it remains for the Paramount Power to effect what the people have shrunk from."

I will only refer to an article entitled "Fundamental Savagery," which appeared in the *Leader* on August 10th. It is couched in the following terms: "In this pastoral and pious community, or, if you prefer it, in this common (or garden) department of the British Empire, crime succeeds crime and outrage grows upon outrage with a fecundity that stupefies the most romantic imagination. * * *

"This article, empowering an experienced diplomatist like Mr. President Kruger, by and with the consent of another quaintly conditional person like Mr. Cronje, of a puppet like Mr. Schalk Burger, of an influence like Mr. Executive Judge-begetting Kock, of a strange-mannered nonentity like Mr. Reitz, to proclaim 'martial law,' and oblige every inhabitant to undertake military service against each and all-comers, be they his friends or his foes, is the most infernal depth that the Republic has reached in its effort to touch an independent bottom. * * *

Consider the circumstances of the country where these passages are published. The Outlanders, dwelling undisturbed in the very heart of the country, are actually negotiating with the enemy of that country, a far more powerful State with possessions bordering on the Republic, to induce an invasion. The same Outlanders, a little more than three years before, had actually conspired and instigated a secret attack, endorsed, assisted, and condoned by important officials of the British Government. * * *

How long would the British Government allow such matter to be published by an influential journal in Ireland, in India, or even in London? * * *

A new piece of tactics, or a sensational anti-Boer tale, first issuing from the *Johannesburg Star* or the *Kimberley Advertiser*, was immediately communicated to the *Cape Times* or the *Argus*, and ran the round of the Rhodes press, gathering an accumulation of authority in the process, until, by combination and reiteration, it had fastened a misjudgment, an exaggeration, or too frequently a falsehood, upon the public mind. The opinion of the British in South Africa has been the plaything of a press which, working in closest union, has practised the most unscrupulous ingenuity in driving the fooled public along the road designed for it to go. * * *

The chief object of this press conspiracy, to attain which every nerve was strained, was the conquest of the Government and the conscience of

Great Britain. I have no hesitation in saying that a large proportion of the outrages and other sensations emanating from the press of Johannesburg and Capetown were designed chiefly, if not exclusively, for the British market. Over and over again I have heard strong Outlander politicians of Johannesburg express their astonishment and indignation that their press, having so good a cause, should damage it by gross exaggeration and positive falsehoods. The stories of Zarp atrocities and Boer assaults upon women did not even obtain wide credence at the Cape. But faithfully reproduced, and duly endorsed by the most reputable colonial papers, they passed by wire and mail to the great newspapers of London, and were there received with an implicit confidence which must have brought a grim smile into the face of the colonial inventor. * * *

Until just before the outbreak of hostilities the three most important London Unionist journals were served directly from the office of the *Star* with their cable news from the Transvaal, Mr. Monypenny himself serving the *Times*. * * *

The London "Liberal" paper whose perversion from the true path of Liberalism has inflicted the heaviest blow upon the cause of truth and honesty in England, was fully and constantly inspired by the editor of the *Cape Times*, upon which office, I am informed, no fewer than three other important London dailies relied for their Capetown intelligence. * * *

When it is borne in mind that this great confederation of press interests is financially cemented by the fact that Rand mining magnates are chief owners of at least two important London daily papers and of several considerable weekly papers, while the wider and ever-growing Jewish control of other organs of the press warrants a suspicion that the direct economic nexus between the English press and Rand finance is far stronger than is actually known, we shall have a clear comprehension of the press conspiracy which has successfully exploited the stupid Jingoism of the British public for its clearly-conceived economic ends.

One of the humorous reliefs of the tragic movement of events has been the righteous indignation displayed by this Rhodesian press-gang against the papers subsidised, or reported to be subsidised, by the Transvaal Government. * * *

In speaking of this war as press-made, it is right to mete out a fair share of reprobation to this Krugerite press, though neither in circulation nor in real influence can it compare for one moment with the power of its antagonists. * * *

The ten following pages contain numerous "examples" in support of the foregoing charges.
—H. J. O.

Nowhere in the world at the present time has the press an unsullied reputation. But for carefully conceived and brilliantly executed mendacity, directed by widely diverse paths towards a single goal, the recent conduct of the capitalistic press of South Africa holds the record. * * *

Waste of Life, Loss of Reputation, Prestige, and Money as Great Britain's portion.

As the troops supplied to South Africa up to January 31, 1901, amount to 292,762, and as *official returns* give 212,013 as the number still there, we shall, if we deduct 56,958 who are *hors de combat*, have an unaccounted-for balance of 23,791. These, it may be presumed, comprise the "fortunates" who have been permitted to return home, and include several Dukes and other exalted persons, a few favoured companies of "regulars," and a considerable number of weary and discontented Colonials and Yeomanry.

I fear that the extent of our losses is not generally comprehended. The following extracts will supply an object lesson:—

(From a leading article in the Daily Telegraph, Dec. 14, 1900.)

People at home hardly realise even now how severe this wastage is, though the long casualty lists require no commentary. They are apt, moreover, to lose sight of the fact that the companies of Imperial Yeomanry are dwindling daily, and that their ranks are not being replenished. One of the Yorkshire squadrons—which has been in the thick of the conflict week after week—has lost forty-five men dead out of a full complement of a hundred and sixteen. The Bucks squadron a month ago could only muster fifty men on parade, and doubtless other companies are in a like predicament. There is scarcely a skirmish, however insignificant, in which the returns do not show that some of the Imperial Yeomanry have won part of the glory and paid part of the toll.

(From the Speaker, Jan. 12, 1901.)

The casualty lists recently published by the Government are misleading. They show only the actual losses. * * *

From the point of view of the ordinary layman, however, whose business is to know what kind of war he is supporting and paying for, it is interesting to note that these unmentioned casualties, which amounted to sixty or seventy in September, were over four hundred in October, were nearly doubled in November, and in December were again more than doubled, reaching the very large total of over fourteen hundred in that month. In other words, the numbers of those who have laid down their arms since the war "was over" has proceeded in a geometrical progression, and each month has doubled the results of its predecessor.

To give some more definite idea of what it so far amounts to, one may mention that the recent returns of casualties to our troops up to February show 14,092 as dead, exactly 800 as prisoners, 42,086 as invalided home, and thousands more in hospital, many of whom will die or suffer permanent disablement. The unfortunate "*enteric*" patient will be sorely conscious of the results of that fever for the remainder of his life. From the above figures it will be seen that 56,978 are already accounted for, and how much that number will be augmented before the enemy is sufficiently "crushed" to prevent them offering further formidable resistance remains to be seen.

Unhappily these returns are not complete, and what is in the background no man—at the present moment—could accurately say, for during the early days of September,

and again in November, some belated returns of deaths (running into hundreds, and nearly all from disease) were published for the first time, although some of the cases dated back to February. If *hundreds*, there may equally well be *thousands*.

The Necessity of the Hospitals Commission.

In August, when Parliament was sitting, repeated enquiries were made for an approximate estimate of the number of hospital patients in South Africa without eliciting any information. It is commonly said, by responsible persons, that *one-fourth*, if not *one-third*, of Lord Kitchener's forces are invalided, if only slightly, and this is the reason for his inaction. The most careful speakers suggest not less than *twenty thousand*, and it is probably nearer *forty thousand*, as the following statement indicates.

Earl de la Warr is reported to have said:— (Daily News, July 3, 1900.)

"In Natal, when he left, there were 6,000 or 7,000 men down with fever." (Note "fever" only, and for Natal alone.)

The great object of the Government, and the newspapers which support its War Policy, was to keep the public *in the dark* until the *Election* was over. Mr. Burdett-Coutts in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, September 20, says:—

On that day seven civilian doctors gave evidence, which not only confirmed to a striking degree my complaints, but went far beyond them on the same lines. They were experienced men, who had been engaged in the hospitals at Bloemfontein at the time I spoke of; they were the most important and reliable, because the most independent, witnesses. *Their evidence did not appear, and was not mentioned save in one London newspaper.*

Reference should be made to two or three of the following extracts, where it is shown that of the forces engaged nearly half are killed, die, or are invalided. "Enteric deals heavily with the Colonials" (page 193). "Half the Yeomen down with sickness" (page 191). "How poor Tommy is put away" (page 190). "Losses by the Yeomanry" (page 196). "War Relief Funds" (page 189). "Yeomen and the War" (page 196).

Non-Combatants, Horses, and Cattle.

Add to the above the losses among the stretcher bearers, drivers, ostlers, baggage and camp attendants, and other non-combatants, whose number is legion, and with whose fate official returns do not concern themselves, and some idea of the waste of life may be conceived, especially if that of the enemy be added.

Then what of the dumb animals—the horses and oxen? which mutely suffer and die agonising deaths from every description of wound that rifle and cannon can inflict, and which, if they escape these chances, will probably meet a still more prolonged and painful misery and ending through the wounds caused by saddles and harness, the thirst that must go unquenched, and the pangs of hunger that cannot be satisfied. We know how common it is for an officer to have two or three horses shot under him, and the war correspondent's report of the loss of 11,000 horses sustained by Lord Roberts in the forced marches between the Modder River and Bloemfontein is sufficiently eloquent to appeal to most minds. If the reader will look over the extracts (pages 184 to 198, "*The Realities of War*") he cannot fail to realize the extent of misery that war entails.

"The War is Over."

We were told that "the war was over." There may be grounds for excusing, to some extent, Lord Roberts's statement when we know better on what information it was made; but at the present there appears to be only one other person holding that view, and he is reported to have said: "Yes, the war is all over, in the sense that it is all over the place."

It is called "guerilla warfare." The loss and surrender of 500 or 600 troops at a time, and the fact that the average *daily* death-roll for February is $28\frac{1}{2}$, as compared to 28 since the commencement of hostilities, shows that whatever name is given to the campaign, the result, to us, is much the same. When we are seriously worsted, it is described as a "regrettable incident."

Making War on Women and Children.

I will not trouble the reader with many observations on our method of conducting the war, but content myself with asking him to look over the "extracts" (pages 108 to 124) under the head of *Loss of Reputation*. I never expected to see my country reduced to issuing such "Proclamations" as he will find there, nor to resort to a general system of farm burning and making women and children suffer such miseries and indignities.

The war will be costly enough before it is finished, but I should have preferred to pay my share of the extra expense which would have been entailed by the dispatch of 100,000 or 200,000 additional troops, or even more if necessary, with the object of enabling the Commander-in-Chief to secure and hold all the country once won, and to be able to protect the women and children and those burghers who did not wish to continue the contest. As it is, we leave them to the mercy of the ever-returning commandos, and inflict penalties because of their inability to keep their oaths and engagements.

It is unfortunate that we are in the dark as to what passes between the Government and their military representatives. Mr. Channing puts questions to the War Minister, but does not obtain answers. It is not unreasonable to conclude that the course and character of the campaign may have been suggested, and even urged, by the home authorities, with the deplorable results now realised.

Effects on our Reputation.

Let us see in what way it has affected our **reputation**. How is it that the whole civilised world condemns us in this matter? It is true that the Crowned Heads and the Cabinet Ministers do not openly join in this denunciation; but there is little consolation in that fact, as their doing so would be equivalent to an immediate interruption of diplomatic relations, and war would in all probability quickly follow. The supporters of the Government try to explain it by saying that these onlookers, including the whole of Europe and the United States, are consumed with envy and jealousy of our success in colonisation. There may be ground for this suspicion in the case of Spain, in a modified form of France, and in a less degree of Germany. Holland, on the contrary, can claim a great success in colonisation, and the United States and Russia cannot spare colonists, as they have sufficient occupation for a very long time to come in *peopling* and developing their own immense territories.

Besides, if this interpretation were correct, bitterness would exist at all times. From a love of travel the writer has had, during the last 15 years, more than ordinary opportunities of realising such a state of feeling had it existed, which he is satisfied it did not. A certain jealousy of our having early secured some of the best parts of the globe is apparent from time to time, but it does not assume the character of a national grievance, nor does it interfere with the pleasures of friendship and acquaintance.

In the case of Fashoda—in spite of the general admission that Major Marchand's conduct was very questionable, and that the unhealthiness of the site and the difficulty of approaching it would have ultimately rendered its occupation by the French untenable, except with our consent and assistance,—a natural irritation and sense of wounded pride was aroused in the minds of our neighbours by our abrupt diplomacy and disregard of their susceptibilities, which might have been avoided by a more conciliatory, though equally firm, action on our part.

Individual Bravery : no National Glory.

During the last 30 years we have had many *little wars*, and it must be remembered that we have been opposed in *this war* by not more than 30,000 to 40,000 farmers all told, ranging from 15 to 65 years of age. Altogether we have supplied over 300,000 men to contend with the Boer forces, and many more thousands are under orders to go out. In population the difference between us is as 256 to 1—the Boers aggregating 195,000 and Great Britain and her Colonies, 50,000,000. Whatever valiant deeds may be performed by our officers and soldiers, of whose bravery we have every cause to be proud, no **National Glory** can attend such warfare.

But, whichever war we take, whether that with the Afghans, Siamese, Afridis, Ashantis, Abyssinians, or Soudanese, if we read the comments of the foreign press during the period of that war, we shall look in vain for anything approaching such an expression of **Universal Condemnation** as this war has excited. Nor must it be forgotten that even formerly we were not always in the right, for, as Lord Salisbury himself phrased it, we have sometimes “put our money on the wrong horse.”

That foreigners do not extend their ill-will to individual Englishmen is shown by the behaviour of the French on the occasion of the removal of the body of Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart from Algiers last year, when, as the *Graphic* told us on April 7th, 1900:—

“The French military authorities paid the highest compliment to his memory in their power, and the municipal authorities, cordially supporting the military, suspended all traffic, while the populace lined the route in thousands, and everyone uncovered as the funeral car passed.”

We claim to be Free, Unaggressive, and Tolerant.

Whatever views one may have formed on the question of the justice of our cause, it must strike any thoughtful person as remarkable that the Americans, above all others, should have pronounced judgment against us. They are in a sense part and parcel of ourselves, speaking the same language, having much the same habits and tastes, enjoying and exchanging with us an enormous and growing trade, and crediting us with having stood by them and so rendered them a great service two years ago, when there appeared a disposition on the part of certain foreign potentates to resent their interference with *Spain's grossly unfair and oppressive government of the Cubans*. Captain Mahan,

their great naval expert, has recently appealed to and warned them not to be carried too far by sentiment lest they may push their Government into war with us. He says :—

“ If the people insist upon a certain course, that course the Government, sooner or later, must unquestionably take, for it is the essence of our institutions that the people decide. Therefore we are not idly talking sentiment when we congregate and lash each other into fury. We cannot expect others to respect a principle we ourselves disregard.”

Lord Rosebery favours “ Imperialism,” whilst freely recognising the danger of the present general distrust our “ pushfulness ” occasions, and unequivocally denouncing the Colonial Secretary’s want of tact and good taste in “ threatening and flouting ” other great nations. He claims for our Empire the good qualities of “ **Freedom, Unaggressiveness, and Tolerance.** ” If we have really earned that high testimonial, then it behoves us all the more scrupulously so to conduct ourselves that we may maintain it untarnished. It is of little use to console ourselves with the thought that whatever onlookers may *think*, we *know* that we are right.

If in private life we see an individual who is so self-satisfied as to be oblivious of the opinions of all who surround him, we generally consider him as a shallow and conceited person. No, it won’t do ; we cannot shut our eyes and ears to outside disapproval when it is unanimous, and Lord Rosebery, in the speech from which the above words are taken, tells us of the hatred of the great mass of the nations of Europe. Many of us here, at home, have a painful but strong conviction that this war is **Unjust and Aggressive**, and that we are endeavouring to extinguish the **Freedom** of two small Republics ; and the **Tolerance** we pride ourselves upon so highly is clearly in jeopardy when anyone who offers to raise his voice to show that an error and wrong is being committed, is not met with argument, but is frequently the object of a cowardly personal assault, often extended to his household and property.

Will the War Rehabilitate our Prestige ?

We have been told that this war will maintain or rehabilitate our **prestige**. Will it do so ? It may be interesting to examine this point for a moment. Lord Curzon, late Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, used to be fond of expatiating on the advantages of a Conservative Government, which, he assured us, would secure peace and contentment at home, and immunity from war, because foreign nations well understood the difference there was in dealing with a firm, resolute Unionist Government, and a weak, vacillating Liberal one ; and therefore our actions would meet with every respect. But the contrary has proved to be the result ; for we have found occupation for large bodies of troops for the last three or four years all over the world—first beyond the north-west frontier of India, then in the Soudan, and now in South Africa—and the effect of this last movement is the culmination of a general distrust which the foreign press of to-day clearly indicates.

This feeling has enabled the German Emperor to obtain the consent of the Reichstag to his long-wished-for project of creating a powerful fleet, avowedly directed against ourselves, as will be seen from references to the subject in the subjoined extracts. The Russians and French are following suit ; and, as it is one of our principles to maintain a fleet of the same or greater strength than that of two others next most powerful when combined, the increased cost will soon be making itself apparent in our annual Budgets. Our army also is to be strengthened, and we are all to learn *shooting even if we escape conscription* for the present.

A perusal of the insulting dispatches from the German Foreign Minister to Lord Salisbury on the subject of the arrest and searching of German steamers for contraband, and the indignant protests on the same subject made by the Foreign Secretary of the United States, are unpleasant reading; and the frequent threats and comments in their respective Houses of Parliament by leading politicians of other nations must be very galling to those who hold Lord Curzon's exalted views of our supremacy. Our Prime Minister, under the influence of this dictation, telegraphed countermands of previous orders, made certain "graceful concessions," and, feeling that the country was too much occupied to offer any resistance, permitted Russia to work her will in Persia, Asia Minor, China, Korea, and lastly, Manchuria.

This robs our poor "Jingoes" of the bald comfort of supposing that even if we are "hated" we are at least "feared." The following report hardly indicates it:—

(From a leading article in the *Daily News*, January 16, 1901, commenting on the debate in the Reichstag.)

To a remark of one of the speakers to the effect that the example of English officers proved that with a strong will the duelling mischief could be suppressed, Herr von Levetzow maliciously replied: "German and British officers could not be compared, as the South African war showed."

The intrepid bravery of our officers and troops has been testified to by military experts of several nationalities; our weakness, happily, does not lie there, but seems to arise from errors of judgment and want of foresight on the part of commanders, and insufficient individual resource on the part of officers. To inspire respect we must cultivate capacity as well as bravery.

(*Manchester City News*, January 12, 1901.)

THE FREQUENT SURRENDERS OF OUR TROOPS.

Mr. H. W. Wilson, in the *National Review*, draws attention to the fact that "among the many painful features of the war in South Africa none has been more painful than the frequent surrenders of British troops." Mr. Wilson points out that "from first to last, according to an official return issued in early November, which does not, of course, include the total of officers and men who surrendered at Dewetsdorp and Nooitgedacht, 292 officers and 7,472 men have laid down their arms before the enemy. In no previous struggle in which the British army has been engaged during the past century has it suffered such heavy losses from capture. * * * * * [If we add the losses sustained during November and December we get a total of about 10,000, with 27 guns abandoned.—H. J. O.] The following table gives a list of the most important surrenders, though the total of prisoners and casualties is necessarily only approximate:—

I.—Engagements.

Name of Place.	Guns Lost.	No. of Prisoners.	No. of Casualties.	British Force Engaged.
Dundee	0	331	143	3,500
Nicholson's Nek	4	927	138	1,100
Stormberg	2	632	90	2,500
Magersfontein	0	108	862	12,500
Colenso	10	228	897	14,000
Colesberg (Suffolks).....	0	113	86	400
Spion Kop	0	358	1,375	17,500
Rensburg	0	103	57	—

II.—Detachments.

Sanna's Post.....	7	426	156	1,500
Reddersburg	0	405	47	452
Lindley	0	400	78 to 111	500
Rhenoster (convoy)	0	160	0	160
Roodeval.....	0	500	94	600
Uitval's Nek	2	190	75	300
Dewetsdorp	2	450	57	500
Nooitgedacht.....	0	573	90	660

Mr. Wilson gives an account of each surrender made up from such details as are available, and he calls for full official reports in regard to them.

Note (page 127) the lament of the Ameer of Afghanistan.

The Cost of the War.

As to cost, although the Government are only asking for **One Hundred and Forty-five Millions** on account of the War, no one anticipates that such a sum will cover the outlay, and some of the most reliable correspondents to our principal newspapers put it at fully double that amount. If the compensation to the maimed and those who were dependent on the dead were estimated on the principle of the Workmen's Compensation Act, many millions more would have to be added; while the value of the property destroyed, crops not garnered, skilled labour lying idle, and thorough disorganisation of business, cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy, but must represent an enormous total.

Even this is only one phase of the cost, as, since the Government has decided to annex the two Republics, it will be necessary to garrison and patrol the countries with armed forces of 50,000 to 100,000 men or upwards for an indefinite period.

Moreover, in consequence of the animosity our high-handed action has created throughout the world, the necessity of materially increasing our land forces is imposed on us, and, as France, Russia, and Germany are immensely strengthening their navies, we must perforce do the same, and so be saddled with an annual expenditure which will be simply appalling. I shall deal fully with this aspect of the question in later sections.

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WASTE OF VALUABLE LIVES.

Everybody knows that thousands of our brave soldiers in South Africa have lost their lives through disease. Probably THREE times as many, who are supposed to be CURED, will linger for years, suffering from broken and enfeebled constitutions.

Sir Walter Foster, M.P. (a former President of the British Medical Association), offered, without pay or reward, to go to South Africa to use his skill and experience to try and prevent disease—a patriotic offer actually refused by Lord Lansdowne!

Of the killed, NINE out of TEN were the rank and file; but of those who died through disease the rank and file provided 39 out of 40.

**Charges made
by Mr. W. Burdett-Coutts, M.P.**

(Times, June 27, 1900.)

CAPETOWN, MAY 29.

A long time has elapsed since the despatch of the last preceding letter. During that period the growing scenes of neglect and inhumanity, of suffering and death, which have been the lot of the British soldier in the closing chapter of this war have made up a picture which it is impossible any longer to conceal from the eyes of the British public. * * *

To a mind stocked with scenes which would sicken the hardest heart it comes like a blow between the eyes, leaving one dizzy and bewildered, to learn that at the very moment when these horrors were at their worst, and when men were dying like flies for want of adequate attention, a large company of intelligent and well-meaning gentlemen at home, both lay and professional, were feasting on—amongst other things which the war-worn soldier out here would have been equally glad to have—the perfection of the medical and hospital arrangements in this campaign!

On that night (Saturday the 28th of April) hundreds of men to my knowledge were lying in the worst stages of typhoid, with only a blanket and a thin waterproof sheet (not even the latter for many of them) between their aching bodies and the hard ground, with no milk and hardly any medicines, without beds, stretchers, or mattresses, without pillows, without linen of any kind, without a single nurse amongst them, with only a few ordinary private soldiers to act as "orderlies," rough and utterly untrained to nursing, and with only three doctors to attend on 350 patients. There were none of the conditions of a forced march about this. It was a mile from Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State, a large town which we had occupied for more than six weeks, with a line of railway to two seaports, along which thousands of troops and countless trainloads of stores and equipment of all kinds, and for every one except the sick, had been moving up during the whole of that leisurely halting time. About the same

day a convoy of wounded men were being subjected to nameless torture for want of any ambulance transport or the simplest comforts, huddled together in rough springless ox-wagons, jolted over spruit and drift for 40 miles; the road being strategically safe and their destination this same Bloemfontein, provided with most things except humane appliances for the wounded. * * *

It is a painful and thankless task to rob the British public, ever ready and generous, of that cherished consolation; but the bubble must be pricked, and they must wake up and look the troublesome things that lie beneath straight in the face; for these are lives of men. * * *

In that quality (bravery), indeed, the record of the R.A.M.C. shows no flaw; but it can no more provide a proper medical system in war than the bravery of our troops can supply tactics and strategy. * * *

Already typhoid had opened her deadly wings, and spread them like some monstrous vulture over march and camp and field and town, from front to base. But typhoid is the known "scourge of South Africa." The danger was always patent. Was it no one's duty to think, to warn, to prepare?

Your readers will remember the calculations presented in the first letter of this series showing the hospital accommodation which it would be prudent to supply for this war. They were based on previous facts and experience open to anyone interested in the subject—10 per cent. of the whole force under arms was taken as a *minimum*—say, 20,000 beds. If from the first these requirements had been fearlessly laid down and provided for in time, what disasters might not have been averted! * * *

There are 20,000 sick and wounded troops this day in South Africa, and more than half of these are down with typhoid. The figures are not official; but they may be relied on. * * *

Twenty thousand British soldiers sick and wounded, not a man less, and probably some thousands more. * * *

In many of these tents there were 10 typhoid cases lying closely packed together, the dying against the convalescent, the man in his "crisis"

pressed against the man hastening to it. There was not room to step between them. Think of this, you who know the sort of nursing a typhoid patient requires. * * *

The heat of these tents in the midday sun was overpowering, and their odours sickening. Men lay with their faces covered with flies in black clusters too weak to raise a hand to brush them off, trying in vain to dislodge them by painful twitching of the features. There was no one to do it for them. * * *

At night there were not enough to prevent those in the delirious stage from getting up and wandering about the camp half naked in the bitter cold. In one tent, where some slept and others lay with eyes open and staring, a case of "perforation" was groaning out his life huddled against his neighbour on the ground. Men had not only to see, but often to feel, others die.

It was a sad and sickening spectacle this, which I describe exactly as my eyes saw it, and without exaggeration or excuse. I leave it and other similar facts it will be necessary to relate to the consideration, not of wives and mothers—we will put them out of sight—but of hard, practical men, accustomed to the hospitals of the poor, of the medical profession, of the great nursing community, of the whole British public, who at the moment when this sight was to be seen out here were reading those comforting words spoken at Calais on April 26, as an *avant-courier* of the speeches two days later at the Reform Club: "Nothing that prevision could suggest or that money could purchase was wanting anywhere. The supply was simply lavish. * * *

Here everything was sent up with the utmost promptitude, and medical stores and comforts were always on the spot." * * *

It must be remembered that these events occurred at Bloemfontein, and mainly during the second month of its occupation by our Army. The town had always been marked down as our advanced military base, and from the day we entered it became, what it will never cease to be, a British stronghold. The strategic conditions surrounding the scenes described must therefore be clearly differentiated from those which attend a continuous march, in order that we should not be misled by talk about "military exigencies" and the like. No practical man will question the prior claim of military exigency over humanity where the interests of the two are irreconcilable; but whenever the former is not really endangered by the latter humanity cannot, and must not, be entirely neglected. * * *

As there are statements contained herein the gravity of which I fully appreciate, while I hold myself responsible for their accuracy, I beg to subscribe my name.

W. BURDETT-COUTTS.

(Leading Article, Times, June 27, 1900.)

We have some 200,000 men in South Africa, and it ought to have been foreseen that on an average about 10 per cent. of them would be in hospital after the war had gone on for a certain time. It does not appear that this was foreseen, or, at all events, it was not properly provided for. Our correspondent has not sought his examples where they might probably be found in greatest abundance and of the most startling kind. He has not pressed unfairly upon the War Office by picking out all the failures that might perhaps excusably occur in out-of-the-way corners. He has gone to Bloemfontein, the head-quarters of

the Commander-in-Chief for seven weeks, and he tells us what he saw after the occupation had lasted a month, and when there had been ample time to obtain necessary appliances if such appliances existed. * * *

We shall not reiterate the horrible details which our readers will find in our correspondent's letter. They will agree with us, we imagine, that a strong case has been made out for inquiry, and that, apart from all questions of humanity, this callous short-sightedness on the part of the War Office is the very worst possible policy.

Mr. Burdett-Coutts on his letter to the *Times*:—

"I stand alone on the facts of the case which I saw with my own eyes and carefully verified before publishing. I should like it to be distinctly understood that I will pay no heed whatever to any contradictions which do not relate directly to the field hospitals specified in my letter."

Corroborative Testimony.

OTHER CORRESPONDENTS' EXPERIENCES.

(*Westminster Gazette*, June 29, 1900.)

Mr. Julian Ralph, the war correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, writes:—

I am able to bear out much of the worst that Mr. Burdett-Coutts has written. * * *

There were 2,500 enteric patients when I left them, and they were in a large proportion left to lie on the ground and be nursed by ignorant and slovenly "Tommy" attendants. They lay in water, they were rained on, and the sanitary arrangements were such that, at least in some hospitals, they had to leave their blankets, at the risk of death. All the time I was at Bloemfontein I was haunted by the horror of the neglect of and cruelty to the sick. * * *

When I was at Kimberley some of the local physicians were similarly horror-stricken by the condition in which the wounded came to them, trundled over the bad roads all the way from Paardeberg in ox wagons. * * *

I have no hesitation in saying that I considered the treatment of the sick and wounded (especially after the main advance from Modder River) primitive, cruel, and almost barbaric, as well as needless and inexcusable.

FROM LORD ROBERTS' DISPATCH.

To give some idea of the pressure at Bloemfontein, I would state that from the date of our arrival there, on March 13, until two or three days ago, or in a little more than three months, there have been approximately 6,369 admissions from enteric fever alone. Of these, 1,370 died, giving a mortality of 21 per cent.

Mr. Treves noted that unexpected strain was put upon the medical service:—

They [with General Buller's column] had no sort of conception that they were going to be opposed in such a way as they were. They had the utmost confidence of success at Colenso. Until he was sent for to go up at once to the battlefield, they estimated they were going to have fifty or sixty wounded men, but instead of that they had the vast number of over 800. * * *

They had the same experience at Spion Kop. They had a message to "prepare for 500 extra wounded, but in one night they had brought down 715 wounded.

(Daily News Correspondent, July 2, 1900.)

"I was in a hospital," said another, "where there were no trained nurses at all—only convalescent patients to attend to us. There were lots o' men down with dysentery and enteric fever. There were seven died in one week in the marquee I was in, and there was only one of our fellows told off to look after us. A man was lying dead on each side of me, and I said to the chap that was attending us, 'Why do you let 'em die, Bill? Why don't you look after 'em better?' I meant it, you know," he explained, apparently without much consciousness of the ghastliness of his humour, "only as a joke. 'Well,' he says, 'what can I do? I know nothing about nursing.'"

(Birmingham Daily Post, August 28, 1900.)

Mrs. Richard Chamberlain has been interviewed by the Central News on her return from South Africa with regard to the management of hospitals. She was seven months in No. 1 base hospital at Capetown, and she alleges that a scandalous state of affairs existed there. The buildings that formed the hospitals were not cleaned prior to the entering of the sick and wounded, and insect powder had to be sprinkled on the men to keep off vermin. Men died for want of adequate nursing, while there were many certificated nurses in Capetown who had come from Johannesburg anxious to work. Typhoid patients' linen and utensils were given indiscriminately to other patients. The sanitary conditions were deplorable. Several army doctors were so intemperate in their habits that they were sent home, but in charge of invalids on transports. Army doctors did what they liked without being supervised by proper authorities. If the medical profession desired to create a focus for typhus they could not have got a better place than Woodstock Hospital. Mrs. R. Chamberlain was requested to give evidence before the Commission. During her stay in Capetown she received £35,000 worth of goods from England for distribution.

(Daily News, June 29, 1900.)

Some attention was attracted at the time by a letter from the special correspondent of a Cape paper, who, writing as early as the 3rd of March, expressed himself in very outspoken terms on the same subject. In a passage quoted by us he says:

The latter grievance (the treatment of wounded) which is, if possible, the greater, is also directly traceable to the same officer. In the first place, he (Lord Kitchener) refused to allow the ambulance and the bearer companies to accompany the column, on the plea that he had not sufficient forage. The result was that the brave and gallant defenders of our country's honour who were wounded at Paardeberg, numbering about 800, including officers, had to journey for three nights, on two of which we had rain, in buck wagons drawn by oxen at the express train speed of two miles per hour. Almost all of these were entirely uncovered, the nights were bitterly cold and the days scorching hot. The sufferings of those poor men were terrible to behold, the bumping and jolting of the springless wagons over the stone-strewn veldt making their broken bones grate together, causing them almost unbearable agony. The groaning and shrieks of these poor souls brought home to one in a very dreadful manner the horrors of war. The men were not only placed in open buck wagons, to endure the alternate heat, cold, drenching rain, and scorching sun, but were in most cases so crowded that they were unable to lie down.

(Manchester Guardian, August 14, 1900.)

The Daily Chronicle publishes a statement by Private Outridge, of the Rhodesian Volunteers, who marched from Bulawayo with Colonel Plumer's column towards Mafeking. . . .

At night the men slept exposed to the bitter cold of the high veldt and the drenching thunderstorms of South Africa with only the soldier's blanket to cover them. . . .

He went sick with fever and was sent to hospital. The hospital was a tarpaulin or, in South African language, a "bucksail," stretched over the bare ground. Under the tarpaulin the patients lay without distinction of disease, the happiest being in the middle, for they alone got some shelter from sun and storm. Medicines were short, everything was short, though there was plenty at Bulawayo, and there the railway lay. Doctors apologised and excused themselves. Orderlies stole from and treated the sick with almost incredible brutality. The rations were entirely unsuited for sickness, and were scanty at that. Privates sent to Bulawayo for their own food, and even then some of it was stolen on the way. When nine men sent in a demand for clothes they received one specimen of each garment among the lot, except that apparently the trousers were forgotten.

(Daily News, July 3rd, 1900.)

The following extracts are taken from a letter received by Dr. Vaughan Roberts, Blaenau Festiniog, North Wales, by his former assistant, who is now one of the assistants in the 9th General Hospital, at Bloemfontein. Writing on May 17th, he says:—

There are about 2,000 patients in the hospital at present, including the wounded and men suffering from dysentery and enteric fever. The death-rate is very high—ten or twelve daily. The hospital is situated near a hill, the top of which is flat as a table. There are about twenty doctors here, including physicians and the surgeons and dressers of wounds. We have plenty of work, and about twenty tons of materials and appliances for our work. The work is very hard; no one can imagine the hardships we have gone through. We were obliged to live for a fortnight on only one biscuit and a little tinned meat daily, without any tea. . . .

We commence our work at 5-30 a.m., and finish about 8-45 p.m. each day. When on night duty I have to make the round of the tents, and nothing can be heard but the moans of the poor wounded. It is dreadful to hear them. There is not sufficient room in the tents for them to be comfortable, as ten or twelve patients are crowded in one tent. . . .

There are fourteen nurses on our staff, but one of them died yesterday of enteric fever, which is very prevalent in the camp, and at times the stench is unbearable. When the hospital was first opened we were very short of attendants. Each man had to attend to about eighty patients; and, of course, it was impossible to do so properly, and consequently they were dying like dogs.

The following passages are taken from a letter home from a C.I.V., who has been in hospital at Bloemfontein for enteric fever. At No. 9 General Hospital

The average number of deaths daily was about 14—one day there were 21. . . .

If it was not for the civilian doctors, I don't know what state the hospitals would be in. These civilian doctors work very hard, and are thought much more of than the R.A.M.C. doctors, who have a very bad name among the men,

A doctor, well-known in the North of England, who is serving in South Africa, writes:—

I am exceedingly disappointed with all the hospital arrangements I have seen in South Africa. While convalescents are coming home to England saying the hospitals are perfect, we are almost in despair. People in England would be horrified if they knew the truth.

Interview with Earl de la Warr.

In Natal when he left there were six or seven thousand men down with fever, but everything that was possible was done for them whilst in hospital at Dundee. . . .

At Spion Kop the wounded were brought down almost as quickly as they fell. Some had to be left there all night, but the doctors and nurses worked without ceasing. Now that the charges had been made, added the Earl, a very searching inquiry should follow. He considered the Boers plucky fighters, and unless Lord Roberts could thoroughly surround the enemy he was afraid the war would last a considerable time longer, as the operations were now being carried on in a very nasty country.

(*Westminster Gazette*, July 2, 1900.)

Mr. Fripp, in a letter from Deelfontein to the *Physician and Surgeon* of the 28th ult., describes his journey from Kroonstad in a train which had precedence of all others, because it was carrying down 241 sick from the front. The surgeon says:—

It was an awful experience travelling down with those 241. All but 60 had to travel in open trucks, for the simple reason that there were no closed carriages, except what our party had come up in the night before. The nights are very cold indeed here now, but their hardships were nothing to those of their less fortunate comrades who, in the days previous to the re-opening of the railway, had had days and nights of slow jolting in ox-wagons before they reached the railroad.

The Observations of Sick and Wounded "Tommies."

Mr. Burdett-Count's allegations were confirmed in part in private letters from the front, printed in the *Daily Mail*:—

A nurse writes: "Some of the C.I.V.'s were unfortunate enough to be sent to Green Point Hospital. They give it a dreadful name. Lots of sick have to lie on the boards. Ladies send jellies and custards, but the men never get them. Some of the men are lying in their khaki. Nothing else for them."

"It's something awful to be at the hospitals," writes a volunteer nurse from Bloemfontein to his brother. "They are simply packed, some of the men lying on bare boards without a bit of covering. There are not nearly enough nurses to look after them, and hardly any medicine. The death rate is on an average twenty a day, and nearly all die of fever."

A corporal in No. 9 General Hospital states: "The division is a heap of confusion—no order or method. We are having an awful time. We have less than sixty men to look after 1,100."

A medical man on the lines of communication writes to his sister: "You will hardly believe me when I tell you that a train passed through here a few days ago with eighty-six on board in open trucks and no one in attendance. The temperature was 25deg. Fahrenheit, and they had had no food for thirty-six hours."

(*Daily News*, July 24, 1900.)

Enteric is evidently not the only epidemic with which our hospitals have to deal in South Africa. A doctor writing home mentions influenza and scarlet fever as adding considerably to the work, and especially to the large amount of disinfection that has to be done. This doctor writes:—

We are all much disappointed that the war does not crumple up more rapidly. One really feels as if one had been away from home for two or three years. Somebody was suggesting the other day that, instead of our going home when this war is over, we should have to go on and establish a hospital in China, but I sincerely hope this won't be the case, for we all feel that we have had quite enough of war for the present.

Letter from Lady De Crespigny.

(*Daily News*, August 4, 1900.)

Lady De Crespigny's experience as a nurse in the hospitals in South Africa:—

" . . . I found that our wounded had no one in charge of them to assist them in any way, and no food for their journey. I found them a few papers to read, and at our first stoppage I managed to get a can of tea, which I distributed among half the number. . . .

"We got to Naaupoort at 2 a.m., but by some mistake only the carriage in which we were got shunted, and on getting out of the train at 6 a.m. I found all our wounded lying on the platform—no covering of any kind; no overcoats, only their khaki suits, much worn. I saw the transport officer there, and asked him to order them some food at once. He declined to do so. I said I would pay for all they had. He again declined, and said the refreshment room did not open by orders until eight. I said 'The men have been travelling for twenty-four hours, and you can see they are all suffering,' but he would do nothing, so I went and told the colonel. He sent for him, and signed an order, and said the men were to have food, but I found they did not get a scrap of anything before eight. . . .

"He would not trouble to give any orders and only said, 'We are always having the station blocked with wounded men.' Of course, the fault lies with the P.M.O. at Bloemfontein, who ought to have sent a nurse or someone in charge of the wounded, as no less than four out of the twenty-four had been shot in their feet, and all the rest were more or less quite incapable of doing anything for themselves. After eight I saw them taken off to the hospitals, but that there is neglect there is no mistake, and although most of the doctors do their duty well and nobly, some fail, and some hospitals are well cared for, and others much neglected, owing to red tape."

The Society for "Cruelty to Animals" is Dumb.

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 21, 1900.)

The poor horses have had a cruel time, especially the English ones; no one would recognise the Horse Artillery, although the tragic skeletons that draw the guns still affect some imitation of their old dash. All the way from Modder to Bloemfontein is strewn with the bodies of horses; if all other marks were gone, these melancholy quarter-mile posts would guide you unerringly.

Another reliable correspondent estimates the number of horses that succumbed during the forced marches between Modder River and Bloemfontein at 11,000, and no one seems to have time or disposition to calculate and record the suffering and loss of life of oxen.—(See next extract.)

With French Cavalry.

(Buxton Herald, July 18, 1900.)

Corporal E. McKay, of the 8th Hussars, attached to General French's force, writing from Kroonstad, May 20th, to a friend at Buxton, says:—

But it cost something if only in horseflesh. Poor devils! they dropped and died on the road from sheer exhaustion.

LOSS OF REPUTATION.

LORD ROSEBERRY ON EMPIRE.

(Manchester Guardian, April 5, 1900.)

Well, what is this Empire of which we speak so loudly, and which we have so much at heart? I know abroad it bears a very different complexion to what it does to us. I ventured on a former occasion to state that in my opinion its fundamental qualities are that it is free, unaggressive, and tolerant—(cheers)—and I believe that can be said of no other Empire under the sun. . . .

I know at this moment that our Empire is regarded with great jealousy and even with great dislike throughout the earth. It is vain to shut your eyes to these things, and those who are cognisant of the spirit which inspires not the Governments, but the nations, of large parts of Europe, the great majority of the countries of Europe must feel, without charges, of panic or pessimism being brought against them, that our country cannot be too prepared for every emergency—(cheers)—when it has so large an army abroad. (Cheers.)

My view of the situation is this: that while the Empire is at war in South Africa that is only one of her interests, and that she should not allow her other interests, spread all over the world, to be weakened in any way or to be neglected in any way by the fact that other countries believe that you have both your fists tied up in South Africa. (Cheers.) But that is a digression. I was saying we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that our Empire is an object of the suspicion, jealousy, and hatred of the great mass of the nations of Europe at this moment. I think it is an uninstructed mass.

The German Emperor and the Indian Famine.

(The Times, May 5, 1900.)

The German Emperor to the Viceroy of India, May 3:—

"Full of the deepest sympathy for the terrible distress in India, Berlin has, with my approval, realised a sum of over half a million of marks. I have ordered it to be forwarded to Calcutta to be placed at your Excellency's disposal. May India feel in this action on the part of the capital of the German Empire a deep sense of the sympathetic love for India which prompted my people and which emanates from the fact that 'blood is thicker than water.'"

German Public Opinion.

(The Times, May 14, 1900.)

The *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, for instance, says:—

"Instead of spending milliards in crushing the freedom of the Boer Republics, England should rescue the hundreds of thousands of human lives in India which could be saved by inexpensive nourishment. But she has money only for the war of oppression, and not for the relief of hunger and misery in India—a terrible reproach, but unfortunately a true one. Countless millions for war, nothing for starving sufferers. It must shame and humiliate every serious Englishman to see how foreign nations are taking over the most urgent duty that devolves upon his country."

American Reproach.

Here is an extract from the *Boston Advertiser*:—

The piteous appeals which have been made to the United States to take care of the starving natives of India are all the more sharply in contrast with the lavish British expenditure on the South African war.

The United States and the War.

(The Times, May 9.)

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

New York, May 8, 1900.

The Board of Aldermen of New York have resolved to form a committee of 15 Aldermen and 15 Municipal Councillors to welcome the Boer delegates. The resolution declares that the Municipal Assembly welcomes them and tenders them assurances of the earnest sympathy of the people of New York in their noble struggle against the powerful Government of Great Britain. * * * * *

The resolution was afterwards adopted, Mr. Brice alone voting against it.

Professor Mommsen on the War.

Extracts from a letter by the veteran and greatest living historian.

(Deutsche Revue, April, 1900.)

But then Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and Mr. Chamberlain appeared on the scene.

Even if ruling people of alien blood is not a pure matter of business, and matters do not always

progress as they ought, yet everything is not allowable in this sphere of activity.

Some deeds disturb the conscience of the whole civilised world, and the highest tribunal in the world, the public opinion of honest men of all nations, sits in judgment upon them and condemns them. This tribunal has no power to give effect to its decisions, and its expression of opinion may be looked upon as mere sentiment; but it is not pity, but a sense of justice that determines the judgment of this court. Unhappily, we have in the last few years had to witness several such deeds; there are some names, both of men and of nations, that we cannot pronounce without feeling ashamed of the century in which we live. That is just why it is hard for those of us who know what England signifies for the world, and, in particular, what we Germans have had and still have to thank her for, and to whom the Anglophobia at present rife among us seems as silly as it is contemptible, to remember that some among these names are English. * * *

The fate of the Boers appears to us Germans to be sealed, and we are, after all, accustomed to have to witness calamities without being able to avert them. We quite understand that the English nation desires, and must desire, to strengthen the English element in its colonies, and that it hopes that the South African war will have this result. We do not think that our own interests will in any way be injured or imperilled.

Intelligent Germans, at least, entirely recognise that England's greatness and England's might—however many Englishmen may caricature and insult Germany and Germans—are of vital importance for the position of Germany in the world. But we continue to hold the opinion that Jameson was a criminal of a low order, and that his confederates in higher positions have been allowed to remain unpunished and influential.

To derive advantage from crimes, if the advantage accrues not to oneself but to the State, is rejected by few, perhaps only by Quixotic, people. Innumerable Englishmen who would have abhorred participation in the crime regard the war and its fruits as a windfall for England. Are they right? Who can tell whether the Dutch South Africans, when they are brought into a closer relationship to the mother country, will receive the blessings of modern civilisation with gratitude, or whether they will pursue the path of the Irish? But whatever the future may bring, one thing is certain for the present and for the future: In the glorious history of England a new leaf has been turned showing the performance of the hangman's office on the latter-day disciples of William Tell.

Mr. Goldwin Smith

contributes an article on the war to the "Toronto Weekly Sun."

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 14, 1900.)

What protest against a universal reign of power can be so eloquent as the blood of the Boer boy of 16 who dies facing the murderous artillery of the Empire in defence of his home? Whether Canada has reason to be entirely proud of the part which she has played in crushing the little commonwealths of South Africa is a question which will be more freely and profitably debated ten years hence than it can be now. * * *

Men of 80 and children of 14 stand up side by

side against the forces of an immense empire and the most terrible fire that has ever swept a field of battle. When was a corrupt oligarchy or anything corrupt able to command such enthusiasm of self-sacrifice? When was it produced by anything but the strongest and most passionate devotion to a cause? It might as well be said that a corrupt oligarchy produced the Scottish League and Covenant and the rising of the people of Scotland against Charles I. * * *

Sir Edward Clarke, formerly Solicitor-General to a Conservative Government, has been made by his constituents to resign his seat for honestly denouncing the war as unnecessary and unjust. If every member of Parliament who opposed a war popular at the time had been cashiered, the nation would have been deprived of those who are now acknowledged to have been its best counsellors in the hour when it needed them most. As to the conduct of the British soldier in the war, there can be no question. He has fully sustained his renown. * * *

Lord Rosebery, a man eminently sensible as well as brilliant, sounds a thrilling note of alarm, and calls the nation to arms. He says that Great Britain has not a friend in the world. So far as the peoples are concerned, he is right, whatever may be the diplomatic attitude of the Governments. * * *

If a man of your acquaintance had made himself universally disliked, you would probably advise him not to spend his substance in revolvers and bull-dogs, but to change his manners towards his neighbours and to cultivate their good-will.

The War: American Feeling.

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 14, 1900.)

The New York correspondent of the London *Morning Leader* states that Mrs. Langtry complains bitterly of the effects of the war on the reception of English actors in America. In describing the ill-success of her American performances of *The Degenerates*, she said: "My error was in believing the English newspaper talk of America's pro-British sentiments. I began by reciting the 'Absent-minded Beggar.' That was my undoing! America is violently against Britain over the South African war. I was snubbed merely for being an Englishwoman."

The War's Influence on International Feeling.

(*London Correspondent to Manchester Guardian*, September 3, 1900.)

I hear of a remarkable order which has been issued to the officers who proceed from India to Russia in order to study the language. Of course, Russian is, next to Hindustani and Urdu, the language of which the Indian Government is most anxious that British officers should possess some knowledge. The order is to the effect that British officers who go to Russia to learn the tongue must not appear in uniform while in the country unless it be absolutely essential. I am assured that no such order has been issued to the officers of any other nationality who may have to resort to the country. Why has it been issued in this instance? Is it because of the fear that the European unpopularity of Britain may create a situation which would be unpleasant to the officers?

Protest from Dresden.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

(Morning Leader, January 8, 1901.)

Three thousand five hundred persons assembled yesterday in the largest hall of Dresden in response to the invitation issued by the German Social Reform party to discuss the attitude of the Imperial Government on the Boer question.

Strong protests were entered by the speakers against the position assumed by Count von Buelow, and were greeted with storms of prolonged applause.

The meeting finally accepted unanimously a resolution protesting against the standpoint observed by the Imperial Government, and sent telegrams of sympathy to ex-Presidents Kruger and Steyn.

The demonstration ended in three uproarious cheers for the Boers, given to the strains of the Transvaal March.

Lord Roberts' Proclamation.*(To the Editor of the "Westminster Gazette.")*

Aug. 27, 1900.

Sir,—The *Ethical World* has drawn attention to a matter of great importance, to which I hope you will give further publicity.

This is the serious contrast between the recent procedure of Lord Roberts in the conduct of the war in the Transvaal and the engagements in regard to the conduct of war in general entered into by this country at the Hague Conference. * * *

This proclamation has been identified by the *St. James's Gazette* with Weyler's proceedings in Cuba. Personally, I find it hard to distinguish the two, but it is more important to contrast the proclamation with the articles of the Hague Convention, which presumably marks the new "load-line" of civilised warfare as fixed by the great European nations. Article V. of that instrument provides that "prisoners of war can only be confined as an indispensable measure of safety": a provision which can hardly have been intended to apply to the wholesale deportation of civilians—amounting to a considerable proportion of the entire population. But the Convention, after re-establishing the old proviso of international warfare that occupation must be effective—a proviso which was violated in the case of the Orange Free State—goes on in Section IV. to make the following regulations:—

Art. XLIV. Any compulsion of the population of occupied territory to take part in military operations against its own country is prohibited.

Art. XLV. Any pressure on the population of occupied territory to take the oath to the hostile power is prohibited.

Art. XLVI. Family honours and rights, individual lives and property, as well as religious convictions and liberty, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Art. L. No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on the population on account of the acts of individuals, for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.

It is clear that Lord Robert's proclamation *does* compel the population in the Transvaal to take part in operations against their countrymen; puts direct pressure upon them to take the oath to the hostile Power; confiscates their property; and imposes general penalties for individual offences.

If, therefore, the Reuter summary is correct,

we appear to stand before the world as the violators of the humanities of the international code of warfare to which we were parties. It is to be hoped, therefore, that, if the text of the proclamation confirms the summary, account will be required of the General and of the Government responsible for placing this stigma on the character of the country.—Yours truly,

H. W. MASSINGHAM.

Unjust Ground for Burning Farms.*(The Speaker, Nov. 10, 1900.)*

The *South African News* of September 5th published a Proclamation issued at Bloemfontein, numbered 602, which runs as follows:—

"NOTICE.

"Whereas, by Proclamation, dated the 16th day of June, 1900, of Lord Roberts, Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, it was notified to, and the inhabitants and principal residents of the Orange River Colony and the South African Republic were warned, that whatever wanton damage to public property, such as Railways, Bridges, Culverts, Telegraph Wires, &c., took place, the houses of persons living in the neighbourhood would be burned, inasmuch as such destruction could not take place without their knowledge and connivance." * * *

There follows a list of some forty persons whose farms have been burnt in accordance with Lord Roberts' Proclamation. It is difficult to see how these men can be made responsible for the attacks on the railway. The mobile Boer forces cover huge distances, descend on the railway at one point, and in a few days are able to attack the railway in some other direction. * * *

The Outcome of the War.*(Leading Article, Manchester Guardian, Sept. 4, 1900.)*

* * * It means a dreary future of confiscations, hangings, and burning of farms. It is no doubt true that no Englishman wishes or intends these consequences. But they follow on the policy of crushing a free and brave people as night follows day. A military Government perforce weeds out the best men among the people that it governs. It drives them into exile or it kills them. It makes some of the best feelings of men criminal, and it encourages most those who are most servile. This is the kind of government to which this country, forgetful of its sympathy with enslaved Greece and Italy, has doomed the Boers of the Republics. Such is the outcome of the campaign for liberty and equality in South Africa.

A Cancelled Proclamation: Is it English?*(Morning Leader, September 10, 1900.)*

An English correspondent at Capetown, writing on August 22, suggests that some English people may possibly be wondering at the continued resistance of the Boers "now that the British flag is at Pretoria and the Boers have been afforded an opportunity of seeing for themselves the infinite superiority of English rule over what they suffered under Mr. Kruger." As a help towards understanding the apparent paradox, our correspondent

sends us a copy of a proclamation issued at Krugersdorp, on July 9, by Captain Ritchie. Here is the precious document:—

**Y. R.
PUBLIC NOTICE.**

It is hereby notified for information that unless the men at present on commando belonging to families in the Town and District of Krugersdorp surrender themselves and hand in their arms to the Imperial authorities by 20th July, the whole of their property will be confiscated, and their families turned out destitute and homeless.

By Order,
G. H. M. RITCHIE,
Capt. K Horse,
Dist. Supt. Police.
Krugersdorp, 9th July, 1900.

It is true that this amazing proclamation was cancelled a week later, and it is not surprising to hear that rewards were offered by the Imperial authorities for any copies of it still in circulation.

"But," as our correspondent says, "that a man so utterly lost to feeling should be considered the best person to administer a district augurs very ill for military rule. It is to be hoped that this proclamation is without parallel in the history of the British Empire, for the most merciless Jingo must shudder at brave enemies being told that unless they desert their countrymen's ranks (for the Transvaal is not even annexed yet) their families 'will be turned out destitute and homeless.' And this, too, is a proclamation headed V.R.!"

(Star, September 10, 1900.)

Some of us wonder occasionally why the Boers continue to resist. * * *

The men who are still fighting in the hills under Botha or De Wet must be sustained by some other passion than hope. They have nothing to gain by fighting—and yet they fight on. * * *

Things have gone so far that it is possible for a man with an English name and a captain's rank, a man presumably who claims the title of gentleman, and so far typical of his class that he was chosen to command a populous district, to issue a proclamation threatening (1) to rob, (2) to evict the wives and children of the men who are fighting against us for their independence. * * *

The history of this proclamation is rather curious. It circulated for a week in the district of Rustenburg before it happened to meet the eyes of any more humane superior officer. Finally, however, it encountered some English gentleman who was shocked by it. It was suppressed, and another proclamation less brutally worded was issued in its place, while to prevent its reaching England rewards were offered for any copies still in existence. * * *

The substance of it, however, did not greatly differ from the notification which was issued in Pretoria under the eyes of Lord Roberts himself. What its terms exactly were we do not know, but according to a Reuter's telegram that passed the Censor it ordered—

the wives of all Boers now fighting to report themselves to the authorities tomorrow in order that they may be sent into the enemy's lines.

Women and Children Left to Starve.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

(Morning Leader, December 17, 1900.)

* * * I enclose a copy of a proclamation issued on 1st November by General Bruce Hamilton.

NOTICE.

The town of Ventersburg has been cleared of supplies and partly burnt, and the farms in the vicinity destroyed on account of the frequent attacks on the railway line in the neighbourhood. The Boer women and children who are left behind should apply to the Boer commandants for food, who will supply them unless they wish to see them starve. No supplies will be sent from the railway to the town.

(Signed) **BRUCE HAMILTON,**
Major-General.

November 1, 1900.

This for cold-blooded brutality and cruelty it would not be easy, even for the Turks, to beat. We destroy all the farmhouses, drive off all the stock, burn all the stores on the farms, "clear" and "partly burn" (which means that the church is not destroyed) the town of the district, and then tell the Boer women and children—who were annexed and declared to be British subjects months ago—that they should apply to the Boer commandants for food, who will supply them unless they wish to see them starve! And then we add that no supplies will be sent from the railway to the town. Do the British public know and sanction these things?

Martial Law.

(Morning Leader, March 6, 1901.)

When, if ever, the khaki reign has ended there will be a magnificent field for anybody desirous of studying the operations of martial law in South Africa. * * * Here it is:—

NOTICE.

To all male inhabitants of the district of Steynsburg between the ages of 16 and 40 years.

You are hereby warned to come to the village of Steynsburg in order that you may be safe in the event of your being commandeered by the enemy.

You are also hereby warned that if you permit yourselves to fall in the hands of the enemy, you will make yourselves guilty of the crime of high treason: even though you may have been forced by the enemy to do service for him,

You should, therefore, in case you do not belong to one or other military force, remove to a district which is not threatened by the enemy, or to a place where you may be protected by British troops.

You are moreover warned that in case you do not take these precautionary measures, it will be on your own responsibility, and under no circumstances whatever will any compensation for loss be given to any person who allows himself or any member of his family to be commandeered by the enemy.

Force will not be used to carry out the above order.

**E. BRERETON, Major,
Commandant.**

Steynsburg, 6 Feb., 1901.

What does this mean? That farmers between the ages of 16 and 40 are to abandon their wives and children, their homes and stock to the mercy of any passing patrol of the Brabandiers or other

corps of irregulars, and that if they do not abandon what to them is all life has to offer they will be guilty (mark the word, guilty!) of high treason. There is, however, a saving clause which makes one think this gallant commandant is something of a humorist. The farmers of Steynsburg are invited to leave for a district which is not threatened by the enemy! Where, oh, where is that district? Has not Sir A. Milner himself told us the enemy are on both the Eastern and Western seashores of the Colony; has not all Capetown even been put into khaki; have not we the highest authority in the land for the statement that you cannot say that the Boer will never do this or that or come here or there, because it seems improbable, and in the face of all this the Steynsburg commandant advises the farmers of that district to go to a district which is not threatened by the enemy!

One of the Rhodes' Group.

(*The Speaker*, June 23, 1900.)

Stockbrokers, entering into warfare for practical and patriotic motives, carry into it the common-sense principles of business. Thus a man called Logan, in the service of Mr. Rhodes, has offered a bonus of £1 sterling to the Maxim corps of an irregular body for every "rebel" killed, with a reduction of 25 per cent. if they maim or capture without bagging a clean kill. Even after the 2 per cent. commission for cash has been deducted it should leave a handsome bonus for the gallant fellows. A brave editor (also in the employ of Mr. Rhodes, and one of his most devoted servants) prints this offer in the *Cape Times*—a newspaper owned by Mr. Rhodes and his friends. . . .

The Expulsion of Women and Children.

LORD ROBERTS'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH
GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

No. 57, *S.A.C.C.'s Publication*.

(*Reprinted from the Manchester Guardian*.)

The following is a translation from the *Handelsblad* of the correspondence which passed between Lord Roberts and Commandant General Louis Botha in September last in reference to Lord Roberts's proposal to expel from their homes the women and families of burghers on commando in districts occupied by our troops, and convey them to the Boer lines.

Lord Roberts says:—

"* * * In order to put these views into practice I have issued instructions that the Boer farmhouses near a spot where an effort has been made to destroy the railroad or to wreck the trains shall be burnt, and that from all farmhouses for a distance of ten miles around such a spot all provisions, cattle, etc., shall be removed. . . .

"I need not tell you how repugnant these measures are to me, but I am obliged to resort to the same by the evidently firm resolve on the part of yourself and your burghers to continue the war, although any doubt as to the ultimate result thereof has now ceased to exist.—I have the honour to be your obedient servant."

General Botha says:—

"Inasmuch as our entire armed force is only a small one in comparison with that of

your Excellency, it cannot, of course be expected that strong commandos should be in the field everywhere, and it naturally follows that now, as during the war, what is incumbent upon us must be done by small forces. Moreover, we have been compelled to still further scatter our commandos in order to be able to check the looting patrols, under your Excellency's chief command, who scour the country to carry off cattle and provisions from the different farms. * * *

"In paragraph 3 of your letter, with which I am now dealing, it is already known to me that barbarous actions of this kind are committed by your troops, under your command, not only alongside or near the railway, but also in places far removed from railways. Wherever your troops move not only are houses burned down or blown up with dynamite, but defenceless women and children are ejected, robbed of all food and cover, and all this without any just cause existing for such proceedings.

"With regard to paragraph 4 of your Excellency's letter I extremely regret to learn that my burghers' and my own determination to persevere in the struggle for our independence is to be visited on our wives and children, and this is the first instance of this kind known to me in the history of civilised warfare. . . .

"The pretext alleged by you, viz: that by so doing your Excellency desires to protect yourself against transmission of information to us clearly lacks all substance, since such proceedings were not considered necessary at a time when our troops were encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of Pretoria. It is needless to state that we have never, by means of women and children, received information regarding operations of war.

"If your Excellency still intends to persevere in carrying out your Excellency's plan, which I hope will not be the case, I request your Excellency to give me timely notice of the period and particulars of the expulsion, as I wish to arrange for the direct transport of the families to Europe. * * *

"In conclusion I desire to give you the assurance that nothing you may do to our women and children will deter us in continuing the struggle for our independence.—I have the honour to be, &c."

The Congregational Monthly.

(December, 1900.)

LAYING THE COUNTRY WASTE.

(By the Editor.)

* * * It is not the English chivalry to make war on women. It is not the English tradition to use force with non-combatants. It is not the English habit to burn and plunder. It is not the English instinct to lay a thriving country waste. But then all this is done in South Africa, and if (so our member of Parliament wrote to us when the war began) we had been in South Africa (as our member of Parliament has been), we should understand these things better. So it appears that not only do circumstances alter cases, but morality varies with the latitude, and a Canon blesses at Bloemfontein that which he curses at Bristol.

THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA.

"Public reason just—
compels me now
To do what else, though damned, I should abhor."
So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds."
—Milton

Englishmen are now doing things in South Africa which all the better men among them loathe and hate to do. To turn a mother and her children out of doors and send them adrift is not the work that suits even the most hardened "Tommy." To shut up women and girls in prison for no other offence than that their husbands and brothers are fighting for their liberty is the kind of thing which brings a blush to the cheek of a British officer. To be engaged day after day in wrecking and burning peaceful homesteads is not the business which our volunteers had in their minds when they sailed for the Cape. To devastate and to depopulate is not the ideal, but the very opposite of the ideal of British Colonial policy.

Then why is all this being done? The answer given is simple. "It is necessary."

Nemesis is already at our doors, and comes in the guise of necessity. We have done wrong, and the Nemesis is that we are obliged to do more wrong. We did a little wrong, and the consequence is that we are now doing a great one, and we do not see how we can help it.

There are numerous precedents for the rigid application of this doctrine of necessity. Caiaphas, animated by a patriotism too exalted to be influenced by considerations of mere sentiment or morality, applied it in the case of one Jesus. The death of this man, said the High Priest, is a national necessity. In former days kings and priests regularly felt the painful "necessity" of Inquisitions and Star Chambers, and that living relic of mediævalism, "Abdul the Damned," no doubt regrets that an occasional Armenian massacre should be a "necessity." * * *

RIMMON.

A Painful Discrepancy.

There is a grim contrast between assurance and disappointment in the two following extracts:—

Those who volunteer At Shrewsbury con- may be assured that siderable indignation has their well-being will be been aroused by a mem- carefully looked after.— ber of the Imperial Yeo-
Daily Telegraph, 16th January, 1901.

manry, who had been invalided from South Africa, and since discharged as unfit for further service, being compelled yesterday, through absolute destitution of himself and family, to apply to the Shrewsbury Guardians for relief. The applicant stated that he had been attached to the Staffordshire Company I. Y., and was now unable to continue his former civil employment through injuries received during the war. He was granted immediate relief of 5s. a week.—*Daily Chronicle, 15th January, 1901.*

An Interesting Question.

(House of Commons.)

(*Manchester Guardian, December 15, 1900.*)

LORD ROBERTS'S PROCLAMATIONS.

In reply to Mr. Channing,

Mr. BRODRICK said Her Majesty's Government had accepted full responsibility for all Lord Roberts' proclamations. (Cheers.)

Mr. CHANNING: Is it a fact that most of these proclamations were issued on his own responsibility or the responsibility of the Government?

No answer was given.

Methods of Warfare.

(House of Commons.)

(*Manchester Guardian, December 17, 1900.*)

Mr. PIRIE went on to say that before the third reading was passed he wished to call attention to the general situation in South Africa, which he considered one of extreme gravity. (Hear, hear.) The struggle which was taking place was neither more nor less than civil war. The peoples of the various South African States were knit together by ties of consanguinity, and if their feelings could be realised and their views as constitutionally expressed had due consideration, just estimate would be formed in this country of what was taking place. Many cases of great suffering and hardship came under his notice during a visit to South Africa of some months' duration. * * *

The policy which the Government had been pursuing was not worthy of this country. They were reversing the great traditions of old. This situation must end, and, as the Leader of the Opposition said, the time for statesmanship had come, the time for militarism was over. The only thing open to us at the present moment was to call a truce, and to enter into negotiations with General Botha and the other Boer leaders. Unless the Government changed their policy, he did not believe this country would see the assimilation of the Dutch with the English until after a hundred years or more. (Hear, hear.) Our forces were making a great effort to capture De Wet, but if they succeeded other De Wets would spring up. To help to bring the war to a close, our soldiers were now breaking dams as well as burning houses. A dam to an African farm was as essential and necessary as a boiler to a steam engine. There were 800,000 natives in the Transvaal and 200,000 in the Orange Free State, and how did the Government expect to starve out the Boers if they had to support all those natives? This policy was only an example of the ignorance which had prevailed in this country with respect to the war during the last eighteen months. If the policy of extermination was to be adopted, he warned the Government that the blood of the Boers would be on their head. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. H. LEWIS * * * asked the Government whether, in view of the events which had happened within the last few hours, this policy of burning farms and breaking dams was to be continued until at length there would be peace when we had left the country a desert. (Hear, hear.) He did not know whether the war had not now resumed its original form, but who was there who could stand up and say that we were carrying on a series of guerilla operations? (Hear, hear.) They were to believe that Lord Kitchener was

about to take some more repressive measures against the Dutch population in the Orange River Colony. What the character of those measures was they were left to imagine, but all he could say was that if they involved more brutality and suffering than had hitherto been the case, we should soon have reason as a nation to hide our faces with shame. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Their apprehension was that the capitalists would seize the opportunity of freezing them out, with the object of limiting the white population on the Rand, and utilising as far as possible the native labour. With regard to the damage occasionally done to the lines of communication, it was often impossible that the people living in the neighbourhood could have any control over the raiding bands that swooped down on the railways, and he did not, therefore, see why they should be penalised. The proclamation of the 19th June contained one article which he would describe as the most cowardly that had ever been put into such a document. It said: "As a further precautionary measure, the director of military railways has been authorised to order that one or more of the residents who will be selected by him from each district shall from time to time personally accompany the trains travelling through their districts." (Ministerial cheers.) That meant that these men were to be taken as hostages. (Renewed Ministerial cheers.) Hon. gentlemen cheered, but the authorities themselves were so utterly ashamed of this order that, five weeks later, they repealed it. (Opposition cheers.) He was amazed that hon. members opposite should for a single moment defend an action so cowardly in its character. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. PIRIE: It is condemned by all soldiers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LEWIS * * * We stood to gain nothing either in Europe or South Africa by setting aside these provisions; we were simply making a bad name for ourselves; and he trusted that for the honour and credit of the country the Government would in future carry on the war as it should be carried on between civilised Powers, and that as far as possible women and children would be spared the lamentable sufferings which had been witnessed in recent times. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS said he had last night received a letter from a Dutch lady in South Africa which strongly confirmed the complaints that had been made as to the treatment of the Boer women who were prisoners at Port Elizabeth. This lady stated that in the camp there between 500 and 600 female military prisoners had to sleep on mattresses on the sand in the huts under an African sun. There was much illness. Only one chair was provided, and fourteen of the women who expected soon to become mothers had either to sit on the ground or to stand. He believed that our soldiers could always be relied on to treat the women fairly, and it was not they but the authorities who were to blame. These women were the wives of the soldiers who were fighting against us, and nothing more disgraceful than their treatment by us had ever been perpetrated by any civilised nation. They were told that this country had gone to war to preserve British civilisation against the seventeenth century civilisation that was said to be rampant in the Transvaal. But the civilisation we were exhibiting was a disgrace to this country. It was not the civilisation of the people of this country, but of a debased section who had forced us into this war. * * *

The conduct of the Boers in the war had gained the hearts of our soldiers. But it was impossible

to expect that they would not eventually resort to reprisals, and if it was found that in consequence of this new policy British officers and soldiers were shot by the Boers, a feeling of indignation would arise in this country which would frighten even the present Government with its majority of 130. He maintained that the oath of neutrality, which was frequently forced from the Boers by the direst threats, was only binding so long as we afforded them protection, and to threaten with the punishment of death men whom we had left at the mercy of the enemy's forces was a monstrous abuse of power. According to our own military rules the British private was not allowed to give his oath on parole. Concluding, he said it had been announced that Lord Roberts on his arrival was to be taken to a national service at St. Paul's. Well, for us to identify the Christian religion with the horrible practices of our people in South Africa was a piece of blasphemy. What we should do was to make our proceedings more in accordance with the conduct of a Christian nation instead of following the barbarous precedents of uncivilised times. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE * * * * * It was understood that we wish to impress the Boers with the idea that we were a just people, but what justice was there in punishing one man for offences committed by others over whom he had no control? In May De Wet offered to submit on the simple condition that he was allowed to return to his farm, but unconditional surrender was demanded, and now his farm had been burned, his wife and his son were dead, and he had been turned into a desperate man. The man whom we had treated so unfairly and so foolishly had brought upon us some of the most humiliating disasters we had sustained in our history, and was in fact, making us the laughing-stock of Europe. The "clearing of the country" was an even more serious matter than the burning of the farms. It would seem that practically the whole country from the Orange River to Pretoria has been swept clear of cattle, and in other parts these denuding operations had been going on. There must be 120,000 or 150,000 women and children in the two States, a very small proportion of whom were being fed by the British army. It struck him that we were organising famine in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) He wondered how long humanity would stand this attack on women and children. How long would the civilised world tolerate it? The feeling of the people of Europe might one day become too strong for their rulers. (Hear, hear.) If the war was prolonged and operations of this character continued we should not only suffer the shame of these transactions, but might have to face the intervention of armed humanity.

Mr. CAINE held that the question was as between a policy of coercion and a policy of conciliation in South Africa. He believed in conciliation, and he thought the deplorable course of events showed that the policy of coercion would be a failure. On this issue he fought his election. In his division (North-west Cornwall) there were 1,500 men back from South Africa—men who in one year had sent home £220,000 in savings. They were not ordinary labourers but skilled workmen, many of them foremen and the like. Some 700 of them happened to be on the register, and pressure put on them to vote for his opponent was something enormous. They were even told that in case they should send him to Parliament they would be boycotted themselves on their return to South Africa, as being faithless to the interests of the

mine-owners. In the result, on the issue stated, he was returned in place of the previous member, and some 650 out of 700 of the returned miners were said to have voted for him. This, too, in spite of the fact that his opponents had the active support of the Government and a warm telegram from the Secretary for the Colonies. (Laughter.) In his opinion the war would not end whilst the present policy was continued. (Cheers.)

Mr. CHANNING, * * * * * Events had proved that a policy of coercion only aggravated the situation. (Hear, hear.) Let them try more generous treatment. (Opposition cheers.) There had been nothing to show that the Boers, although some had described them as men of brutal disposition, treated their prisoners otherwise than generously and humanely. (Hear, hear.) Where isolated parties of British soldiers had been at their mercy the Boers had always refrained from useless slaughter. This showed that they were not devoid of the sentiments of humanity and fair play. (Opposition cheers.)

Women Liberals in Conference.

(*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 12, 1900.)

A joint Council meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union and of the Federal Council of Women's Liberal Associations was held yesterday at the Chorlton Town Hall. Mrs. C. P. Scott was unanimously elected as president of the meeting. On the platform were Mrs. Ramsey, Mrs. Stewart-Brown (Liverpool), Mrs. Dodds, Mrs. A. H. Scott, Mrs. Gibson, Mrs. Genney, Mrs. Chorlton, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Hurst Hollowell, Miss Grundy, Mrs. Dean, Mrs. M'Millan, Mrs. M'Cormick, Miss Taylor (Blackburn), Mrs. Cooper (Blackburn), Mrs. Barton, Miss Chorlton, and Mrs. Sharratt. Delegates were present from Manchester, Liverpool, Chester, Oldham, Nelson, Earlestown, Warrington, Bowdon, Rochdale, Blackburn, Stockport, Heywood, Wigan, and from other towns and districts in the two counties.

The President, who was received with warm applause, said they had been told of late pretty often that there was no Liberal party left. Sometimes it was the principles of Liberalism that were said to be used up; sometimes it was the lack of followers to support these principles that was insisted on. Whichever form it took, the statement was obviously one and the same. What they had to concern themselves with was the principles. These still roused enthusiasm and claimed allegiance in the hearts of men and women all over the land. (Applause.) * * * *

If the ostensible party was for a time diminished they need not greatly trouble. A time of adversity was sometimes wholesome for a great party. It weeded out mere fair-weather friends, those who were ever ready to shout with the multitude; and other commanders besides Gideon had found a handful of wholehearted men to be worth a host of doubtful trimmers. One of the charges brought against Liberals of late was that they had no policy, that they grumbled and criticised but did not create. Creation, it might be said in passing, was not generally held to be the function of an Opposition. But, she asked them, was there no policy in opposing? To oppose one thing was to stand for another. Suppose for a moment that when, fifteen months ago, Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain were hurrying us along a road which could only end in war, most calamitous war—when the Jingo press was inflaming the pride, the passion, the prejudice of the country—suppose

that no voice had been uplifted then to protest against impatience, intolerance, and aggression, to point the horrors of a war which must partake largely of the nature of a civil war and leave South Africa stricken and blasted by the flames of bitter race hatred. Then, indeed, had the whole Liberal party kept silence, it might well have been said that the silence was that of death, since the old beliefs in peace, in self-government, in scrupulous regard for treaty obligations and the rights of small States had found no champion in England.

Later it was the Liberals who, when the invasion of British territory had been repelled, urged on the Government the policy of offering terms to the Boers, holding out some inducement to the laying down of arms, so that we might not drift into a mere war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, which we were only now beginning to realise; it was the Liberals who had advocated the granting of a large measure of self-government to the annexed territories, as the only means they knew of restoring peace, healing divisions, and building up again, as far as might be, prosperity and loyalty. (Applause.) * * * *

All she would say now was this—whatever may be the truth as to a mysterious power which moulds the destinies of the world, all the experience of humanity goes to prove that, whether for individuals or for nations, nothing was so fatal as to acquiesce in our own impotence. Expect little from ourselves, and we should get little. Our Puritan forefathers, with all their profound belief in predestination, did not sit by with folded hands when they saw the affairs of the nation going in what they believed to be a wrong direction. * * *

There was in every nation a life of the spirit, which descended through ages, and which was fed upon the generous aspirations, the noble ideals, not of its heroes and poets only, but of the great mass of its people. (Loud applause.)

THE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mrs. E. Stewart-Brown moved: "That this meeting expresses its emphatic disapproval of the methods of warfare now being pursued in South Africa as being both inhumane and impolitic. It deplores the wholly inadequate character of the recent declaration of policy by Her Majesty's Ministers with regard to the future government of the annexed States, and is convinced that the postponement of the grant of self-governing rights must be fatal to the prospect either of a speedy termination of the war or of permanent tranquility in South Africa." There were two kinds of warfare, Mrs. Stewart-Brown said—that which was somewhat ironically called civilised warfare, and that which was barbarous and detestable. It was the latter kind that was now being pursued in South Africa—(Hear, hear.) Only in the last few months had this kind of warfare been pursued, and might not the question be asked whether Lord Robert's proclamation—a proclamation which every Liberal woman must condemn—(hear, hear)—was not an answer to the cry raised through the Jingo press for more severe measures? They were told that there was no evidence of the barbarities which they deplored. Was that so? It was difficult, of course, to get evidence while the rigorous censorship so systematically suppressed facts which the British public ought to possess, but numerous letters from friends to friends had been made public, and from them it was clear that there was a great deal being carried on under the name of warfare which, if the facts of the case were known, the conscience of the British public, even though

a sceptical House of Commons took no notice, would emphatically condemn. (Applause.)

Mrs. Stewart-Brown read extracts from published letters and extracts from some of her own private correspondence describing farm-burning incidents. * * *

An officer, writing home recently, said, "It is beastly work that we are engaged in, having to rout poor women out of bed and drive them out of their houses." The letters of the ordinary soldiers expressed the same disgust with the present methods of warfare; their souls and the souls of the high-minded British officers loathed and detested the work as unworthy of themselves and unworthy of the country they were fighting for. (Applause.) * * *

Had we so forgotten the ringing cheers with which Garibaldi, Kossuth, and Mazzini were greeted in the streets of London that we took it amiss for the crowds of Paris to cheer President Kruger, a man who had the same idea of freedom, the same tenacity of purpose, and the same nobility of ideal as those three rebels whom we cheered. (Applause.) Concluding her speech, Mrs. Stewart-Brown pointed to the danger, if the present obstinate policy were continued, of our losing the South African colonies altogether. * * *

It was an imbecile choice to make the warmaker the peacemaker, and as a consequence anything like a satisfactory peace settlement seemed well-nigh impossible. The appointment of Sir Alfred Milner showed the tone and temper of the Government in power, and Liberals must protest against it as being inimical to the best interests of South Africa and of the Empire. (Applause.)

Mrs. A. H. Scott seconded the resolution, and it was supported by Mrs. M'Millan and carried, with two dissentients.

"Lenience."

(*The Speaker, November 24, 1900.*)

I hear a voice of murderous wrath :
We have not burned enough, or slain ;
Too little havoc marks our path ;
Wherefore so gentle, so humane ?

From countless roof-trees be there rolled
The smoke of expiatory fires !
More incense yet an hundredfold
The unsated God of War requires.

Blind from the first, blind to the end,
Blind to all signs that ask men's gaze !
In vain by lips of foe or friend
The world cries shame upon your ways.

Fulfil your mission ; spoil and burn ;
Fling forth the helpless—babes as well ;
And let the children's children learn
To hate you with the hate of hell.

From whatsoever taint remains
Of lingering justice in our heart,
Purge us : erase the poor last stains
Of pity : such your noble part.

So shall the God of War not lack
His tribute ; and the long-foiled Light
Be for the hundredth time thrust back
Into the night, into the night.

WILLIAM WATSON.

The "Sun" under Dr. Parker's Editorship, Dec. 19, 1900.

WAGING WAR ON WOMEN.

We have received the following letter :—

Sir,—Patriotism is not necessarily grim, nor ungenial, nor unjust nor aggressive; nor need humanity be unmanly. There may be public virtue which is unconventional. Believing that the *Sun*, under its new management, may have these characteristics, I venture to ask, Is it not time that we had a better national education of soldiers than now prevails? War on women and children, under the pretext of "military necessity," should be repugnant and impossible under a right military education. The deplorable orders we have seen promulgated on high authority to destroy farms at discretion means famine and death to families. * * *

The French General who in Algiers burnt his enemies alive in a cave could plead "military necessity" for it. It was economy in the camp, and saved cost at home. President Kruger might have shot the aristocratic raiders who fell into his hands, and given a salutary lesson to his enemies at the Cape, who are now crying out against leniency. He took the risk of leniency, for leniency is a risk, the most honourable of all the risks of war, and often makes more for peace than battles do. It was said in excuse of the murders and floggings of unarmed men in Jamaica some years ago that the young officers who committed these military outrages had "lost their heads." It is the duty of a soldier (officer or man) to keep his head.

I heard Lord Cardwell say in the presence of Governor Eyres, by whose side I sat, that there had been committed "unnecessary executions." An "unnecessary execution" is murder. A war of extermination that has all the qualities of vigour and thoroughness—so much extolled among Imperialists to-day—is the shortest and most economical policy in the field, but is, nevertheless, infamous. When war degenerates into extermination—as the destruction of dwellings implies—when the warrior returns home it will not be heroes we welcome, but butchers. This is no pro-Boer letter. It has nothing to do with the merits of the war—but its conduct. It is an argument that "military necessity" should be limited to war with men, not with women and children, and that this limitation should be made part of the education of privates as well as officers. There is no crime that "military necessity" has not covered, and may not cover until it is limited by some practical condition consistent with national honour and humanity.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

What is being done in South Africa.

RELIABLE EVIDENCE FROM "A CATECHISM FOR
THE CONSTITUENCIES."

(By Mr. Stead.)

A. The *Standard* of August 10th, printed under the date of 9th August, from its own correspondent, Mr. Maxwell, in Pretoria:—

"The Boers sniped a train at Bronkhurst yesterday, on the line from Pretoria to Middelburg. Two of its occupants were wounded. In accordance with Lord Roberts's warning, all farms were fired within a radius of ten miles."

Mr. C. Williams says:—

"Innocent and guilty are classed together and made to suffer together for an arbitrary distance in a circle of twenty miles. A couple of Boers from 'way back,' as the Americans would say, fire at a military train, perfectly within their rights as warriors, and every farmhouse within ten miles in every direction is at once committed to the flames! We make a desolation, and we call it peace."

Q. Can this really be true?

A. It is confirmed on every side. Because we cannot capture or kill the brave Boers who are fighting for their country, we have made war upon their wives and children. We have burned their houses over their heads and driven them out without food or shelter on the wintry veldt. War is Hell indeed, but it is the British Government that has let loose this Hell, deliberately preferring it to the alternative of arbitration. * * *

Writing from Arundel under date December 28th to a Sydney friend, Trooper Bossley, of the 1st Australasian Horse, says:—

"We have commandeered a large number of horses, sheep, and poultry. The boys kill the fowls by chasing them and running them through with lances. It is rumoured that one of the Lancers came across £400 in one of the houses the other day on the Modder River. The houses are beautifully furnished, lovely pianos and organs. The boys break up the organs and vehicles for firewood."

From a letter from a member of the New Zealand contingent, published in *Wellington Evening Post*:—

"There is a Boer farm here which has been taken by the troops. You should have seen the things the fellows took. One fellow of ours got a gold watch and chain, another a silver one, and others also got valuables. I myself would not go near the place, as I reckoned it a d—d shame. Some fellows in the regulars pulled up the floor to see if there was anything hidden there, and others broke the piano, organ, and things for the sake of saying they did it." * * *

Mr. Thomas F. Millard, special correspondent with the Boer Army, sends an account to the *Daily Mail*, of the flight to the Vaal River:—

"Huge waggons, drawn by full spans of trek oxen, piled high with farmhouse furniture, where perched wistful-eyed women and children, with frightened, tear-stained faces; past deserted houses, with wide-open doors, and scattered belongings; past ambulances filled with groaning wounded. It was bitterly cold. The wind had a frost edge, and cut to the quick. Thinly-clad women clasped their shivering babes. Heart-rending as was this enforced and hurried abandonment of homes, few hesitated to make the sacrifice. Anything was better than to fall into the hands of the hated English."

The *Times* special correspondent, describing a raid into the Orange Free State, drew the following moral:—

"The importance of the expedition lies wholly in the fact that in destroying houses and emptying a great farming region (described by a correspondent as 30 square miles), we have inflicted damage which the Boers appreciate, more than the loss of many men in battle."

Mr. Battersby, correspondent of the *Morning Post*, June 30th, describes the refugees crossing the Vaal River:—

"A waggon, on which sat a woman on a bundle of household goods, one hand gripping a child. Her face had the sweet gravity, the calm beauty which may follow youths' serene surrender, but out of it were staring across the suffocating reeks (sand clouds and heat), eyes with the terrible clearness of inconsolable pain. It stood there unreal as a vision, type of all the pain, vain or availing, wrung from labouring weakness, in every river valley on our conquering road."

The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, May 1st, from Dewetsdorp, the country where "General Rundle burnt his way up to," describes a woman at a farmhouse when he, and Captain C., Major E., Lieut. H., and others were out on a "foraging (?) expedition":—

"The woman, who came to the door with a child in her arms, had a faultless, Madonna-like face, with big black eyes. Yet she was pure Dutch, and knew not a word of any (other) language. The people were very poor. They were left without fire-arms to the tender mercies of roving bands of Kaffirs."

Mr. C. Williams, the *Morning Leader*, quotes from a sergeant's letter from Norvals' Point:—

"It is a splendid sensation to know that one can help himself to anything that is worth looting." * * *

This is the description given by the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, with Colonel Mahon, Dry Harts Sidings, May 8th:—

"In ten miles we have burned no fewer than six farmhouses; the wife watched from her sick husband's bedside the burning of her home a hundred yards away. It seems as though a kind of domestic murder were being committed. I stood till late last night and saw the flames lick round each piece of poor furniture—the chairs and tables, the baby's cradle, the chest of drawers, containing a world of treasure, and when I saw the poor housewife's face pressed against the window of the neighbouring house, my own heart burns with a sense of outrage. The effect on the Colonial troops who are gratifying their feelings of hatred and revenge, is very bad. They swarm into the houses, looting and destroying, and filling the air with high sounding cries of vengeance. Why burn the houses, the ends achieved are so small, punishment could be otherwise inflicted? If I describe one-half of the little things which I saw in the process of destruction I should be accused of sentimentalising."

Mr. Battersby, *Morning Post*, June 30th, writes:—

"The dismantling of deserted houses is a speedy affair. The doors are smashed from their hinges, lintel and side post wrenched from the brickwork, the flooring is torn up, sometimes even the roof tree is dragged out, chairs, tables, and chests of drawers may be seen going into camp on the backs of the spoilers. The whole place is gutted with a passion for destruction."

A Protest.*(The Speaker, January 19, 1901.)*

There are very few newspapers in England that dare to publish all the news from the seat of war. Much of our Press is in the hands of men who had a direct pecuniary interest in forcing on what their dense ignorance of military affairs represented to them as an easy war. The rest of the Press was for the most part equally ill informed, and having created, chiefly by the suppression of evidence, a certain attitude of mind with regard to the campaign, they feel compelled to follow in the false rut they have traced for themselves.

There is no danger at this moment of our regular army departing from those conventions which are honourably observed in European armies. It has a reputation to maintain, and that reputation stands high among our neighbours. * * *

If we do not make some change in the present tendency of our Press and of the public opinion it informs, we shall lose that position; and with it we shall perhaps lose the military spirit without which an army cannot live.

We do not refer to the new practice of swaggering over everything that is not disaster, nor to the perpetual flattery of irregular and highly-paid levies at the expense of the regular army; these things are deplorable, but they are minor vices common enough to the civilian public when it suffers from the excitement of a long war. * * *

Neither do we refer to the exceptional acts which have marked this campaign in the past. * * *

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tected. In addition to that we insist upon the forts being dismantled, and your having no more guns to imperil our territories for the future"—nobody doubted, if these terms had been laid down sternly, they would have been accepted. The Boers were beaten. The leaders were clever men, and knew the power of this country. They would have accepted any terms which would have left them their freedom; but instead of that we started upon a second war, a ghastlier war, a war more expensive, degrading, and dishonourable for Britain. (Shame.)

The British army had been engaged in denuding the country of cattle and sheep, and the houses of food supplies, and in burning farms. He made no charges against the British troops, who were carrying out orders, and he was not sure that, if we were engaged upon a war of this character, what we were doing was not the only way to bring an end to the business. He did not criticise it from a military point of view. (Hear, hear.) But he did blame the statesmen at home, who made it absolutely necessary that the troops should engage in this work, which they loathed. He had seen letters from British officers, who said they were disgusted with the work imposed upon them by the necessities of the case. * * *

The failure of Mr. Kruger's mission in Europe had been hailed in Germany with scornful delight. That was the most ominous symptom of all. Why should they interfere in China, where we were once the foremost power? We were now third or fourth. * * *

Our power and our influence were going. Was Germany going to meddle to stop this war with the Transvaal when she knew that the longer we were involved in it the easier it would be to extract everything out of us, and the less our power would be? (Cheers.)

Mr. Courtney and Mr. J. M. Robertson on doings in South Africa.

"THE FRIGHTFUL FUTURE THAT MAY BE IN STORE."

(*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1900.)

Mr. Leonard Courtney took the chair last night at a meeting held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, London, the purpose of which was to hear an address from Mr. J. M. Robertson, who has just returned from South Africa, where he acted as correspondent to a morning paper. In opening the meeting,

Mr. COURTNEY said nothing was so eloquent or persuasive as a recital of facts. If they could once realise what had been going on in South Africa, he had not so despaired of human nature as not to believe that a reaction would be produced, that the result would be that what had happened should not happen again, and that this wretched war would be brought to a close. He was glad to think that at length the avenues of truth were open. It was not long since it was impossible to hold a peaceable meeting like that, and since the columns of the press were denied except to partisan statements and heated and inflammatory discourse. But the old proverb remained true, that in the end the truth would prevail. They all remembered, not so long ago, when they were first startled by the statement that some of our marching columns were marking their track by lines of fire and ruin.

* * *
Mr. Robertson collected and transmitted to the paper he represented such a tale as penetrated the minds of the most incredulous and made the most

slow to resent what was happening to others declare that this could not be permitted to continue. * * *

Not merely the burning of houses, not merely the devastation of farms, but the breaking of dams, so that the storage of water, which was the salvation of a country circumstanced as the South African Republics was, should no longer be maintained. He would not attempt to picture the frightful future that might be in store if the Government had to face the penalty of a famine-stricken people. * * *

Mr. ROBERTSON said that he was there to maintain two propositions—that this war had alienated our loyal Dutch fellow-subjects and was making absolutely impossible a peaceful and happy future for South Africa. Commenting generally on the policy being pursued, the speaker mentioned Mr. Rhodes, whose name was greeted with shouts of "Villain" and "Scoundrel." * * *

His criticism of certain acts of Lord Kitchener elicited from one of the audience the word "Butcher." "No," said Mr. Robertson; "I deprecate such language. The nation has set Lord Kitchener to do butcher's work. It is not Lord Kitchener who is responsible; it is the nation that employs him." Mr. Robertson, resuming the thread of his speech, declared that farm-burning had been carried out in a wholesale and reckless manner, and Lord Roberts himself had been guilty of breaking his pledge. * * *

The farms of non-combatants had been demolished, one of these non-combatants being a caretaker for Louis Botha. (Great cheering.) As to outrages on women he said this, that a man who dared to tell them that in an army 250,000 men there had been no cases of serious crime was devoid of common sense. (Cheers.) He had in his possession an affidavit signed by two Dutch women who underwent the last extremity of outrage at the hands of British troops. This was admitted by the officer, because the soldiers were punished.

Ex-President of the United States on War.

(*Daily News*, Jan. 19, 1901.)

Speaking at a banquet of the Holland Society last night, Mr. Grover Cleveland deplored the Philippine campaign, and declared that success in subjugating the islands would force upon the United States a new and exceedingly perilous situation. In the further course of his speech he drew a comparison between the action of the United States in the Philippines and the war against the Boer Republics, which he denounced in equally vigorous terms. Other speakers also expressed their sympathy with the Boers.

A Protest from a South African Imperialist.

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 25, 1900.)

The *Cape Times* publishes the following letter from the Rev. Dewdney Drew, who, we understand, has distinguished himself as an ardent Imperialist and Rand Reformer:—

"There was something chivalrous in your article of Thursday on the Boer leader De Wet, but I thought you might well have added a word of protest against certain measures being taken to cope with him. I, for one, cannot let

the administrative pen so cancel out my notions of justice as to enable me to write down this man and his followers as 'rebels.'

* * *

"All this is bad enough; but what are we to think of the scheme of placing local residents in the military trains, so that if De Wet should attack there will be a prospect of his own people getting killed? It recalls the infamous Alva, when he ordered his Spaniards to storm a Hollander town, each man advancing under cover of a female prisoner. * * *

"The rebel-hunting, the misrepresentations of a brave enemy, and the daily violations of liberty of the subjects that are now going on may well sicken any honest man, however loyal. While anxious to make all allowance for the difficulties of our soldiers in fighting a guerilla enemy, and while not abating one jot of my conviction that their cause is absolutely just, I do feel that it might pay to sacrifice something of military expediency for the sake of the chivalrous traditions of our army, and of the better feeling which might be hoped to spring up all round after the war is over."

Opinion of President of Scottish Trade Union Congress.

(*Morning Leader*, April 27, 1900.)

The fourth annual congress of the Scottish Trade Union Congress met at Edinburgh yesterday, Mr. Robert Smillie presiding over the delegates, representing 110,000 Scottish workers. Mr. Thomas Wilson, of the Edinburgh Bakers' Union, was appointed president.

In his address the chairman said that wealth production for use ought to be the goal to which all economic reforms must be directed. Depression in trade was hastened by the war from which neither the people of this country nor of the Transvaal would gain anything. It was a matter of great concern that the Press and politicians at the dictation of a gang of unscrupulous financiers should by distortion and falsehood gull people into the belief that the war was righteous. No amount of heroism would make it just.

War under Christian Rules.

In a letter to the *Daily News* on Dec. 17, 1900, Mr. J. Page Hopps says:—

* * * "It is startling, too, to be coolly told that I 'must see that Lord Roberts is one of the gentlest, kindest, most religious-minded of men.' I see nothing of the kind, notwithstanding the faked little stories about curly-headed little girls. His Indian record is a haunting misery, and his South African proclamations—blends of futile assumptions and ferocious threats (carried out)—may yet break his reputation when the consequences are seen and felt. He is going to be welcomed as a great hero. What has he done, even with his six men to one, and Great Britain, the Colonies, and the seas to back him? We have nothing, absolutely nothing, to be proud of. As for 'religious-minded,' I prefer not to discuss it. The less we talk about religion or Christianity—or Christmas—in this connection the better. It is shocking. It is too horrible to think about."

Peace Conference at Cardiff.

PROTEST AGAINST OUR "DISASTROUS AND CRUEL POLICY."

MOVEMENT FOR CONCILIATION.

(*Manchester Guardian*, January 2, 1901.)

Yesterday what was described in the circulars as "a great peace conference" was held at the Cory Hall, Cardiff, with the object of initiating a serious attempt to bring the present war to an end by a policy of conciliation. The conference, which was presided over by Mr. H. M. Thompson (Llandaff), had been convened by a committee, and the attendance was representative of several religious, political, industrial, and social organisations. Supporting the chairman were Mr. Bryn Roberts, M.P., Mr. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., Mr. Ben Tillett, and Mr. Mackarness (London), vice-president of the Conciliation Committee, while letters sympathising with the movement were read from the Hon. Philip Stanhope, Mr. Leonard Courtney, Messrs. John Burns, M.P., D. A. Thomas, M.P., Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. S. T. Evans, M.P., the Bishop of Hereford, and others.

The Hon. Philip Stanhope wrote: "The moment is opportune for meetings of this character, as I believe that the eyes of the British people are at last being opened to the enormities to which they have been unwittingly committed. A policy of sordid aggression, dignified under the name of Imperialism, threatens in its development the whole fabric of the British Empire."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., wrote: "* * * What our men are now being compelled against their will to do is to go on fighting and burning farms and slaughtering, so as to wipe out all trace of nationhood and independence in the Transvaal, in order that foreign millionaires may rule, oppress, and enslave the blacks, as they openly proclaim their intention of doing, and reduce the wages of white men. It is a horrible thing to find a British army employed to destroy freedom and lower wages. Surely the nation will speak out ere yet it be too late."

The Chairman said that to many the last twelve months had been a lamentable and depressing period, for to the horrors of war had been superadded the conviction that as a nation we had been playing an ignoble, perhaps even a shameful, rôle in the story of history, and that we had lost moral prestige in the world. This brought a sense of humiliation deeper even than that which could follow a military disaster. * * *

Mr. Ben Tillett moved: "That this conference of representative men and women from the various districts of South Wales and Monmouthshire deeply deplores and condemns the criminal and blundering diplomacy which led to the present war in South Africa, and emphatically protests against the disastrous and cruel policy of making war upon helpless women and children, and the wanton destruction of farms and the devastation of the country by British troops." The speaker said he believed that the psychological moment had come to offer freedom and good government, and to initiate in this country a peace movement as a constructive, a humane, and a Christian policy. * * *

Mr. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., who was warmly received, said the resolution was a pretty strong one, and should never be adopted if they had not facts to support it. It embodied a serious charge against the honour of this country. * * *

We were devastating the country and making it a desert. The speaker quoted in support of this statement the *Standard* correspondent's description of the desolation wrought in the Orange River Colony. Another paper spoke of "the charred and blackened country, devastated by the red ruin of war, which has no crumb for men nor a blade of grass for cattle." The hon. member described the action of General Bruce Hamilton at Ventersburg when he burnt down houses, captured the supplies, and referred the women and children to the Boers for food as the most fiendish act that any ruffian could commit. This was the higher civilisation that we were introducing into Africa. The Boers were not to be terrified in this way. We could not beat them in the field. We could not capture them, although we cornered them regularly once a week. But we could let them know that unless they surrendered their wives and their children would die of starvation. This was not fair fighting; it was degrading. The people who talked of empire—why, the honour of no empire was safe in their keeping. What was true of the man was also true of the nation, that whatever a nation sowed that would it also reap, and by sowing devastation and pillage in Africa we were not going to reap peace, contentment, and prosperity there. The true Imperialist was the man who would keep the Empire on the higher level. If the Boers surrendered without conditions their rights as freemen, their independence, their citizenship, their land, they would not as a race be worthy to become the citizens of the freest Empire under the sun. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bryn Roberts, M.P., dealt with the causes of the war, and justified the description of the diplomacy that preceded it as criminal and blundering. He quoted Mr. Chamberlain to show that the original complaints against the Transvaal had reference to internal matters, as to which we had no right to interfere. To make war against a country in support of claims which we ourselves admitted we had no right to make was criminal. It was argued that the ultimatum had changed all this. A large number of Liberals took refuge in the issue of the ultimatum, and even the letter of the member for Cardiff in the *Times* tended in that direction. Editors of so-called religious papers were fond of arguing that the ultimatum forced us into war. The ultimatum did nothing of the kind. It was the necessary and inevitable consequence of our own declarations. We had been pouring troops into South Africa ever since June, 1899, increasing the number of troops 150 per cent. between June and September, and it was not disguised that these troops were placed there with the view of enforcing our demands upon the Transvaal. The Prime Minister had declared that, having put our hand to the plough, we were not going to turn back. That meant war. Mr. Balfour had said that we were going to see this thing through. That meant war. Mr. Chamberlain, at the Highbury garden party, immediately after the prorogation of Parliament, had spoken of the sands in the glass running down. That meant war, and nothing but war. All this happened before the Transvaal called up a single man. * * *

The Boers knew from the London papers that Parliament was to be called together to vote funds for a South African expedition, and that the reserves were to be called out. Still no ultimatum came. On the 7th October the *London Gazette* published that notice calling up Parliament. If the Boers had neglected all those warnings they would indeed have been the poor ignorant farmers they had been called by the *Jingo* papers. * * *

The friends of peace had been too timid, and he was confident that if they had boldly fought the general election on the justice of the war they would have done infinitely better. The question of the justice of the war had never yet been fought in the country as it ought to be fought. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and carried, with seven dissentients.

The Degradation of the Press.

(Leading Article, *Manchester Guardian*,
January 17, 1901.)

We pointed on Monday to the harm that must inevitably be done by the persistence with which a part of our press has for the last six months been urging that Boer prisoners of war should be put to death in cold blood. We have now to repeat what we then said, and also to state more fully the facts which render it necessary that a protest should be made. On October 17, 1900, the *London Daily Telegraph*, after saying that "the war, broadly speaking, is over and done with," went on to say of the Boer armies, which have, unhappily, held our own forces in check ever since:—

It will probably be found that these sullen malcontents will go on fighting so long as they have a bullet in their bandoliers, on the off-chance of slaying one of their conquerors, unless the British authorities make it clear that all caught with arms in their hands will be shot without mercy. * * *

The next passage to which we referred on Monday, and on which we have again to dwell, was from the *London Standard* of October 16. There, too, it was declared that "the campaign, properly speaking, is at an end," and that the operations of the Boer armies were no longer even guerilla warfare, but "simply a species of dacoity or organised brigandage." After stating that "military opinion in the Transvaal capital" urged that any Boer found with arms in his hands and without uniform should be treated as not entitled to the immunities of a prisoner of war, the *Standard* went on to suggest "even more drastic measures." Any doubt as to the nature of those measures was then dispelled by these words:—

In every rebellion a point is reached at which the services of the Provost Marshal became more effective than those of the strategist. The prompt and ruthless punishment of every insurgent burgher caught *in delicto* is required. We cannot keep a troop of horse outside each Boer farm, but we can show its occupant that he risks something more than his freedom, or even his property, when he takes up arms against the Crown.

The *Standard* strongly and abusively disputes our interpretation of this passage as an expression of the same views as those held by its fellow-pillar of London Imperialism. We are heartily glad, from one point of view, that it does so. For it shows that, whatever were its views in October, at any rate it dissents now from the proposal that Boer prisoners ought to be put to death. * * *

To make it doubly mischievous, this apparent demand for the wholesale execution of Boer prisoners appeared in the *Standard*, undoubtedly the most weighty and justly the most respected of Conservative journals, at a time when for several months one or another of the London Imperialist newspapers of less moment had been clamouring for the treatment either of some

special class of prisoners of war, or of them all, as criminals liable to capital punishment. So early as August, for instance, the *Morning Post* had suggested that foreign officers in the Boer service should be killed when caught, and the *Globe* had urged that after a formal annexation of the Transvaal we should fix a day after which the private property of any Boers still in the field should be confiscated and they themselves treated as criminals under martial law. On August 20 the *St. James's Gazette*, in an article censuring the mildness of Lord Roberts's project for leaving some farms unburned, some Boer women and children undepotted, and none of them killed, said:—

It would be better, and not less humane, to clear every district at once. The sympathies of the country people must be with their own countrymen. Besides, the Boers who are in arms will naturally treat all those who are found to aid us as traitors, and coercion will be set against coercion. In such case the women and children are frequently employed to carry messages. Of course they must be included in the military measures and transported or despatched. * * *

How is England to keep the Boers whom she invites to be her citizens from identifying her with the type of Englishman who proclaims it to be England's belief that they are "hounds," "semi-savages," "cowards," and "utterly without honour," who ought to be "exterminated" and treated like plague-infected rats, that their women and children should be "transported or despatched" and they themselves shot at once on being taken prisoners in the field? We are told that great mischief is done in Cape Colony by false and malignant reports that we maltreat prisoners and so forth. The Cape Government is trying to put down the spread of such insinuations. But what measure of success can we hope for its efforts while there comes from London, to eat away the loyalty of the Cape Dutch and to keep at boiling-point the animosity of the Boers in the field, this steady flow of proposals that we should cease to fight like men and that we should turn into truth the worst slanders that our enemies aim at us? Nothing more profoundly anti-English than this agitation could well be conceived.

A RETURN TO THE ABOVE TWO DAYS LATER.

We must again say and prove to-day that since the middle of October there has been raised in a part of our Press a cry for the killing of Boer prisoners in cold blood. We are forced to do this by an attack made upon us by the *Standard*, one of the papers from which we had to quote when we were urging that the cry should cease. As the *Standard* charges us for the second time with "falsehood," we must place it beyond any shade of doubt that we have been strictly accurate. For this purpose we reprint in full to-day the original utterance of the *Standard* on October 16, our own comment upon it, the *Standard's* reply to our comment, and the only other document—a recent telegram from South Africa—which the *Standard* cites in support of its case. That is to say, we state its case in full, a courtesy which it has not paid to us, and we now take leave to state our own, which we hope that no one will take merely on our word, but rather test at every point by reference to the documents given elsewhere. * * *

From that first point the *Standard* went on to press the second, which immediately sprang from

it. What was to be done with these "marauders," "desperadoes," "dacoits," "brigands," "flibustering ruffians"? * * *

We have not, however, any wish either to hold the *Standard* up to scorn, or to pin it down to opinions which, at any rate, it does not hold now, nor to reply in kind to a reckless charge of "falsehood" which should not have soiled a page of one of the best of English newspapers, and which, if we may judge by its honourable and frank record in the past, it will soon heartily regret. * * *

We are glad, too, to find the *Conservative St. James's Gazette* of last night ranging itself also on the same side, and agreeing that our charge against a part of the Press, if proved, "would, in the judgment of all right-thinking people, constitute a deep disgrace to the organs of public opinion making such a proposal." In the light of that statement and of the generally serious and humane tone of the article in which it is made, Englishmen who were inevitably shocked and repelled by the *St. James's Gazette's* statement of last August, that the Boer women and children must be "transported or despatched," will, we think, frankly accept the explanation now offered of that unhappy utterance. They will count the *St. James's Gazette* with the *Standard*, among those English journals which may be expected to uphold English traditions of military chivalry, as distinct from those which, like the *Daily Telegraph*, have urged in so many words that every Boer prisoner of war we take should be shot, or which, like the *Pall Mall Gazette* of last Tuesday, "would like to believe" that Lord Kitchener "has issued orders that no prisoners are to be taken, that is to say that no quarter is to be given." We do not believe it of Lord Kitchener for a moment, nor of any English General. * * *

Mr. Frederic Harrison's Review of the Nineteenth Century.

(*Manchester Guardian*, January 2, 1901.)

In his annual address to the members of the Positivist Society in London last evening, Mr. F. Harrison said the new year and the new century could hardly be to the most sanguine an occasion for unqualified exultation, pride, or hope. They opened with so many sinister omens, such embarrassing problems, and such depressing burdens that all men of sense who loved their country and its honour were bound to look the situation boldly in the face. When he addressed the Society a year ago the outlook was gloomy and the anxieties grave, but there had been no real catastrophe to deplore nor anything to justify extravagant depression. He recalled Cromwell's words before the battle of Dunbar—"Our spirits are comfortable though our present condition be as it is"—and said we might extricate ourselves from our dilemma if we were wise in time. We had not been wise.

A year had passed. We were still waging war after fifteen months of incessant fighting on a hundred battlefields spread over an area the size of Europe. We had 220,000 troops in the South of Africa, though about one-third were said to be no longer effective, through wounds or disease, and whether the war was to last another fifteen months or fifteen years no man could say—least of all those who plunged us into it. * * *

The rival nations, finding England with more on her hands than she could manage, one by one chose the occasion to get or ask for whatever they happened to want. * * *

We had the same perils and difficulties to-day that our forefathers had in 1800, but we no longer had the consciousness of a good cause. A far more sinister parallel occurred to his memory when, 125 years ago, Great Britain was engaged in a wasting and desolating war on the other side of the Atlantic to crush out colonial independence. . . .

Then, too, all that was highest and high-minded in the British nation—it might have been a minority—repudiated the war as supreme folly and unspeakable wrong, whilst the pride of the ruling caste and the dogged inertness of the nation allowed it to drift from disaster to surrender. . . .

From the occupation of Bloemfontein a gradual crescendo of severe measures was announced in the proclamations. . . .

The Boers had been roused to desperation, and the conflagration seemed to have flamed up again as a conflagration did when the roof fell in. . . .

Mr. Harrison enlarged on this aspect of the case, and argued that, in the circumstances, the proclamations officially published were acts of wanton barbarity and of stupendous folly. * * *

We should have a new Ireland five times the size of that island, with a scattered population of consummate irregular troops, with an aptitude for desultory warfare. To suppose that by burning their homes, destroying their villages and stock, and carrying off their women and children, we were going to cow and tame these stubborn Dutch fighting men into docile subjects of the Queen was blindness and ignorance almost greater than the ignorance and blindness in which the war was begun and had been carried on. * * *

There was but one course which could avoid that peril, and that was to take measures to restore—as Prince Bismarck did for France in 1871—some regular authority in the two Republics that could negotiate in the name of the Boer people, to constitute the two defeated commonwealths a protectorate so far as the outside was concerned, but with home rule within, and with their own not dishonoured flag or flags for themselves; to bring back the prisoners of war, and enable them and other ruined burghers to rebuild

and restock their farms, to recall the present Viceroy and all those agents of his who were identified with the present policy, and make it known from the Cape to the Zambesi that absolutely impartial men of the type of Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon should henceforth represent the Queen. . . .

Old-age pensions, the re-housing of the working classes, poor-law amendment, rural depopulation, educational reform—the very names raised a smile, for we knew they were never anything but electioneering tricks. . . .

The genius that inspired an Alfred, a Cromwell, a Milton, and a Newton was not yet exhausted, and if we suffered the evil to prevail it would be our own cowardice and indifference that were in fault. The reaction must come. Let us trust it would not come as a consequence of great national disaster or deep-seated public distress.

Mark Twain (Mr. Clemens) on Morals.

(Manchester Guardian, April 7, 1900.)

[Extracts from his examination in literary copy-right by a Select Committee of the House of Lords. Could the genial American humorist have had the war in his mind? It reads rather like it.—H. J. O.]

The evidence of Mr. Clemens was irradiated with flashes of his peculiar humour. The moral law ought only to be disregarded, he gravely observed, when it was clear that the pecuniary advantage would be a great one. "The State should never lower the standard of morality in this way except after deep and prayerful consideration of the possible results, and the full persuasion that the money gained would be worth more than the morals." He added that to steal was only justifiable on a large scale. As a concrete example, he declared that if Great Britain were going to annex China he would say, "That is an immense matter, and the financial grandeur of the seizure justifies it. Let the morals go; China will be better off than she was before, the general world will be advantaged, and there's plenty of morals left."

For descriptions of "farm burning," semi-starvation of women and children, and other horrors of warfare, see pages 185-7.

LOSS OF PRESTIGE.

Germany Dictates to England.

(Times, January 6.)

GERMAN EMBASSY, LONDON, JANUARY 5, 1900.

* * * In accordance with instructions received, I have the honour to inform your Excellency of the above, and, expressly reserving any claims for compensation, to request that orders may be given for the immediate release of the steamer and her cargo, for that portion of her cargo which has already been landed to be taken on board again, and for no hindrances to be placed in the way of the ship continuing her voyage to the places mentioned in her itinerary.

(Comment on above in the "Times"

leading article.)

The correspondence just laid before Parliament respecting the action of Her Majesty's naval authorities with regard to certain foreign vessels is not altogether pleasant reading. There must be something wrong when the German Minister for Foreign Affairs and the German Ambassador in London permit themselves—and, what is much more important, are permitted from above—to assume the tone and to use the language recorded in these papers.

Now comes the complement, five days' later date:—

• The German Emperor on the Increase of the Navy.

(Times, January 10, 1900.)

* * * "I hope that the events of the last few days have convinced more and more extensive circles that Germany's honour, as well as her interests, must be protected on distant seas, and that for this purpose Germany must be strong and mighty at sea as well as on land."

A Humiliating Position for England.

(Leading article, Manchester Guardian, March 14, 1900.)

It seems that our Government's anxiety to use our sea power against the inland Boer Republics nearly involved us in a war with Germany last January. It will be remembered that the Bundesrath, a German mail steamer, was seized outside Delagoa Bay at the end of last year. Lord Salisbury and Count Hatzfeldt were still discussing the propriety of the seizure when, on January 4th, news came that another German mail steamer, the General, had been seized at Aden. On the very next day a brief Note was sent to Lord Salisbury by Count Hatzfeldt. * * *

We were doing very badly in South Africa then, and two days later Lord Salisbury sent instructions that the General should be immediately released. He afterwards observed that we were guilty of no violation of international law, and that the language of the Ambassador was unusual; but he complied first. The legal aspect of the seizures was discussed at length in these columns at the time. We found that our right to search vessels plying between neutral ports—the Boer Republics have no coastline—rested on the doctrine of "continuous voyage," against which European Powers had always protested; and we thought that ordinary prudence dictated that a right so doubtful should be exercised with extreme circumspection and only on ascertained knowledge, not on mere suspicion. * * *

It was a humiliating position for a British Prime Minister, and the merits of the case do not redeem the moral weakness displayed. It seems that Great Britain under the present Government will at one moment maintain a right, abandon at the next moment what she still believes to be right when it seems likely to lead to trouble, and reassert it again when the danger is over. That is a dangerous object-lesson to give to the other Powers.

England Pays £29,563 Compensation for the Detained German Vessels.

(Daily Graphic, September 5, 1900.)

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* publishes the following account of the work done by the Anglo-German Commission appointed to settle the question of indemnity arising out of the detention of German mail and other steamers:—

— The British Government having admitted its obligation to pay compensation for the detention of German vessels, and for damages caused thereby, a Special Commission, composed of British and German members, met in London to inquire into the matter. * *

The decisions of the Commission are as follows:—

(1) As compensation for the detention of the Imperial mail steamers Bundesrath, General, and Herzog, the German East African Line is to receive an indemnity of £20,000, together with the sum of £5,000 as compensation for those interested in the landing of goods.

(2) For stopping the German barque Hans Wagner, a total indemnity of £4,437; and

(3) For the arrest of the German barque Marie, an indemnity of £126.

Great Britain and the Powers.

(Standard's Berlin Correspondent, May 17, 1900.)

The *Kreuz Zeitung* is the first German paper to comment at any length on the speeches made at the Primrose League meeting last week, by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain. Towards the end of its article, it says:—

The world's sense of justice, which has been offended by this war, will make itself felt in some way or other. There can be no more talk now of an Anglo-American brotherhood. * * *

The Sultan's voice would find an echo even in India, if raised against England, and, of course in Afghanistan, where the opinion prevails that they have been duped by English politicians. But for the crippling of England by the war, Russia's advance would, at any rate, have been a great deal slower and more cautious than it has been.

Lord Rosebery on the Situation.

(Parliament, February 15, 1900.)

(The Liberal Magazine, p. 52.)

But you say, "This is not a great crisis like that. That was a matter of life and death." I say this is a matter of life and death. I completely adopt the words of the noble lord opposite. I do not think the Government have the faintest notion of how in the country, in the streets, in any place where men congregate, the feeling of crisis, of overburdening crisis, of constant danger is present to the minds of the people. This is a matter of life and death. Suppose—take the hypothesis for one moment, though we will not admit it for more than a single instant—that you should not be victorious in this war. You lose South Africa. You could not show your face in South Africa. You lose the principal colony of your Empire, you lose the most important base you have outside these islands. But if you lose South Africa you lose a great deal more than that. The noble lord—I again quote his testimony—pointed out that, this Empire resting largely on prestige, these colonies that have come so enthusiastically to our support have done so because they believe they are associating themselves with the most powerful Empire the world has ever seen. If you deprive them of that feeling the life of your Empire is short. You will be shut up in these islands, one of which I fear does not love you, and your Empire outside these islands will break away from you, and where it is without defence it will fall a prey to other nations. In the meantime, you, alone with your Fleet, will be in the midst of a Europe which has many scores to pay off, and will be only too ready to pay them off. If that be not a crisis, if that be not a matter of life and death, I know not what is.

(*Times' Berlin Correspondent's opinion,*
May 12, 1900.)

There is, so far as I can discover, absolutely no comment in any of the leading German journals on Lord Salisbury's speech to the Primrose League. There can, however, be no manner of doubt that Lord Salisbury manifested political wisdom in refusing to ignore elements in the European situation which, according to all appearances, are destined to become stronger and to exercise an important influence in the new century.

The German Navy Bill.

(*Standard's Berlin Correspondent, June 16, 1900.*)

The German Emperor signed the German Naval Augmentation Bill at Homburg, in the Taunus Mountains, yesterday. His Majesty has replied individually to the various telegrams of congratulation on the passing of the measure. His message to the North German Lloyd, at Bremen, concludes as follows:—

Now, however, push on indefatigably, that the work begun be soon completed, and then we may command peace on the water as well.

In a leading article on the passing of the German Navy Bill, the *Novoe Vremya* says:—

In the present complications of political life, it is necessary for every Power that wishes to play an important rôle in the world to have a strong Fleet. For example, what could Russia do at this moment in China if it did not possess a Fleet? Every State must perpetually follow events as they occur, and be ready to demonstrate its power in any quarter of the globe. For this purpose, in most cases a Fleet is necessary, and the more numerous and the stronger it is the better.

French Opinion on the Situation.

(*Times, May 11, 1900.*)

The *Liberté* says it is delighted to see the war going on because every day increases, as it believes, England's embarrassments and diminishes her prestige. "The colossus of the clay feet has received a blow from which it will not be so easy to recover."

Italian Opinion of the War.

(*Times, May 4, 1900.*)

The *Novosti* says: "If the Crimean war increased the military prestige of England, the Transvaal war has exposed all the weak places in her armour to the whole world. * * * * *

The nation that has created the idea of a gentleman has nothing to be proud of in the Transvaal war. Englishmen, on the contrary, ought to be ashamed of it. The opposing forces are now so enormously unequal that another victory like the one gained over Cronje would not redound to the glory and honour of England, but rather increase her degradation in the eyes of the whole civilised world. If the Boers succeed, unaided, in protecting their independence in spite of the indifference of Europe, it will be a triumph unexampled in history. * * * * *

While thus coquetting with England and exciting her ambition, Germany is able to arrange her own business by the aid of the Transvaal war, which is as useful for her purposes as the Hague Conference was dangerous to them. Had it not

been for the war it would have been very difficult to realise the project for increasing the German fleet. * * * * *

German neutrality will, therefore, remain unchanged till the end, when bitter experience will convince the English of the great advantages which Germany has reaped for herself out of the circumstances of this war."

(*Morning Leader, April 25, 1900.*)

To-day's *Italie*, usually considered as the semi-official organ of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, declares that Great Britain was never in so dangerous a position as at present. India, with famine and plague goading its millions to revolt, and with the Russian sword of Damocles ever hanging over the Himalayas, is a constant source of danger, the Ashanti rising may prove more difficult to quell than is anticipated, but the real peril which threatens England is the open hostility of the whole world in consequence of the present mistaken war. This state of things shows the folly of England's splendid isolation, and should prove a salutary lesson to other Powers. The value of alliances is now being proved in a striking manner by the great industrial renaissance of France, which is mainly due to the Franco-Russian Alliance, and but for the Triple Alliance Italy would have fared badly after her Abyssinian disasters. It is to be hoped, concludes the *Italie*, that England will understand, before it is too late, the necessity of making friends, a policy infinitely preferable to and safer than that of trying to knock down foes. England should remember the Scriptural warning, "Vae soli!" Woe to him who is alone!

Anglo-Russian Relations.

(*Morning Post's Russian Correspondent,*
June 8, 1900.)

The *Novoe Vremya* is admittedly the most important journal in Russia. That it has for months past done its best to stir up ill-feeling both in Russia and elsewhere against Great Britain must be generally known to readers of the *Morning Post*. How persistent its efforts have been is clearly shown by the following facts: Between the 1st of January and the 4th of June inclusive of this year the *Novoe Vremya* has appeared on a hundred and fifty days. Each day, like most other Russian journals, it contains an article which is in every sense the leading article of the paper. On no less than one hundred and nineteen of the one hundred and fifty days this leading article has been devoted either to the war in South Africa or to other matters directly concerning Great Britain. It is safe to assert that every one of these hundred and nineteen articles has been written in a spirit of intense hostility towards the British people. The *Novoe Vremya*, in fact, aided by its correspondent in London, has systematically misrepresented the policy and action of the British Government in every part of the world. It has reproduced and indorsed nearly every calumny with which the "gutter press" of Europe and America has assailed British statesmen, generals, and soldiers.

It has endeavoured to discredit the loyalty of the British Colonies and of India. It has exulted in every check which the British Army has sustained, and it has either denied or depreciated every British success. It has done its utmost to induce the Governments both of Russia and of other countries to take action on behalf of the Boers, or

rather against Great Britain, and it has undoubtedly achieved some success in bringing to the surface and stimulating in St. Petersburg and Moscow a feeling of bitter animosity toward Great Britain and her people. It is evidently determined that this animosity should not die out, since its tone is now as violently hostile as at any time since the commencement of the war in South Africa.

Russia Approaches India.

(*Standard's Russian Correspondent, May 15, 1900.*)

The *Rossia* to-day contends that the Czar's Government is committing a grave mistake in not profiting by the Transvaal war to force Great Britain to come to terms with Russia at the different points where their interests are at variance. Russian troops, it urges, ought to occupy Herat. This could be easily effected, and the presence of a Russian force there would keep England in constant anxiety for the safety of India. Further, Russia should organise Naval measures in conjunction with other Powers which desire to prevent Great Britain from continually violating International law and the laws of equity, for the purpose of threatening the English maritime communications and over-sea trade.

Russia and Korea.

(*Standard's Russian Correspondent, June 16, 1900.*)

The *Novoe Vremya* and the *Viedomosti* assume quite a bellicose tone towards England on the question of Korea. The latter journal says that Russia fully foresaw the difficulty which England is now attempting to raise in the path of her expansive policy in the Far East, and is just as fully prepared and determined to sweep that obstruction aside, and, in case of need, by force. "As a matter of fact," adds Prince Ukhtomsky's organ, "the opportunity for the assertion of our superior claims in Korea, for which we have so long waited, has now arrived. That Power which would now resist by force the arrogant pretensions of Great Britain has little to fear.

It will have to reckon only with the depleted remnant of about eighteen thousand bayonets and sabres and thirty-six guns. England's Army is for the present locked up in South Africa, where it is now scoring bloodless victories; but England must not expect to win those kind of victories elsewhere. The Far East will very shortly become the focus of varied and contentious International interests. As already said, Russia has clearly foreseen this for some time past, and is prepared to defend her interests in that region against all comers and at all costs. Russia's policy in Eastern Asia is, in fact, entering upon a new and active phase, and this country is excellently prepared for all the ulterior issues which that premeditated new departure may involve."

Russia Profits by Our Difficulties.

(*From a leading article, Times, May 18, 1900.*)

... Thus Russia acquires "an exclusive settlement for her naval needs," as our correspondent puts it. She gains possession of the finest harbour in Korea, practically half way between her old naval base at Vladivostok and her new one at Port Arthur. ... It is to be observed that the recent developments in Korea have taken

place while it was supposed that the power of the British Empire was hampered by the war in South Africa. ... All these results were opposed to British interests, and ought to have been foreseen by those entrusted with the conduct of British policy. ... Until clear evidence has been given that this country does not mean to be trifled with, we cannot expect other nations to believe in our earnestness or to be convinced that they can rely on our assistance in the hour of need.

Russia and Afghanistan.

(*Times' Russian Correspondent, April 17, 1900.*)

Recent newspaper speculations about Russian designs with regard to Herat and the probable attitude of the Ameer have not passed unnoticed at Cabul. The Ameer, in an autograph letter to a trusted servant, which he permitted to be passed on to the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, says that during the last few years he has been subjected to all kinds of rumours on the part of the British public, and adds: "Now, when Afghanistan is overwhelmed on all sides, the British Government does not seem to take any interest and enjoys the pride of aloofness and reserve. Whenever I have suggested some check upon Russian aggression since the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan boundary, I have had no response from the Government of India except the suggestion that Afghanistan might consent to the construction of railways and telegraphs within her territories. This is impossible from the Afghan point of view, as they consider that such a step would be the means of their ruin. Notwithstanding all these troubles I have proved during the past 21 years the firm ally of the British Government, but now at the last moment I must inform my powerful ally, the Government of India, that the present is a time for deeds, not for talk."

Persia and Afghanistan.

(*Times' Vienna Correspondent, May 14, 1900.*)

According to trustworthy intelligence received in Vienna, affairs in Persia are rapidly taking a turn which, so far as England is concerned, is calculated to inspire apprehension. Russia is positively master of the situation. The Grand Vizier, formerly a friend of England, has become her bitter enemy. There is also reason to believe that the Ameer is dissatisfied with his British patrons. The attitude of Russia causes him great anxiety. Without going into details, it may be said that he would like England to do impossible things on altogether impossible lines for his protection. Meeting with a refusal, he is much incensed with the British authorities and declines to take such precautionary measures as the latter hold to be possible and formally recommend.

The Danger to India from Russia.

(*Manchester Guardian, June 13, 1900.*)

In a paper read yesterday before the East India Association, London, Mr. Archibald Colquhoun described the "slow but steady" movement of Russia towards India. She was now almost at the gates of Herat, and he regarded the seizure of that town as a far from remote contingency. He advocated a policy of active defence, which would comprise the occupation of Cabul and Candahar and the establishment of outposts on

the Hindu Kush, with the right to make further advance when necessary. He would open up communications boldly throughout Afghanistan and develop trade relations with the natives; and with this view he suggested the construction of a series of strategic-commercial railways. The title of Mr. Colquhoun's paper was "Afghanistan the Key to India."

The Defence of India.

(*Standard's Berlin Correspondent, June 2, 1900.*)

The officers of the Russian General Staff at Tiflis, Tashkend, and most of the other Russian garrisons in Asia, are said to be devoting much energy to a study of the problem of a Russian invasion of India. There are regular weekly lectures and conferences on the subject, often under the officers in command. According to the Tiflis *Kavkas*, Captain Schemensky recently made the following remarks in a lecture to officers:—

"We Russians have a historical account with England, and are the nearest neighbours to the Indian people. Our interest in all that happens beyond our Central Asiatic frontier is, therefore, far greater than that of any other nation. An event like the last war on the North-western Frontier deserves our keenest attention and profoundest study, from three points of view, which I recommend to your most careful attention. Firstly, you must consider the causes of the insurrection of the mountain tribes against the British suzerainty. Secondly, we must ascertain the changes brought about by that war on the other side of our frontiers. After having thoroughly studied these problems, we shall know what changes should be made in our own war plan, in case we have to undertake military operations against England in the same region. Thirdly, and this is the most important, we must study the military and fighting capabilities both of the Indo-British troops and of those of the inhabitants we shall meet whenever our time for settling our 'historical account' with England comes."

Russia's Opportunity.

(*Westminster Gazette, May 18, 1900.*)

One cannot withhold a tribute of admiration from the political advisers of the Czar. Their intelligent anticipation of events before they occur and their capacity for putting things through in the swift and silent manner which reduces opposition to a belated protest against accomplished facts, are qualities which, as Mr. Jesse Collings might truly say, we "envy, because we do not possess." . . . At the beginning of the year a well-known Russian diplomatist was asked if there was any danger that his country would attempt to interfere with our proceedings in South Africa. "Interfere!" he replied. "Why in the world should we do anything to alter a state of affairs which is so eminently to our advantage? The longer Great Britain is kept occupied in South Africa, the better for us. It would be madness to intervene." . . . In January last we learnt that Russia had obtained loan and railway concessions which, according to *The Times'* St. Petersburg correspondent, "placed Persia entirely at her mercy in the immediate future."

Russia All Powerful in Abyssinia.

(*Daily News' Russian Correspondent, May 15, 1900.*)

The medical corps which accompanied the Russian Diplomatic Mission to Abyssinia three years ago, and has now returned with the latter to Russia, will in a few months again proceed to the court of the Negus, with the permission of the Russian Government, to enter the service of Menelik. This medical corps, consisting of about fifteen persons, has already established several hospitals on the European system in Menelik's dominions. The wife of M. Vlassoff, the Russian diplomatic agent, an English lady, died last year at Adis Abbeba, and received a kind of State funeral by the courteous command of the Negus. According to the statements of some of M. Vlassoff's staff, Russia's influence is now all-powerful in Abyssinia, and it is understood that the Negus is pledged to support her in securing a port in the Red Sea.

What the Government's Supporters Think.

(*The Globe, September 14, 1900.*)

The decadence of our power in the Far East has proceeded with startling rapidity, but the ground which we have lost since the commencement of the present outbreak is out of all proportion to the events of the last six years. Only as recently as June the lead was taken as a matter of course by the British Admiral at the coast, while the utterances of the British Minister at Peking were accepted as representative of the whole foreign community. To-day the name of Sir Claude Macdonald seems to have passed out of history, the British army is being subjected to the most humiliating treatment, and the British General is left without a policy, and apparently without instructions.

To crown all, as was pointed out by a naval correspondent in these columns a few days ago, our Fleet in Chinese waters is actually inferior in battle strength to that of Germany. We possess 65 per cent. of the trade in China: we are credited with the most powerful fleet in the world, and yet in the throes of this crisis the Government is apparently afraid to put it in evidence. Every letter that comes from the East bears testimony to the dismay and indignation which are filling the breasts of our countrymen as they gaze on the miserable spectacle of weakness and vacillation which is being exhibited before their eyes.

Russia and British Interests.

(*Manchester Guardian, January 5, 1901.*)

"TIMES" TELEGRAMS: PER PRESS ASSOCIATION.

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. . . The negligence of our interests in Northern China and the conciliatory attitude adopted by the British in the railway negotiations in St. Petersburg have resulted in creating the following situation:—Russia is strongly installed at Shan-Hai-Kwan, which commands the winter approaches to Peking. Russia holds Newchwang. Russia is in possession of the railway from Shan-Hai-Kwan to Newchwang, the freight and earnings of which are mortgaged to British bondholders. Russia, from Shan-Hai-Kwan, can construct through easy country over 204 miles of railway bringing her to Peking.

The Penalties of the War.

(Daily Chronicle, November 9, 1900.)

If the report that is sent by Reuter from Tientsin is correct, the Russians have beaten even their own record in land-grabbing and contemptuous disregard of British interests. The land which they have annexed "by right of conquest" already belonged to English subjects by right of purchase. It is part of the famous Shanhaikwan railway, about which there has already been so much international jealousy and unpleasantness. It was engineered and built by Mr. Kinder, a British subject, and between two and three millions of British capital were subscribed for its construction, and now Russia calmly annexes it, and declares that "unless the foreign (*i.e.*, British) owners of the land immediately deposit documents proving their ownership, no claim will be entertained."

This insolent announcement is alone sufficient to show how much our prestige has been allowed to sink in China by Lord Salisbury's policy of masterly inactivity; it has come to this at last, that Englishmen in the East declare that it has become a positive disadvantage, instead of the proudest of boasts, to be a British subject: but we cannot believe that even our supine Government will allow such a piece of insolent filibustering to go unrebuked.

"Owing to Our Entanglements Elsewhere."

(Daily Chronicle, January 12, 1901.)

Having quietly swallowed Manchuria, after all her protestations to the contrary, is Russia now going to eat up the railway which is the most important approach for trade to the southern entrance of the province? The New-chwang and Shan-hai-Kwan Railway, running round nearly the whole Gulf of Liao-Tong, and connected with the railway to Taku, Tientsin, and Peking, is nominally part of the Chinese railway system, and comes under Chinese government, but as a matter of fact it is owned by British bondholders, who advanced the capital for its construction.

Thus it is something more than a rumour now, as we show in another column, that Lord Salisbury, by one of those graceful acts by which he has won the favour of foreign Courts and reduced the influence of his country, has conceded the possession of the railway to Russia. This could only mean that Russia has persisted on possessing it, and that, owing to our entanglements elsewhere, we have not the strength to back our diplomacy.

* * *

It is but one step further on their steady advance to supremacy in Peking and the whole of Northern China. And we must look on and be content to see another door slammed in our face.

Bitter Attacks in the Russian Press.

(Daily News, January 8, 1901.)

The *Viedomosti*, *Bourse Gazette*, *Novosti*, and *Sviet* all adopt the same commiserative tone and tenour, and in almost identically conceived articles, in discussing the "impasse" to which England has been reduced in South Africa and relatively in China. The world-wide prestige which the great Western Power formerly enjoyed is, they say, a rapidly vanishing quantity. The *Panslavist Svet* concludes with the exclamation: "What an

insupportable shame and humiliation it must be for a proud and arrogant nation like Britain to know that the misfortunes which are now crowding upon and sinking it, give the most unalloyed gratification and joy to all the peoples of the earth, whose cordial detestation it has amply earned."

Mr. W. Mather, M.P., on the Government's Policy.

(Manchester Guardian, August 13, 1900.)

Mr. William Mather, M.P., on Saturday opened a new Liberal Club at Haslingden, in the Rossendale Division. The building occupies a prominent position at the junction of Manchester Road and Park Street, and has cost about £3,000.

Mr. MATHER said: Notwithstanding all the predictions which had been made, notwithstanding the enormous forces put forward, the unexampled bravery and fortitude of our army, we were still struggling in the midst of that "slough of despond" into which we had entered in South Africa. He hoped that very soon—before Christmas, at any rate—there would be a cessation of war; that there would be peace we could not expect, that there would be content was impossible. But at least there might be a cessation of the terrible slaughter which had been going on during the past six months, and some relief, he hoped, to the thousands of our fellow-countrymen who were suffering from fever or from privations and injuries.

The House of Commons had been moved during the last few weeks with a thrill almost of terror by the revelations which had been made concerning the medical staff and the want of medical provision for the wounded and diseased in the army. A condition of things had been revealed from which their very souls had revolted, but the evidence came so straight and strong, and there was such real earnestness on the part of those who revealed these things, that the Government had been compelled to appoint a Commission to make an inquiry into the matter. This, he trusted, would soon be a chapter closed, when once the war ceased, and then would come the time for healing not only the wounds and sores of our soldiers, and of those who had made sacrifices out there for us, but also the wounds which this war would have left deep and sore in the heart of South Africa.

In Cape Colony we had a Dutch population absolutely loyal and devoted to England, and anxious to bear their share in the government of the colony. These men had stood by us in the midst of great temptation. Some of them who were on the frontier had, no doubt, been led away by their sympathy with their fellow-countrymen, but to these we should have to deal out very gentle punishment, in the hope that the enormous change which would now take place in the Dutch population outside Cape Colony might be accepted by the people from a feeling that mercy, justice, liberality, and righteousness would be brought into play to make them happy under what must, of course, be the paramount influence and control of the British Crown. (Hear, hear.)

These events, however, had brought upon us a terrible load to bear in the future. Already we had an income-tax of 1s. in the £, and it might be 2s. before long, when we began to pay back the money which we had borrowed. At present, borrowing was the order of the day with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he had raised very little money on taxation. When the Government came to pay back the sums which it had borrowed,

then it would be found that the money would have to come out of the pockets of the people; everybody would have to contribute his quota, directly or indirectly, to pay this debt which had been accumulating.

But in addition to the present enormous demand upon our resources, there had been another demand sprung upon us in connection with China, not altogether without warning. Unfortunately, England was not in a good position to take a commanding place in relation to this great international movement which was going on in China. We had to take a back seat, and play second fiddle, whereas at the end of 1895 we might have played first fiddle anywhere. (Hear, hear.) But, having indulged in an expenditure of a hundred millions, to say nothing of the terrible loss of life, we were unable to take our proper position in China, and whilst English influence had been paramount there for many years, we now saw a German appointed to the command of the allied forces. We had done for the Chinese what no other nation had attempted to do, and we deserved to have the leader's place in the regeneration of that empire. But we were out of it, and Germany, with the least influence of any country in Europe, was going to take our place. He did not object to it, but there was the fact that Germany, for the first time in history, had taken the place of England in China, and when once she had got that place it was not to be expected that she would give it up easily.

There were other indications that England had lost a great deal of her moral prestige in the world. He had recently attended a conference in Paris of representatives of the parliaments of the various countries, and he found that in the opinion of these men England had lost enormously the old moral force which she used to have. One orator declared that all the other nations had, until recently, looked to England as the heroic country, daring to be just and to do the right, sacrificing everything for the cause she held to be true, but that now they felt that their great example had fallen, that their old model had deceived them, and that they could no longer speak of England as the hero of the world.

Lord Rosebery's Anxiety.

(*Daily Telegraph*, July 28, 1900.)

The Earl of ROSEBERY: I much regret that the noble marquis (Lord Salisbury) has imported so much heat into his reply. * * *

The noble marquis wishes us to go home and read that speech in its entirety. I do not think I should sleep to-night if I did. (Laughter.) At any rate, I do not propose to take that course. What the noble marquis said was that, although the attitudes of the Governments of the Continent were essentially correct, yet they were the dams to a flood of public opinion hostile to this country, which might at any moment break down those dams and sweep in a torrent—I think the metaphor is his own—against the rocks of these islands. If that be the condition of things, and no one can put his foot on the Continent of Europe anywhere without knowing that that is the condition of things, and that we are surrounded with an atmosphere of hatred unprecedented in the history of this country—if that be the condition of things, the conclusion of the noble marquis is totally inadequate.

I know it is said, on high authority, that we are only hated because we are so strong, the argument apparently being that under former Governments

we were feeble and beloved; but that, because we are so strong, because we have so vast a body of our national resources locked up 7,000 miles away, and because we have a prospect of another great body of our national resources being locked up still farther away, we are now hated. Suppose we are hated, and not so strong? On what does our strength rest? What are the assurances we have that we are so strong? The noble marquis's assurances on that point carry no conviction to my mind. * * *

I would not limit the wish to a reassurance on military affairs. I should be glad to know that the admirals of our fleet—say, in the Mediterranean, for example—are quite satisfied as to our preparedness for contingencies. God grant that they may not occur, but the facts to which the noble marquis has called our attention are matters of public notoriety. Speeches will not remove them or get over them, and I venture to say it is the opinion of the vast majority of the community that a few reassuring words founded on expert knowledge with regard to our preparedness would be a profound consolation to the people of this country. (Cheers.)

Home Defence.

SCATHING CRITICISM BY LORD WOLSELEY.

(*Daily Telegraph*, August 17, 1900.)

Yesterday's operations on the Fox Hills, Aldershot, in which nearly the whole of the troops in garrison and the Volunteers encamped at Brookwood took part, will long be remembered by all concerned, first by reason of the presence of Lord Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief, by whose command the operations took place, and then from the fact that they are to be, according to Lord Wolseley's statement, the last big operations that are to be held in the district for some time to come. * * *

After visiting all the principal positions in the schemes, he ordered the "Cease fire" to sound at ten, and when the commanding officers had assembled, and both sides had explained their object and work, he made some stirring remarks * * * He had not been favourably struck with the manner in which the operations had been conducted. * * *

He knew General Montgomery Moore and his Staff were doing all that was possible in this direction, and great difficulties had to be overcome, by reason of the great and frequent changes that had continually taken place in the Staff and troops; yet he was compelled to say without disparagement to the officers he was addressing, that the Army Corps that was engaged in the operations that day—some 30,000 men—was not in a condition which would warrant it being sent abroad as fit to take the field. In conclusion, he hoped they would all bear his remarks in mind, and endeavour to improve the troops under their command.

Complimentary Dinner at the New Reform Club.

(*Westminster Gazette*, January 18, 1901.)

Mr. Lloyd-George, speaking last evening as the guest of the New Reform Club, maintained that if the public knew now what was yet in store for them, even now they would put an end to this horror in South Africa. * * *

They were told that to give up fighting would be an indication of weakness, and would be reckoned as such by every country in the world. But in business it was the strong man who, when he got into a concern that disappointed his expectations, was able to "cut his loss." (Hear, hear.) The weak man went on declining to face the possibility of disaster, doling out cheques, and expecting that some time the enterprise would turn the corner. It was the same with nations. It was the strong nation and the strong ruler who could face the whole possibilities and say, "It is not worth the cost." (Cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd-George severely assailed Sir Henry Fowler. Sir Henry Fowler, in a most bellicose speech, said we must fight it out, whatever the cost, even if we had to face Europe to do it. (Laughter.) That was the finest bit of Jingo ranting he had seen for a long time. It would make a great impression if it came from anyone else. He had a biting tongue, but a very quiet sword. He wanted to fight, but had never acted on his own advice. In the Midlands he was general in command for the Liberal party, and had always distinguished himself by running away from the enemy. For sixteen years he had existed there under the protection of the white flag. (Laughter.)

The Eclipse of Humour.

By JOHN A. HOBSON.
(*Democracy, January 19, 1901.*)

With the abandonment of a sane, constant, rational judgment the Jingo loses all true sense of humour, and thus exhibits one more distinctive sign of savagery. A fool public that will swallow each new mass of falsehood from the recently-detected liars of the press, that will belaud with adulation the very generals who have been officially discredited, that will commend the perfection of military commissariat and hospitals upon the interested testimony of the very officials whose conduct is called in question, while they ignore the detailed, unprejudiced evidence of their own half-starved and neglected relatives at the front, that will abuse the courage and the prowess of their foe at the very time they are boasting the soldierly qualities of those who fall to conquer them—a public that does all this, and stands half-indignant, half-incredulous, when it is exhibited as a laughing-stock to the civilised peoples of the world, could surely afford no more convincing proof of its mental collapse. . . .

When Lord Roberts, on March 11th, addressed to the Presidents of the two Republics his protest against the use of "explosive" bullets, condemning them as a "disgrace to any civilised Power," he must have known (1) That Mr. Treves and other eminent surgeons had not only denied the use of "explosive" bullets, but had reported: "It is evident from their [*i.e.*, the Boers'] wounds that the Lee-Netford is not so merciful as the Mauser; (2) that mark iv. or Dum-dum bullets had been in use by our troops when their ammunition had been taken, and (3) that the Webley expansive revolver-bullet had been in general use at Elands-laagte and elsewhere until a War Office order was issued, dated March 28th, prohibiting its use 'until further orders.'" . . .

Considering our difficulty in tackling our tiny adversary, it might appear somewhat mean, as well as irrelevant, to abuse him for his smallness; but such meanness and irrelevance belong to the Jingo spirit, and furnish to bystanders its most exquisite humour. . . .

There is a full page of the *Bigelow Papers* bear-

ing on the Mexican War which merits study for its minute exposure of the sort of humour which our conduct is just now providing for the gaiety of nations:—

"Afore I came away from home I had a strong persuasion
That Mexicans worn't human beans, an ourang outang nation,
A sort of folks a chap could kill an' never dream on't arter,
No more'n a fellow'd dream o' pigs that he hed hed to slarter.
I'd an idee that they were built arter the darkee fashion all,
An' kickin' coloured folks about, you know, 's a kind o' national;
But wen I jined I worn't so wise ez that air Queen o' Sheeby,
Fer, come to look at' em, they ain't much diffrent from what we be."

* * *

He sez they'd ough' to stan' right up an let us pop 'em fairly

(Guess when he ketches 'em at thet, he'll hev to git up airy).

Thet our nation's bigger 'n theirn an' so its rights air bigger,

An' thet it's all to make 'em free that we air pullin' trigger. . . .

The bankruptcy of national humour is, however, best exhibited in two convictions obstinately planted in the Jingo mind. The first is a general belief in the "badness" of the Boer, of such sort that, when an inventive Press produces any new specific but unsupported charge, as of shooting prisoners, poisoning wells, firing on ambulances, we know that it is true, because it is just the sort of thing "the wicked Boer would do."

"Never forget to slander those you have wronged." This self-protective instinct in a nation which has reached a certain stage in the evolution of morals is aptly illustrated by Mr. Gilbert Murray in the following fable:—

"Consider the fowls of the air. A very pretty small bird, the great Tit, when hungry, will lift up its beak, split open its brother's head, and proceed to eat his brains. It might then be satisfied, think you? Not at all! It has a moral nature, you must please to remember, which demands to be satisfied as well as the physical. When it has finished its brother's brains, it first gets very angry and pecks the dead body; then it flies off to a tree and exults. What is it angry with, and why does it exult? It is angry with the profound wickedness of that brother, in consequence of which it was obliged to kill him; it exults in the thought of its own courage, firmness, justice, moderation, generosity, and domestic sweetness."*

Depend upon it, the comedy thus provided is not lost upon our continental neighbours, and it helps to swell the humour of another of our Jingo attitudes—our claim that the achievements of our arms in South Africa redound to the military prestige of the Empire. "See how all our Colonies rally round us, how brave and enduring are our soldiers, how skilful our commissariat, how scientific our generalship, how firm and successful our career of conquest." . . .

The Jingo spirit is a blind fury, which disables a nation from getting outside itself, or recognising the impartial spectator in another

* *International Journal of Ethics, October, 1900.*

Maligning the Enemy and Repressing Free Speech.

THE ENEMY.

Unschool'd in Letters and in Arts unversed ;
 Ignorant of Empire ; bounded in their view
 By the lone billowing veldt where they upgrew
 Amid great silences ; a people nursed
 Apart, the far-sown seed of them that erst
 Not Alva's sword could tame ; now, blindly hurled
 Against the march of the majestic world,
 They fight and die, with dauntless bosoms curst.
 Crazy, if you will ; demented, not to yield
 Ere all is reft ! Yet, mad though these may be,
 They have striven as noblest Englishmen did use
 To strive for freedom : and no Briton he,
 Who to such valour in a desperate field
 A knightly salutation can refuse.

WILLIAM WATSON.

Some blind followers of a blind Government are so short of excuses for the present unhappy state of affairs that they resort to flinging at the enemy all kinds of opprobrious charges, ranging from the comparatively harmless one of their being "dirty," to the more serious ones of their being but slightly removed from "savages and fiends." It is not worth while wasting time on the former charge, as, even if true (see *Daily News* Special Correspondent, page 138), it is of no moment, as we do not exterminate all the "dirty" people in our own country ; but the latter allegations, unless disproved, might serve the purpose of solacing the conscience of those who are in any way uncomfortable as to the justice of our present policy.

In the early part of the war we frequently read paragraphs of news unfavourable to our arms which were often headed "Those lying Boers again." In these the enemy were charged with misrepresenting their losses (not a serious offence if well founded, which it has proved not to be) ; of firing on the red cross ; of abusing the white flag ; of maltreating prisoners ; of using explosive and poisoned bullets ; and a host of other things ; and because they had too much sense to come out into the open and fight pitched battles with us when we were in the relative proportions of three or four—aye, even up to ten—against one, they were called "cowards."

That brilliant young War Correspondent, Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., called South Africa "this land of lies," and time has since shown the correctness of his description.

A few of the opinions and testimonials of the Army, from Generals to Privates, along with those of War Correspondents, Surgeons, and other non-combatants, are given in this Section, and should help to disabuse our minds of these slanderous charges. The letters of officers unfortunately rarely find their way into the newspapers, otherwise we should learn, no doubt, more of the same feeling that finds expression in the *simple and natural language* of the out-spoken "Tommy Atkins."

The following extracts will indicate the kind of slander referred to:—

(From *Leading Article of Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1901.)

* * * A few months after the war began there was general agreement about the Boer character among the guides of Imperialist thought. For example, the *Pall Mall Gazette* said of the Boer that "He is, in short, a semi-savage, who simply does not understand, and cannot be expected to understand, the distinction between honourable warfare and mere assassination." About the same time the *Morning Post* described the typical Boer as follows: "The Boer has been doing his utmost since we came in contact with him in this war to teach us that he is utterly without honour, that he is double-faced as Janus, and that, as with a pickpocket or a burglar so with him, there is nothing so creditable as 'slimness'—especially towards a Rooinek." It then proceeded to charge the whole Boer race with being addicted to treachery, inhumanity, perjury and murder. The *Daily Mail* described the Boers as "hounds," whose code of conduct in war was "so devilish as to disentitle them to be considered civilised beings," and the *Anglo-Indian Planters' Gazette* endorsed this view, and went on to say of the average Boer: "not only should he be slain, but slain with the same ruthlessness that they slay a plague-infected rat. Exeter Hall may shriek, but blood there will be, and plenty of it, and the more the better. The Boer resistance will further this plan, and enable us to find the excuse that Imperial Great Britain is fiercely anxious for—the excuse to blot the Boers out as a nation, to turn their land into a vast shambles, and remove their name from the muster-roll of South Africa."

(From a *Leading Article in the Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 30, 1901.)

* * * It is quite obvious that a time must come, sooner or later, when the Imperial authorities will have to declare that legitimate warfare has ceased, and that those in arms against us will be treated as bandits, for such, in fact, they have become.

(From "*The Struggle of the Dutch Republics*.")

Can honest Englishmen read without the most mournful feeling what Mr. R. H. Davis writes in *Scribner's Magazine*? * * *

"I left Pretoria with every reason for regret. I had come to it a stranger, and had found friends among men whom I had learned to like for themselves, and for their cause. I had come prejudiced against them, believing them to be all the English press and my English friends had painted them: semi-barbarous, uncouth, money-loving, and treacherous in warfare. I found them simple to the limit of their own disadvantage, magnanimous to their enemies, independent and kindly. I had heard much of the corruption of their officials; and I saw daily their chief minister of state, at a time when every foreign Resident was driving through Pretoria in a carriage, passing to and from the government buildings in a tram-car, their President living in a white-washed cottage, their generals serving for months at the front without pay and without hope of medals or titles." * * *

(*Daily News War Correspondent*.)

ORANGE FREE STATE, MAY 20, 1900.

* * * The people of Britain who read extracts taken from Boer newspapers, extracts which ridicule British pluck and all things British must not blame the Boers for those statements. In nearly every case the papers published inside Burgher territory are edited by renegade Britons, and it is these renegades, not the fighting Boers, who defame our nation, and take every possible opportunity of hitting below the belt. * * *

Test Calumnies and Search for Truth.

It will be remembered that the objects to be gained by military intervention were (1) to secure the safety of the lives of our people, and (2) to depose a thoroughly corrupt "oligarchy." Mr. Chamberlain went about the country inflaming the passions of his audiences by his rendering of the well-known stock stories of Edgar and Applebee. Nearly

eighteen months' intercourse with the Boers, even through the medium of warfare—the least likely, one would think, to produce favourable impressions—has shown our people that either the enemy were purposely maligned, or that those who spoke of them in such terms were in shameful ignorance of the facts.

No sensible and well-informed person suggests that the Transvaal Government was "almost a model one," like that of the Orange Free State; but it would have required to be of a truly villainous order before we should have been justified in ending it, and its people along with it, by fire and sword. It was steadily improving; younger and more enlightened councillors were gaining power; and making due allowance for the great difficulties in administering a country in process of rapid development, it was far from being fairly represented to us. The mixed character of persons and nationalities who form a mining community (I can speak from observation)—people rushing in from all parts of the world—must be borne in mind when we are judging Mr. Kruger's Government. We read of strange doings in the United States, including lynching, burning at the stake, shooting at sight, lobbying, and bribing the legislators, and wholesale corruption and robbery in municipal affairs: therefore allowances surely may be made for the Dutch farmers in the far-off Transvaal.

The Reason for Maligning the Enemy.

Had the Boers proved to be the wretched and demoralised creatures they were represented to be, then the policy of the Government, high-handed as it was, would have been tolerated, if not entirely condoned, by the people of this country; but, as the humane and sterling qualities of the enemy have become known, the only ground for our ruthless action is thereby removed, and although the public is loth to quickly condemn Ministers, there is no longer any doubt about its doing so ultimately. The increased efforts now being made to vilify the character of the enemy show, only too clearly, that the supporters of the Government recognise that their case is nearly lost.

I append a few brief testimonials from our own past Official Representatives and others.

Opinions and Testimonials. Various.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor of the Cape, to the Secretary of State, July 29, 1837:—

"A brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people, the cultivators, the defenders, and the tax contributors of the country."

Interview with the *Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, K.C.B.*, "The Humanitarian," April, 1896:—

"Then, to avoid controversial topics and to sum up the whole matter, Sir George, you think highly of the Boers?"

"I have lived among many nations and in many countries," said the venerable statesman, "and I may with all truth say this: I know no people richer in public and in private virtues than the Boers."

A distinguished writer who thrice visited South Africa, *Mr. J. A. Froude*, thus describes the Boers ("Oceana," p. 37):—

"They were rough, but they had rude virtues, which are not the less virtues because in these latter days they are growing scarce. * * * The Boers of South Africa, of all human beings on this planet, correspond nearest to Horace's description of the Roman peasant soldiers who defeated Pyrrhus and Hannibal. There

alone you will find obedience to parents as strict as among the ancient Sabines, the *severa mater* whose sons fetch and carry at her bidding, who, when those sons go to fight for their country, will hand their rifles to them and bid them return with their arms in their hands—or else not return at all."

Our celebrated countryman, **Mr. F. C. Selous, C.M.Z.S.**, the well-known hunter and traveller, who has had twenty-eight years' experience of the Boers, thus describes them. ("*Travel and Adventure in South Africa*," pp. 8-10.)

"A most interesting and carefully accurate book has been written by Mr. G. Macall Theal, entitled 'History of the Boers in South Africa,' which I would advise all my readers to study, if they wish to know something of the people, in preference to taking the opinion of some prejudiced Englishman on the subject who may have lived years in a place like Johannesburg or Kimberley, and yet know absolutely nothing about the Boers or understand a word of their language. No generous-minded man can read this story without acknowledging that it is the history of a people possessing all the qualities required to build up a great nation. * * * I will only say that in my opinion the average Dutch Boer treats the natives in South Africa quite as well as the average Englishman."

Sir George Colley to Sir Garnet Wolseley. ("*Life of Colley*," p. 290.)

"They (the Boers) were very largely armed with Martinis, and, I must say, were no cowards, exposing themselves freely to artillery fire and coming boldly down to meet our men."

Again, writing to Lord Kimberley, he says:—

"I am issuing a general order to try and check the violent, revengeful feeling which, unfortunately, is almost sure to spring up in such a war. I know 'war cannot be made with rosewater,' and I am not much troubled with sentiment when the safety of the troops is at stake; but I hate this 'atrocious manufacturing' and its effects on the men, tending to make them either cowards or butchers."

Lady Robinson writes:—

"After the defeat of Majuba Hill, my brother, Sir Herbert Stewart, when famished and nearly exhausted, was taken prisoner by the Boers. Nothing could exceed the kindness of their treatment, and their involuntary guest afterwards spoke of it in the highest terms. Were he living he would be ready to testify to the merits of the friends he then made, and it is with the brothers and sons of these magnanimous enemies that we seem about to be plunged into an unnecessary and unjust war."

After the Jameson Raid **Sir Hercules Robinson** wrote to Mr. Chamberlain:—

"I consider that so far throughout this matter Kruger has behaved well. He suspended hostilities pending my arrival, when Johannesburg was at his mercy; and, in opposition to a very general feeling of the Executive Council and of the burghers who have been clamouring for Jameson's life, he has now determined to hand over Jameson and the other prisoners. If Jameson had been tried here, there can be no doubt that he would have been shot, and perhaps some of his colleagues also. The excitement of the public is now calmed down." (C. 7,933, p. 38.)

Bishop Colenso's Advice after the previous Boer War ("*Life of Colenso*," vol. ii., p. 561).

"I hope, however, that you will have been taught by experience to have a wise distrust of *first* telegrams—even official telegrams—until the other side has been heard. Here are the English papers reaching us full of ravings about the treachery, cruelty, bloodthirstiness, &c., of the Boers, of which, when the facts are thoroughly known and fairly considered, hardly a trace remains."

Str George White, Commander-in-Chief in Natal, in a dispatch of October 22, 1899, says:—

“Boer guns, although often temporarily silenced, invariably opened fire again on slightest opportunity, and were served with great courage * * * the enemy standing their ground to the last with great courage and tenacity.”

Want of Dignity and of Decency in Our Celebrations.

It is surprising and deplorable that so many of our newspapers could descend to the abuse previously quoted, and the coarse manner in which the leaders of the Boers, and President Kruger especially, were referred to displays a smallness and meanness of mind which is despicable. Surely the old man—he is seventy-six years old—can be treated with decent respect, and credited with conscientious and patriotic motives until the contrary can be shown to be his real character. To the Boers he has long been the symbol of country, as the Queen was to us, and if the matter is considered on its lowest plane, we must at least act up to Prince Bismarck's maxim and remember that “If you declare war, it is necessary to remain polite.” Amongst the good examples which Mr. Kruger and his peasant followers have set us are the outward marks of becoming behaviour towards our late venerable monarch; the sympathetic and creditable reception of their prisoners at Pretoria, when the President himself stood bareheaded; the absence of all rowdy celebration of victories, and the calm and manly dignity of their bearing in defeat.

No self-respecting Englishman can look back upon our celebration of the relief of Mafeking, or the reception of the C.I.V. contingent, remembering the free kissing, the insults to women, the drunkenness, the trampling to death of several persons, and the injuries to 1,100 others, without feeling that on those occasions we distinctly lowered ourselves in the eyes of the world. The war party's strongest supporters described the proceedings as “orgies” and “saturnalia.”

British and Dutch Mourning for Our Late Queen.

(*Daily News*, January 25, 1901.)

CLANWILLIAM (CAPE COLONY), JANUARY 24.

The news of the death of the Queen was received here yesterday just before the entry of Colonel De Lisle's column into the town. Dutch as well as British, for the first time in many years, joined in true grief and regret for the loss sustained by the Empire. Her Majesty was sincerely revered by the Dutch for her beautiful, womanly qualities, and in nearly every farmhouse pictures of the Queen adorn the walls. * * * The Municipal Council, composed of Dutch as well as English, has dispatched a telegram of condolence to England.—*Reuter*.

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 28.

All business is suspended, and there are many signs of mourning. Special services will be held in all the churches to-night. The interiors of the Dutch churches are heavily draped in black, and will remain so for some weeks. The day of the funeral will be proclaimed a public holiday. Every business house here, including the bars and hotels, is closed without exception.—*Reuter*.

PRETORIA, JANUARY 28.

The profoundest grief and emotion have been caused by the news of the death of the Queen. Signs of the people's sorrow are everywhere evident. The burghers, too, show respectful sympathy. In all the stress of politics they have ever had a deep regard for her Majesty.—*Reuter*.

(*Daily Telegraph*, January 26, 1901.)

CAPETOWN, THURSDAY.

A touching tribute has been paid to the memory of the Queen by the Boer prisoners at Greenpoint, who have decided as a mark of sympathy to suspend all their amusements until after Her Majesty's funeral.—*Reuter*.

One more feature of this miserable misrepresentation :—

Can the Press be Bought, and if so, by Whom ?

In conversation with those differing from me I have found that a strong belief exists in the stories of "bribery of the Press by Transvaal gold." To attempt to justify such a charge, it would be necessary to show how Dr. Leyds could "get at" the hundreds of high-class newspapers supporting the Boer cause that circulate throughout Europe and America. It really seems puerile to discuss such a matter after the exhibition of sympathy for the Boers lately shown in France, and the scores of mass meetings held in Germany and other countries; but if bribery is to be accepted as the reason for the views expressed by leading newspapers, one might well ask whether it would not have been more likely for Mr. Rhodes and his supporters—with a capital at command many times larger than the Boers could by any possibility possess—to have secured the influence of our newspapers? The operation would have been a much simpler and smaller one than that with which the Boers are credited. If improper influences of this kind are at work, I should be inclined to attribute them to the holding of large share interests.

Inquiry and Free Speech Feared.

The Government, and those who try hard to justify its policy, and the great body of newspapers which incurred the liability of urging us into this war, are now in dread of its enormity being brought home to the masses of the people. They hoped that we should get through the "business" while the excitement aroused by the relief of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking kept us at fever heat, and that the enemy would be disheartened and sue for peace before there was time for quiet investigation. It was quickly recognised that public discussion would be ruinous, and so by working on the minds of the young and rough elements of the populace, and stigmatising all opponents with offensive names, sufficient lawlessness was excited to effect the immediate object. Meetings were abandoned in all directions, and when persisted in have generally resulted in such disgraceful scenes as were witnessed in London, Scarborough, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and other towns. It must be acknowledged, to the great and lasting discredit of some of the most prominent members of the Government, that a covert sympathy was shown by them with such behaviour. An attempt was made to stop *free speech*, one of the liberties we are accustomed to pride ourselves upon, and for some considerable time it was fairly successful. It was for this reason that, so long as the war-fever temperature could be kept up, it became necessary to approach decent, quiet, thoughtful people through the medium of books and pamphlets. Happily, there is ground for hoping that this dark page of our history, when "Freedom and Tolerance" were no longer recognised as part of our political life, has been replaced by one that will record a return to the traditional and saner temper on which we have been long wont to pride ourselves.

MALIGNING THE ENEMY.

The "Dirty" Boers: a Libel.

(By Mr. A. G. Hales, Special War Correspondent of the Daily News, about June, 1900.)

I think I wrote you some time back in regard to statements appearing in the press of Britain concerning the homes in Africa. If I did, well and good. Anyway, I want to state here that I have never lost a single opportunity whilst travelling through the enemy's country of looking at the "home" life of these people, and I may say that I have been in a few back-country homes in America, in Australia, and in other parts of the world, and I want to place it on record that in my opinion the Boer farmer is as clean in his home life, as loving in his domestic arrangements, as pure in his morals as any class of people I have ever met. Filth may abound, but I have seen nothing of it. Immorality may be the common every-day occurrence I have seen it depicted in some British journals, but I have failed to find trace of it. Ignorance as black as the inside of a dog may be the prevailing state of affairs; if so, I have been one of the lucky few who have found just the reverse in whichever direction I have turned.

After six months, or nearly six months, close and careful observation of their habits, I have arrived at the conclusion that the Boer farmer, and his son and daughter, will compare very favourably with the farming folk of Australia, America, and Great Britain. What he may be in the Transvaal I know not, because I have not yet been there, but in Cape Colony and in the Free State he is much as I have depicted him, no better, no worse, than Americans and Australians, and as good a fighting man as either, which is tantamount to saying that he is as good as anything on God's green earth if he only had military training.

Ask "Tommy" privately, when he comes home, if this is not so—not "Thomas," who has been on lines of communication all the time, but "Tommy," who has fought him, and measured heart and hand with him. I think he will tell you much as I have told you. For "Tommy" is no fool; he is not half such a braggart, either, as some of the Jingoese, who shout and yell, but never take a hand in the real fighting—those wastrels of England who are at home with a pewter of beer in their hands—hands that never did, and never will grip a rifle.

A Defence of De Wet.

Mr. Erskine Childers, writing to The Times, March 6, 1901, from 20, Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, S.W., says:—

"It is time that a word was spoken in opposition to the idea, now being sedulously fostered by Press agencies and some of their clients in the London Press, that General Christian De Wet is a man of brutal and dishonourable character. Those who, like myself, have served in South Africa, fought against him, look, I believe, with shame and indignation on the attempts made to advertise and magnify such incidents as the alleged flogging and shooting of 'peace envoys,' so as to blacken the character of a man who throughout the war has held a reputation with our troops in the field as being not only a gallant soldier but a humane and

honourable gentleman. We may deplore the desperate tenacity of his resistance. Our duty and effort is to overcome it by 'smashing' him in the field. We gain nothing and only lose in self-respect by slandering him.

"But the stories may be true, and in their worst complexion. My point is that the character he has won is such that nothing but the clearest proof, after full inquiry, of his complicity in or responsibility for barbarous and dishonourable acts should be for a moment listened to by fair-minded persons. His whole career gives the lie to such aspersions. It was in May of last year, ten months ago, that he first gained prominence. Since then he has fought scores of engagements with us, some successful, some unsuccessful, never with a suspicion of dishonourable conduct.

"He has had at one time or another some thousands of our men in his hands as prisoners of war. Many of them I have myself met. At second or third hand I have heard of the experiences of many others. I never heard a word against De Wet. * * *

"It makes one's blood boil to hear such a man called a brigand and a brute by civilian writers at home, who take as a text the reports of these solitary incidents, incomplete and one-sided as they are, and ignore if, indeed, they know of it, the mass of testimony in his favour. * * *

(From the New Paper, Dec., 1900.)

Lives there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said
This is my own, my native land!

What must be the condition of mind of our statesmen, and what their ignorance of human nature, if they think that when Britons repeat these stirring lines "to themselves" it is only proper "patriotism," but if Boers essay to do so and to act up to them, they are guerillas, banditti, marauders, and "outside the pale of civilisation"?

Looting.

("A Catechism for the Constituencies.")

A. * * * Lord De la Warre, writing to the Globe, said: "It is not too much to say that there was more indiscriminate looting done after the Modder River fight in a few days by the British than was done by the Boers the whole six weeks before the fight. It is certainly worthy of remark that the Boers have in this part of the country apparently behaved with exemplary consideration for the rights of private property."

Q. What do the soldiers say themselves?

A. In their letters home they record in the frankest possible manner that they looted everything they came across. A gunner at Modder River, whose letter was published in the Evening News on January 15th, says: "The things we looted were tremendous. We went into the houses and got all manner of things—furniture, clothing, food, everything one would find in an English village." Another private writing from Honey Nest Kloof, on January 1st, said: "We have to go out every morning on what they call looting—looting the farmers of all we can get in the way of firewood, breaking up chairs, tables, and even pianos." * * *

Looting by Kaffirs.

(From the *Special Correspondent of The Times*
with Sir R. Buller.)

S.A.C.C.'s Publications.

"Major Chichester, Provost Marshal, has discovered a Kaffir kraal stocked with immense quantities of loot taken from English farmhouses, etc., during the Boer invasion of the Southern districts of Natal. It is pretty evident that the Boers have been credited with a good deal more looting than that of which they were actually guilty. * * *

"The average Kaffir cannot possibly withstand the temptation furnished by a well-furnished house or well-stocked farm with nobody about to look after it."

Testimony to Character.

(*South African News, July 18, 1900.*)

The Hon. Bourke Cockran writes in the *New York World* :—

"The statement that the Boer is uncivilised appears to be based upon the fact that he has maintained a government under which property is protected the most completely at the lowest rate of taxation in the world, where education is universal, drunkenness rare, divorce unknown, and where every man lives with his own wife.

"The Boer warrior is a revelation to civilisation, a profound inspiration to every lover of the human race."

(*Leading Article, Manchester Guardian,*
September 10, 1900.)

There have been many complaints during the war of purely wanton destruction of property. Our special correspondent, for example, who rode from Bloemfontein to Kimberley last April, described how pianos in the farmhouses had been wrecked, clocks smashed, and even children's toys and books torn up. This purposeless destruction did not seem the sort of thing any white men would be guilty of, however ill-disposed, and we suggested at the time that it was the work of Kaffirs. We give to-day a letter from Major Pollock, who acted as special correspondent of the *Times*, confirming this explanation, and at the same time replying to Mr. Bennet Burleigh, who described our correspondent's statements as "false."

The conflict of evidence is not an important matter, for Mr. Burleigh never rode over the part of the country in question, and he wrote with the mistaken idea that the conduct of the British army was attacked, and that it was his duty to defend it. What is important is the corroboration Major Pollock gives to the theory that the damage, about which there can be no doubt whatever, was the work of Kaffirs.

A theory which is good for Free State farms is good, too, for Natal farms, in which the Boers are said to have done damage very similar to that seen by our correspondent riding from Bloemfontein to Kimberley. That there has been a good deal of looting on both sides is probable enough. But the merely wanton or disgusting destruction was probably the work of neither, but of Kaffirs, who found the farms untenanted.

The Clergyman who Hoisted the Union Jack.

(*Westminster Gazette, May 18, 1900.*)

The *Standard* correspondent says: "The Rev. — Bailie, the clergyman of the church near which the late General Penn Symons lies buried, hoisted the Union Jack over the grave directly he caught sight of our troops. It has been beautifully kept, and is adorned with fresh flowers. Mr. Bailie reports that he has no complaint to make about the conduct of the enemy."

Illusions.

(*Morning Leader, January 10, 1901.*)

Some of the Unionist papers are making a manful if somewhat grotesque effort to dispel the gloom which has undoubtedly settled upon the nation. An important morning paper summarised the news of the check inflicted on Delarey in three headlines of its largest type. The mishap at Lindley, involving the death of three officers and some forty casualties, it summed up in one line with the words, "Sharp fighting at Lindley"—a phrase which was set out in delightfully inconspicuous type. But *The Times* surpassed even this. It solemnly explained in a leading article that the Boer invaders in Cape Colony, now said to number over 5,000 men, were merely poor, desperate rebels who were returning to the Colony in the hope of hiding away in some obscure corner, some remote farmhouse where the Republican leaders could not compel them to fight, and we could not capture or punish them. It is a pleasing myth. But if *The Times's* explanation be correct, what a miserable, hysterical race it must think we are! We have roused the Colony, armed every Englishman who can carry a rifle, landed guns from the ships and a naval contingent, and finally demanded reinforcement from every colony at the ends of the earth, and all this to crush a few Boers whose sole object is to creep away to some quiet farmstead out of the reach of our strong arm.

The Men we are Fighting Against.

(*S. the W. Committee's Publications.*)

Right or wrong, it is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration and sympathy for the little States which can confront the onslaughts of their Imperial foe with such heroic fortitude and serene courage. As Dr. Max Nordau remarks in the *North American Review* for December :—

"The fact that a tiny people faces death without hesitation to defend its independence against an enemy fabulously superior in number, or to die in the attempt, presents an aspect of moral beauty which no soul, attuned to higher things, will disregard. Even friends and admirers of England—yea, even the English themselves—strongly see the pathos in the situation of the Dutch Boers, who feel convinced that they are fighting for their national existence, and agree that it equals the pathos of Leonidas, William Tell, and Kosciusko."

Disillusioned.

(*From Leading Article Manchester Guardian,*
December 27, 1900.)

The past year, whatever else it has not done, has killed the passion of the war. We have learned the good that is in our opponents. After

living for months in a pestilential atmosphere of calumny, the war has emerged into a cleaner air in which there is some chance of thinking clearly and acting dispassionately. That is a very great gain. *The Times* of yesterday bore frank and ungrudging testimony to the conduct of the Boers which would have been impossible in the same quarter twelve months ago. In a desperate struggle for the cause which they hold sacred they have, on the whole, not merely refrained from violating the letter of the law, but they have generously interpreted its spirit. It is hard for the Boers, no doubt, that after winning a hard-fought fight and capturing hundreds of British prisoners they should have to throw away the fruits of their victory because they are unable to feed their prisoners. Napoleon would not have done it; guerilla bands notoriously do not. The Boers have never hesitated. There is not a single instance of their ever having refused quarter, nor yet of their having kept our prisoners an hour longer than they were able to discharge their duties as humane and generous captors. Acts such as these have killed the slanders of twelve months ago. The war is more terrible and more destructive than ever, but at any rate it is cleaner.

Another Groundless Charge.

(No. 62 S.A.C.C.'s Publication.)

On November 26, Lord Roberts telegraphed from Johannesburg:—

"As report of a plot against my life will probably reach you, I think you should know the facts. The police have been aware for some time that a plot was in existence, and arrested five Italians, four Greeks, and one Frenchman on November 16, who are now awaiting trial. There intentions were to explode a mine in St. Mary's Church at eleven o'clock service, on Nov. 18th."

A week later came the news:—

"The eleven men who were arrested in Johannesburg on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to assassinate Lord Roberts will merely be deported, the evidence being insufficient to warrant a trial. No bombs have been discovered. The suspects are mostly Italians."—*Reuter*.

Surrender of General Prinsloo and His Men.

(*Daily News Special War Correspondent, about August 1, 1900.*)

As the prisoners filed past, they presented a manly and dignified demeanour. There was an utter absence of bombast in their talk; likewise no cringing. They looked like men who had done their best for their country, and knew it. They eyed our lines of soldiers critically, and eagerly scanned our guns. Some were grey-headed men, others little more than school children, but the great majority were lusty young fellows in the pride of manhood. They looked a picture of rude health. They had evidently not been short either of food or clothing. Their horses were in excellent condition and of good class. They were a gallant enemy, who bowed to the inevitable."

Estimate of England's Power.

(*Daily Telegraph, March 29, 1900.*)

General Joubert on returning from England with President Kruger in 1878, told his constitu-

ents of his impressions as follows:—

"I have now been to England and have, with mine own eyes, seen the power of that mighty nation. And let me tell you England is a very mighty nation; in my opinion the mightiest in the world. But, thank God, it is not All-mighty."

Transvaal Customs' Dues.

(*Origin of the Fight with the Boers.*
By Rev. R. Lyttle.)

On the question of tariffs on commodities it is well known that the Boers, notwithstanding their former prejudices in favour of protection, have greatly reduced the tariff on stuffs coming into the Republic in recent years, and President Kruger, in his despatch of May 10th, was able to claim "that the customs dues of the Republic are 50 per cent. less than those under the customs union in adjoining British colonies." In Natal and Cape Colony the custom duties are as follows: Butter, 3d. per lb.; cheese, 3d. per lb.; coffee, 6s. 3d. per 100 lbs.; wheat and corn, 2s. per 100 lbs.; flour, 4s. 6d. per 100 lbs.; maize, 2s. per 100 lbs.; tea, 6d. per lb.; cattle for slaughtering, 30s. per head; sheep for slaughtering, 5s. per head; bacon and ham, 2d. per lb.; fresh and frozen meat, 1d. per lb. In the Transvaal all these are free except tea, on which a duty of 5s. per 100 lbs. is charged. Taxation in the South African Republic is neither as light nor as equally adjusted as it would be possible to make it. But who would say that it is a sufficient cause for war? With the instrument of franchise it can be righted with patience and a little time.

"With the Boer Forces."

(By H. C. Hillegas, American War Correspondent.)

* * * Abhorred the slaughter of men, and it was not an extraordinary spectacle to see a Boer weeping beside the corpse of a British soldier.

* * *

Never a Boer was seen to exult over a victory. They might say "That is good," when they heard of a Spion Kop or a Magersfontein; but never a shout or any other of the ordinary methods of expressing joy. The foreigners in the army frequently were beside themselves with joy after victories, but the Boers looked stolidly on and never took any part in the demonstrations.

Seven months before, Kruger stood on the verandah of his residence, and, doffing his hat to the first British prisoners that arrived in the city, asked his burghers not to rejoice unseemingly; in May the old man, about to flee before the enemy, inspired his people to take new courage, and ridiculed their idea that all was lost. Whether the Boers were in the first flush of victory or in the depths of despair Paul Kruger was ever the same to them—patriot, adviser, encourager, leader, and friend.

The Status of the South African Republics.

(From a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*,
December 28th, 1900.)

The character of the Boers as belligerents had been fully recognised throughout. The way to terminate their resistance after their overthrow in the field was to observe the custom of civilised war and admit the vanquished to terms. Permis-

sion to treat was denied by Lord Salisbury, and in the most exasperating manner. This was a proclamation of war to the knife, and justified the Boers in resisting to the last.

Guerilla warfare is now stigmatised as murder. Yet the name recalls the co-operation of British armies with the peasantry of Spain, who continued an irregular resistance to the French when their regular armies had been overthrown in the field. Swords and pistols were presented to the guerilla chiefs in Wellington's name, who requested "that they might be informed that he obeyed with great satisfaction the commands of H.R.H. the Prince Regent in transmitting to them these presents as a small mark of the estimation in which their conduct was held by His Royal Highness and by His Majesty's subjects in general in having, notwithstanding the reverses of all the regular armies in Spain, the misfortunes of the country, and in the face of difficulties of all descriptions, continued to maintain successfully the contest against the enemy." (Despatch of June 2, 1812.) What have the people who are calling for the execution of guerillas as murderers to say to this?—Yours, &c.,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

Toronto, December 14, 1900.

(No. 36 S. A. C. C.'s Publications.)

"Boers or Barbarians?"

was the question asked by *The Times* when it was reported that the mines might be destroyed by the Boers. The following seems to be an admirable answer by the Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*.

We had drifted a few hundred yards behind the advance party but were a good distance in front of the rear guard, when a number of horsemen made a dash from the kopjes which we were skirting, and the rifles began to speak. There was no time for poetry, it was a case of "sit tight and ride hard" or surrender, and be made prisoners. Lambie shouted to me: "Let's make a dash, Hales," and we made it. * * *

A voice called out in good English: "Throw up your hands, you d— fools." But the galloping fever was on us both, and we only crouched lower on our horses' backs, and rode all the harder, for even a barnyard fowl loves liberty. * * *

Suddenly something touched me on the right temple; it was not like a blow; it was not a shock; for half a second I was conscious. I knew I was hit; knew that the reins had fallen from my nerveless hands; knew that I was lying down on my horse's back, with my head hanging below his throat. * * *

When next I knew I was still on this planet I found myself in the saddle again, riding between two Boers, who were supporting me in the saddle as I swayed from side to side. * * *

The same good-looking young fellow with the curly beard bent over me again. "Feel any better now, old fellow?" I stared hard at the speaker, for he spoke like an Englishman, and a well-educated one, too. * * *

"Is my comrade dead?" "Quite dead," the Boer replied; "death came instantly to him. He was shot through the brain." "Poor beggar!" I muttered, "and he'll have to rot on the open veldt, I suppose?"

The Boer leader's face flushed angrily. "Do you take us for savages?" he said. "Rest easy. Your friend will get decent burial. What was his rank?" "War correspondent." "And your own?" "War correspondent also. My papers

are in my pocket somewhere." "Sir," said the Boer leader, "you dress exactly like two British officers. You ride out with a fighting party, you try to ride off at a gallop under the very muzzles of our rifles when we tell you to surrender. You can blame no one but yourselves for this day's work." * * *

Not one taunting word was uttered in our hearing, not one braggart sentence passed their lips. Men brought us cooling drinks, or moved us into more comfortable positions on the trolley. Women, with gentle fingers, shifted bandages, or washed wounds, or gave us little dainties that come so pleasant in such a time; whilst the little children crowded round us with tears running down their cheeks as they looked upon the bloodstained khaki clothing of the wounded British. Let no man or woman in all the British Empire whose son or husband lies wounded in the hands of the Boers fear for his welfare, for it is a foul slander to say that the Boers do not treat their wounded well. England does not treat her own men better than the Boers treat the wounded British, and I am writing of that which I have seen and known beyond the shadow of a doubt.

From the little farmhouse hospital I was sent on in an ambulance train to the hospital at Springfontein, where all the nurses and medical staff are foreigners, all of them trained and skilful. * * *

WHAT OUR "TOMMIES" SAY.

I have made it my business to get about amongst the private soldiers, to question them concerning the treatment they have received since the moment the Mauser rifles tumbled them over, and I say emphatically that in every solitary instance without one single exception, our countrymen declare that they have been grandly treated. Not by the hospital nurses only, not by the officials alone, but by the very men whom they were fighting. Our "Tommies" are not the men to waste praise on any men, unless it is well deserved, but this is just about how "Tommy" sums up the situation:—

"The Boer is a rough-looking beggar in the field; he don't wear no uniform, 'nd 'e don't know enough about soldiers' drill to keep himself warm, but 'e can fight in 'is own bloomin' style, which ain't our style. If 'ed come out on the veldt, 'nd fight us our way, we'd lick 'im every time, but when it comes to fightin' in the kopjes, why, the Boer is a dandy, 'nd if the rest of Europe don't think so, only let 'em have a try at 'im 'nd see. But when 'e has shot you 'e acts like a blessed Christian, 'nd bears no malice. 'E's like a bloomin' South Sea Cocconut, not much to look at outside, but white 'nd sweet inside when you know 'im, 'nd it's when you're wounded 'nd a prisoner that you chance to know 'im, see." And "Tommy" is about correct in his judgment. * * *

IN BLOEMFONTEIN HOSPITAL.

One end is set apart for the Boer wounded the other for the British. No difference is made between the two in regard to accommodation—food, medical attendance, nursing, or visiting. * * *

The President (Orange Free State) explained to me that it was not his wish nor the desire of his colleagues to hamper me in any way in regard to my work. "What we want more than anything else," remarked the President, "is that the world shall know the truth and nothing but the truth in reference to this most unhappy war, and we will not needlessly place obstruction in your way

in your search for facts; if we can by any means place you in the British lines we will do so."

* * *

"This," said the President, "is not a war between us and the British people on any question of principle; it is a war forced upon us by a band of capitalistic adventurers, who have hoodwinked the British public and dragged them into an unholy, an unjust struggle, with a people whose only desire was to live at peace with all men. We do not hate your nation; we do not hate your soldiers, though they fight against us; but we do hate and despise the men who have brought a cruel war upon us for their own evil ends, whilst they try to cloak their designs in a mantle of righteousness and liberty." * * *

The Alleged Annexation of Portions of the Cape and Natal.

(No. 28 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

The following instances show how the highest officials in South Africa have made themselves instruments for the transmission in deliberate terms without qualification of statements of the most serious import which are now proved to be untrue.

They no doubt believed the information which they transmitted, but the attitude of their minds thus disclosed is most significant. * * *

THE POSITIVE STATEMENT.

On 23 October Sir A. Milner telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain as follows:—

President Steyn has issued Proclamation declaring the country north of the Vaal River to be Orange Free State territory.—(Blue-book Cd.—43, No. 40, page 99.)

MILNER'S CONFESSION.

Other telegrams intervene, and then when pressed by Mr. Chamberlain to explain, Sir A. Milner telegraphed on 28 October as follows:—

It is impossible accurately to find out what has happened as regards the alleged annexation by the Government of the South African Republic or Orange Free State of portions of the Cape Colony.—(Ib. No. 48, page 101.)

Contrast this confession with the unqualified language of his telegram of 23 October. * * *

And Sir Alfred goes on to admit that:—

No copies of any Proclamation by either Government to that effect have reached me here, but news coming from various parts of districts west and north of Kimberley clearly show(s) that the people here credit the annexation theory.—(Ib., page 102.) * * *

On 17 November Mr. Schreiner telegraphed to President Steyn, protesting against reported annexation of colonial territory. On 19 November Mr. Steyn indignantly replied:—

That the deceit, misrepresentation, and lying which preceded and mainly caused the war unjustly and cruelly proceeding, against our will, in defence of our rights, should not cease even now during the war, we quite expected, and we were not surprised, therefore, to notice the frequently repeated, maliciously false charges against the Republic of atrocities, abuse of the white flag, and what not besides. But that you, who know the truth, should, as you apparently now do, give credence to such false reports and accusations, grieves and surprises me. * * *

Those portions of the Colony occupied by our burgher forces have not been declared Free State territory.

Final Meeting of the Transvaal Volksraad.

(Daily Mail, July 3, 1900.)

(By DOUGLAS STORY.)

They have said, O God, that this must be the last meeting of the Volksraads of the Republic. To Thee we pray to prevent that.

The words came in the Chaplain's opening prayer, so that all who were there knew they were present at a historic sitting.

A gravity that was really a gloom settled on the faces of the Raadsleden, and of the women in the crowd the greater number wept. All knew the inexorableness of the fate that pursued them, though none admitted it. * * *

In the chair sat General Lucas Meyer, a great man, deep-chested and deep-voiced, pre-eminently a man of presence. * * *

THE CENTRAL FIGURE.

At his right hand sat the changeless one, Paul Kruger. Sitting crinkled up in his chair, the old, leaden-faced man looked badly beside his burly colleague. And yet had he lost nothing of the respect which he claimed at the commencement of the struggle. Day in, day out, ceaselessly, tirelessly, the President had worked. Many of the big battles had been designed by him, all of the State's great business had been conducted by him. He had been indefatigable, labouring through the darkness and all through the Sunday. Every principle of his daily life had been violated. At seventy-five he had broken laws which had been immutable with him since childhood. He had set out on long journeys on the Sabbath, had forgotten the peasant's precision in dining hours, and had driven poor Tanta Sana nearly crazy by the irregularity of his ways.

But there is much of the hero in Paul Kruger. He has had a great battle to fight and, with the material to his hand, has fought it well. He stood out that opening day pre-eminently the greatest man in the State, as he did when last he sat in the Raadzaal. He alone stood firm in the faith while others faltered. He was a man who, in other States, would go down in history as Paul the Great; nor would he there disgrace many of his compeers. Granted some grace of body, some dignity of presence, and Paul Kruger would be avowedly a great man. * * *

VACANT SEATS.

But through it all the restless eyes are roaming, resting for a moment with silent wonder on the brilliant uniforms of the foreign consuls and the glittering breasts of the military attachés, but resting longest on the vacant places. Only two of the executive chairs to his right are occupied. * * *

Piet Joubert's seat is held sacred to him by a great wreath of palm leaves clasped by a bunch of Transvaal ribbon. * * *

STRICKEN BY THE WAR.

Down in the body of the Raadzaal two wreaths show the seats of Mr. Barnard, died at Derdepoort, and of Mr. Tosen, succumbed to hardships suffered at the front. Of the members, one at least was dependent upon a crutch, who had walked straight and well six months before. Round every hat was a band of crape, and the hand of war lay very heavy on the Assembly that bright sunlit afternoon of May 7, 1900.

Three members remained out of seven upon the Executive benches, and the President referred to

the vacant places not inelegantly in his speech: "To my mind it would not be out of place to express here how sincerely we appreciate the services of these our dead brothers. History will know how to value the work of our late Commandant-General. He not only commanded the respect of the enemy, but his humane and glorious deeds have added significance to the State among the nations." * * *

Later, he spoke, and his speaking was a passionate recital of his efforts after peace and of his country's treatment at the hands of the British. The substance of all of it has been known to us this long time; but there was conviction in the old man's voice as he thundered: "I tell you God has said, 'Thus far shall you come, but no farther.' We live in the Lord, and we shall triumph."

"God would Never Allow It."

(London Correspondent of Manchester Guardian, September 15, 1900.)

An American clergyman, the Rev. Peter MacQueen, has been travelling in South Africa, where he has had many interesting experiences. He saw a good deal of Mrs. Joubert, and found that she and the Dutch women everywhere clung to the lost cause of nationality. He was talking one day to three young women whose husbands were in St. Helena, and happened to say to one of them: "If you lose—" "But we can't lose," she interrupted; "it would not be right. God would never allow it." "At many farms," says Mr. MacQueen, "I was surprised to find that the Kaffirs were staying at home to defend the women and protect the flocks."

WHAT OUR PRISONERS ARE LIKE.

General Cronje's Surrender.

(From M.A.P., April 7, 1900.)

I had to attend the station on duty when Cronje's train came in, consequently I had a very excellent view of the whole show. * * *

One ragged, unkempt Boer doubled the parts of private secretary and adjutant. His wife and family consisted of one poor miserable little woman, whom everybody sincerely pitied, ill-clad and practically ragged, with a straw hat with little of the brim remaining.

(Manchester Guardian, September 17, 1900.)

A correspondent sends the following cutting from an issue of the Ceylon Catholic Messenger:—

His Excellency the Governor, speaking on Friday evening, took occasion to refer to the "very harsh words and epithets" which have been applied to the Boer prisoners by a certain section of the Ceylon press, and condemned the language thus used towards a fallen enemy. His Excellency said: There is no idea of pampering the prisoners of war. * * *

On the whole they have been generous enemies and they have treated our prisoners well, and I do not know, I have never heard, that our prisoners endured a word of insult during their incarceration in Pretoria. It is said of course, I know, that these are not all Boers; they comprise Irish-Americans and Europeans, and very harsh words and epithets have been applied to these men. I am not going to discuss the question whether the subjects of a neutral State ought to fight the battles of another nation. Englishmen sometimes do so, but I understand that these men, these Europeans, are all men of respectability who most

of them occupied positions and had been employed for some years by the Transvaal Government, and I have the word of the officers associated with them that they are men whose conduct has been irreproachable since they have been under their charge, and no prisoner, no Boer, no European—officer or man—has given the slightest trouble the long and trying voyage to this island. (Applause.)

(Standard Telegram, July 5, 1900.)

A number of quite old men were fighting against us at Heidelberg and Roodeport. The mine buildings are safe.

(Sir A. Bartlett. Standard, May 23, 1900.)

He touched briefly on the brilliant generalship of General French, and followed with a description of Lord Roberts's famous march, which resulted in the surrender of Cronje at Paardeberg. He was present at the surrender, and it was to him most marvellous that such a heterogeneous mass of old men, middle-aged men, and lads should have so long kept at bay our splendid soldiers.

ARE THEY LIARS?

(SIR W. MAC CORMAC AT THE REFORM CLUB, AT A DINNER GIVEN IN HIS AND MR. TREVES'S HONOUR.)

(Times, April 30, 1900.)

To illustrate this he referred to the battle of Colenso. On that day we had some 1,140 casualties. We all believed, rightly or wrongly, that Boer statements on the subject of their losses were not very trustworthy. He had had an opportunity of learning, he thought on good authority, what the Boer losses were on that occasion. He heard from the other side, from the German officers who were there watching the methods of Boer warfare, and the statement was subsequently most positively confirmed by the Free State Secretary, Mr. Fischer, with whom he had several conversations, that the total loss of the Boers on that day was five killed and 25 wounded; and this, he thought, might well be true, for our people never caught sight of a Boer the whole day.

When he had an opportunity afterwards of seeing the Boer positions about Colenso and their trenches, the only wonder was that any one was injured or that such places were anything short of impregnable. And this small number of casualties occurred in spite of the previous two days' heavy bombardment of artillery. Our modern guns seemed little more dangerous than the older weapons. In fact, Commandant Albrecht, the Boer artillery captain, calculated that 12 Boers were killed and 40 wounded for every 1,000 fired of our shells, so it might be said that our modern guns had not achieved the results that had been expected of them so far as killing was concerned. (A laugh.) Some laughed at that statement, but the business of war was to kill and wound, and the more that were killed and wounded the better, because the sooner the war would come to an end.

The comparative want of gravity in the wounds inflicted by the Mauser bullet was very remarkable. Men recovered after being shot through every part of the body, and 96 per cent. of those treated in the base hospitals recovered from their injuries. Another very remarkable fact was the fewness of the amputations performed (Hear, hear.) During the first four months of the war only 20 amputations were performed at the No. 1 General Hospital at Wynberg.

(Daily Telegraph.)

LADYSMITH, APRIL 4, 1900.

I have just returned from a hurried trip around the Boer investing positions. They reveal immense strength, ingenious construction, and immunity from our shrapnel and lyddite fire. Picks and shovels played an important part in rendering the Boer trenches almost impregnable.

A captured member of the Colonial forces writing to the *Globe* says:—

* * * I was taken into a deep trench, most cunningly contrived and, as far as I could make out, quite bomb-proof, as they had dug right under the earth, and where the trench itself was it was covered over with sticks and shrub and mud, and then more shrub and more earth, and only a long line of loop-holes were visible, through which they could shoot, and not be shot; and here, well under cover, there were Boers squatted round in their peculiar crouching attitude, drinking coffee and even playing cards at this early hour of the morning, utterly oblivious to the fact that great screeching shells were roaring overhead. I rather marvelled at the calm insouciance of these men, but then I knew how injured they must have become to our shelling and their perfect safety in their cave-like diggings.

(Morning Leader, May 28, 1900.)

KIMBERLEY, MAY 26.

The magisterial investigation which has been made shows that the assertions made by the natives regarding the shooting of three British soldiers in cold blood by the Boers at Spytfontein during the siege of Kimberley are unfounded.

The bodies exhumed are those of Boers who had died of wounds.

The story was concocted by a native who had a grievance against a local farmer, and wished to be revenged upon him.—*Reuter*.

(Graphic, April 7, 1900.)

In Cronje's laager at Paardeberg the whole river bank on both sides was honeycombed with trenches. Such trenches were never seen before. They were really underground dwellings, and perfectly secure, unless a shell dropped into the opening from above.

Two of our officers had been prisoners in the Boer laager for eight days. They had been living in a kind of tunnel in the trenches, and said they had been well treated but closely guarded.

THE BOERS AND THE NATIVES.

Opinions from "A Catechism for the Constituencies," by Mr. Stead.

Q. What did Bishop Colenso think of the Boers?

A. There was no greater friend of the natives than Bishop Colenso, but his friendship to the natives could not blind him to the virtues of the Boers. Bishop Colenso, in *The Times* of June 27, 1881, said: "I have done what I could to dissipate the charge against the Boers of slave-holding, or rather slave-making, which, whatever ground there may have been for it in the past, ought not to be brought against the present generation. Rather I have urged the simple fact that 800,000 natives were living under the Boer Government, without taking to flight and running over to Natal for protection, is enough to show that the accusation against the Boers of illtreating the natives under their rule must be grossly exaggerated, and

that, to all appearance, they even prefer the Boer rule to our own." * * *

Q. Can any other authorities be quoted?

A. Yes; the South African historian, Dr. Theal, said: "The testimony of everyone competent to form an opinion, concurred that in no other part of the world was bondage so light," as it was even in the old slave days, whereas to-day Mr. Selous, the well-known traveller, says: "In my opinion the average Dutch Boer treats the native in South Africa quite as well as the average Englishman." (*"Adventures in South-East Africa,"* p. 10.)

Q. Is there any other testimony of the same kind?

A. Any amount of it. Take, for instance, the deliberate declaration made by Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, an association which devotes itself exclusively to the defence of the rights and the protection of the native races. Mr. Bourne in his book "Blacks and Whites in South Africa," after describing the past treatment and present condition of South African natives under British and Boer control, says:—

"The foregoing sketch of the past and present condition of natives under British and Boer treatment in South Africa will, it is hoped, suffice to show that, unless it is accompanied by very great and comprehensive changes in British policy towards natives, the contemplated overthrow of Boer rule can bring them no benefit." * * *

Q. What did Mr. Froude say?

A. In "Oceana," (page 37) he said that although the Dutch rule "was stricter than ours, and to appearance harsher, they have had fewer native wars than we have had. There has been less violence and bloodshed, and the natives living under them have not been less happy or less industrious."

Q. Did any other Englishman speak in the same sense?

A. Mr. Anthony Trollope, in his "Book on South Africa" (vol. II., page 39), said: "I have never seen among the Dutch any instances of personal cruelty to a coloured person, nor during my travels in South Africa did any story of such cruelty reach my ears."

Q. What was Sir George Grey's opinion?

A. He was asked by an interviewer of the *Humanitarian* in 1896:—

"Do you believe, Sir George, in the rumours of cruelty on the part of the Boers?" He replied: "Emphatically no. They are now a very humane and merciful race." * * *

Q. Has the war thrown any light upon this subject?

A. The war has shown that although there are 700,000 natives in the Transvaal, the whole of the male population could be withdrawn in safety from their farms and the women and children left at the mercy of these natives, who appear to have been so far without any grudge against their masters that no instances are on record of any outrages committed by the blacks upon Boer women until after our troops had entered the district.

The Boers Charge us with Employing Kaffirs.

(From a letter in *Westminster Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1900.)

Certain it is that Kaffirs have fought against the Boers, for was not a contingent of them decimated near Mafeking after a long resistance given to treble their number?—Yours truly,

F. PELLATT ELKINTON.

35, St. James's Place, St. James's,
S.W., Nov. 23.

POISONED AND EXPLOSIVE BULLETS?

The Boer Case.

Mr. F. Treves and Sir W. MacCormac
(Special Consulting Surgeons sent
out by our Government).

(Daily News, May 14, 1900.)

With regard to the statement that the Boers had been dipping their bullets into a solution of verdigris, thus rendering them poisonous, Mr. Treves stated that the green coating on these bullets had been analysed, and found to be absolutely non-poisonous. It consisted of paraffin, which had combined with the nickel of the casing of the bullet, and had no doubt been applied to prevent fouling in the barrel of the rifle.

(Morning Leader, June 15, 1900.)

The *Lancet* this week announces that by the courtesy of Sir William MacCormac it has been able to submit some of these coated bullets to complete analysis, and the result—to use the words of our contemporary—"absolves absolutely the Boers from the charge of tipping the Mauser bullets with a poisonous salt."

The illusion arose from the fact that it is the Boers' practice to steep their bullets in melted paraffin wax solely to prevent fouling of the gun barrel, and to protect the nickel case against rusting.

(Special War Correspondent to the Daily Telegraph,
May 1, 1900.)

I could fill columns with the description of injuries inflicted by the Mauser which at the time appeared fatal, but perfect recovery has nevertheless taken place.

The Humane Mauser.

(Morning Leader, May 3, 1900.)

Sapper Evans, on Lord Roberts' headquarters staff writes on 4th April: "The escapes are marvellous, and the low percentage of mortality compared with the big battles of the Franco-German war is really deceptive, and is not due to bad marksmanship or to the bullets not reaching their billets. The Mauser is really not a man-stopping bullet. Men keep on fighting with several wounds, whereas with the old Snider, or similar ammunition, the first missile received would mean in the majority of cases at least disablement, if not death. I have myself seen a man with eight bullet wounds, and yet able to walk about. Had the Snider bullet been used the first shot would have placed him *hors de combat*, and the other seven bullets might have bowled over seven more men."

(Daily News, August 4, 1900.)

Many of our men in South Africa have been perforated with the Mauser bullet without being permanently the worse for it. Mr. C. T. Dent and Surgeon-General Dwyer remarked yesterday at the British Medical Association upon the marvellous nature of some of the cures in South Africa. "Those who had been shot through the lungs and everything else were perfectly well again and ready for duty."

Report of the Welsh Hospital Committee.

(Manchester Guardian, January 10, 1901.)

The surgeons reported that among all the gunshot cases treated not a single amputation was found to be necessary owing to the clean nature of the perforation made by the Mauser bullet and to the great success attending the use of the telephone probe taken out by the surgeons of the hospital. Of the 757 cases there were only eight deaths.

Bullets—Expansive and Explosive.

(Daily News, June 1, 1900)

Sir,—A great deal of angry feeling against the Boers has been excited by the often-repeated statements that they have used what may be called "unfair" bullets. Such bullets may be classed as "poisoned," "explosive," and "expansive."

* * *

It was alleged in the Chitral campaign that the bullet then in use was ineffective, as a man would continue a charge even when wounded. The military authorities addressed themselves to the task of making a bullet which should "inflict a wound sufficiently severe to stop even the most determined fanatic." At the arsenal of Dum Dum a bullet was invented which, according to a *Times* correspondent, "gave the most satisfactory results." Colonel Hill declared that he would "rather be hit by two Martini-Henry bullets than by one of these bullets." It was stated that "the destruction of bone and tissue perforated by the new bullet was tremendous." It was adopted with some modifications, and "Dum Dum" became a generic term for expansive bullets. The official name of the bullet adopted is Mark IV. In Feb., 1898, it was adopted as the Service bullet of the British Army.

At the Peace Conference held last year at The Hague the use of expansive bullets was discussed with considerable animation; it was, indeed, the question which gave rise to more discussion than any other. We stood almost alone in defence of the expansive bullet, but it is not therefore necessary to allege, with *The Times*, that the raising of the question "can only have been purposely done to embarrass and annoy England." * * *

On July 10 of last year Mr. Wyndham admitted that a supply of Mark IV. ammunition had been sent to South Africa. It was, however, discovered at Bisley that the bullet was liable to "strip" in the rifle barrel, and it was stated in the House of Commons, in answer to questions, that the ammunition had been returned into the arsenals. There can, however, be no doubt that Mark IV. bullets have been used. It is also clear, from Mr. Treves' account, that bullets of the substituted type—Mark II.—are expansive. * * *

Yours, &c.,

ALFRED MARKS.

The Charge Reversed.

(Daily Telegraph, April 3, 1900.)

VIENNA.

Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador here, has addressed to the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs a Note, in which formal contradiction is given to the malicious assertion of certain journals concerning the alleged use of explosive bullets by the British troops in South Africa. The Ambassador declares, in categorical terms, that the British Army employs solid projectiles exclusively in this war.

Expansive Bullets.

(South African News, July 4, 1900.)

The Dundee Courier (Scotland), a paper which supports this war, prints the following in its issue of June 1. If the statements therein contained are untrue they should have instant official denial: "There is no doubt about the intention of the very newest revolver bullets. They are made by Messrs. Webley, whose pistols are, as they themselves advertise, 'the only pistols approved and adopted by the British Government for service requirements.' They have been tested in many campaigns, and 'at Omdurman and Elands-laagte again proved their efficiency.'

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The Charge Reversed.

(Daily Telegraph, April 3, 1900.)

VIENNA.

Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador here, has addressed to the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs a Note, in which formal contradiction is given to the malicious assertion of certain journals concerning the alleged use of explosive bullets by the British troops in South Africa. The Ambassador declares, in categorical terms, that the British Army employs solid projectiles exclusively in this war.

Expansive Bullets.

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Scouting: Driscoll, King of the Craft.*(Daily News' War Correspondent, August 1, 1900.)*

I often go out with the scouts; they are the eyes of the army. A man who knocks around with scouting parties knows more, sees more, hears more of the real state of affairs than nine-tenths of the staff officers ever know, hear, or see. * * *

Driscoll has one especially good quality. He never speaks slightly of his enemy unless he well deserves it. Few men have had so many hand-to-hand encounters with the burghers as he has; few men have held their lives by virtue of their steady hand on a rifle as frequently as this wild, good-natured, merry Irishman has done. Yet of the Boer as a fighter he speaks most highly. "He don't like cold steel, and shsmall blame to'n," says Driscoll, "but for clever tactics, he's a devil of a chap, 'nd the men who run him down are mostly the men who run away from him. They's not all heroes, any more than all women are angels. Some of 'em are fit only for a dog's death, but most of 'em are good men, and if I wasn't an Irishman, I wouldn't mind being a Boer, for they've no call to hang their heads and blush when this war is over."

Military Correspondent's Testimony.*(Daily Telegraph, Sept. 11, 1900.)*

* * * We have never doubted in Natal the bravery of the Boers—it is incontestable. Their ideas of war and ours vary, but given a position they will select it with ability and defend it with great resolution. And no man could have watched as I did the Boer army on the Tugela for two months without being satisfied that the percentage of brave men in their ranks is a large one. * * *

Unluckily to-day the less educated and bravest Boers, for whom really I feel a great compassion and a greater admiration, fancy we are all bound for the mines. * * *

Let us not judge all the Boers by the standard of the late events in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony; let us remember those men who stood their ground at Spion Kop, and at Krantz, and Pieters, and only succumbed at last to the unquenchable valour of the greatest infantry in the world.

Colonel Porter Testifies.*(Times, Dec. 31, 1900.)*

Colonel T. C. Porter, who commanded a brigade of General French's Cavalry Division in South Africa, was presented on Saturday with an address of welcome on his return to Trematon Castle, Saltash, by the Mayor and Corporation of that borough. * * *

Colonel Porter paid a tribute to the Boers, who, he said, were a brave nation, who fought gallantly and well. They treated British prisoners with every consideration and the wounded with the same care as they would their own. On few occasions the white flag was abused, but in what large community would they not find one or two miscreants?

From Memorial to Lord Salisbury.*(S. A. C. C.'s Publications)*

Step has followed step and the army and the nation are face to face with a wearisome and ap-

parently endless war. The soldiers in the field are tired of it. The people at home turn from the daily record of harrying and burning and loss of lives with something approaching disgust. "Has it been all necessary?" is a question constantly arising, along with that other question, "When will it end?" These questions must force themselves all the more upon the national conscience when confronted with the testimony of the latest eyewitnesses of the war, one of whom, Dr. Conan Doyle, himself a supporter of the policy of the war, has written:—

"Whatever else may be laid to the charge of the Boer, it can never be truthfully said that he is a coward or a man unworthy of the Briton's steel. The words were written early in the campaign and the whole empire will endorse them to-day. Could we have such men as willing fellow-citizens, they are worth more than all the gold mines of their country."

Great Britain's High Commissioner at Capetown.*(Standard, May 23, 1900.)*

Sir Alfred Milner, addressing an enormous gathering, who waited upon him this morning with a congratulatory address on the occasion of the relief of Mafeking, made a long and important speech. * * *

Referring to a remark by a previous speaker, who condemned the enemy as "cowardly scoundrels," Sir Alfred Milner said that there were many among their enemies who deserved honour for their heroism, and though cases of treachery and barbarity had occurred, they were, on the whole, exceptional. The conduct of the enemy had been that of brave men fighting in a bad cause. Yet they were entitled to respect.

Gunner in the C.I.V. Testifies.*(Morning Leader, Dec. 24, 1900.)*

Mr. Basil Williams, for some time a gunner in the C.I.V. Battery, tells in the *Monthly Review* for January a very suggestive story of his South African experiences. Mr. Williams describes the Boers as he saw them, and as others with whom he came into contact saw them. The result is a "stream of facts," as interesting as it is dispassionate. As to the Boer treatment of prisoners, Mr. Williams was not a prisoner himself, but he was constantly coming across men who had been in that position at various times, and his informants were "altogether fairly representative of all classes of soldiers in the British army." The unanimity in their accounts was extraordinary.

"Not a single prisoner I ever met had a complaint to make about the way in which he had been treated; they acknowledged that sometimes they were not sufficiently fed, but they always added that they had as much food as the Boers themselves. There is a story told of an English officer, one of De Wet's prisoners, who went up to the commandant to complain that they were being almost starved: 'Yes, I know,' said De Wet; 'we have been running it rather fine, but I intend to capture one of your convoys in a day or two, and then we shall all have a better allowance of food.'"

BOER TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED.

(No. 40 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

On October 24th, the War Office issued, and Mr. Wyndham in the House of Commons made a statement that "*the Boer wounded in our hands are treated just as our own wounded, and there is every reason to believe that the Boers will treat in a similarly human manner any of our wounded in their hands.*"—See *Times*, October 25th.

After the action at Nicholson's Nek, General White's message was: "The enemy treated our wounded with great humanity. General Joubert at once dispatched a letter to me offering safe conduct to doctors and ambulance to remove wounded."

Lord Methuen's Evidence.

(*Idem.*)

Note the generous language of Lord Methuen: "He had fought four fights, and though some of the enemy's men had been guilty of dastardly tricks, it must be remembered that the Boer army was not organised under the same discipline as the British. He never wished to meet a braver general than Cronje, and he had never served in a war where less vindictive feelings existed between the two opposing armies than in this."

(*Idem.*)

The lamented Mr. Steevens, of the *Daily Mail*, writes as follows after the surrender of Nicholson's Nek:—

"The Boers showed great kindness both to the wounded and unwounded on that day, and this has elicited the highest praise. They collected water for our wounded, and gave them blankets, captured mules for the hospital panniers, and rifles for splints. Some asked for our soldiers' embroidered belts as mementoes of their great victory, but on being told that many contained money, the pay of the men in many cases, they refrained from pressing the requests. Some of the wounded dropped their money, but the Boers would not take it."

(*Daily News*, August 6, 1900.)

All the prisoners that have been released state that Christian De Wet treated them with the greatest generosity. They pay him a high tribute as the bravest and cleverest of the Boer leaders.—Central News.

(*Mr. Chamberlain in House of Commons*, Dec. 7, 1900.)

"So far as the great majority are concerned, we recognise that they have carried on the war with great distinction so far as their personal gallantry is concerned, and have shown the greatest consideration for the prisoners and wounded who have fallen into their hands." (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., says:

(*Morning Post*.)

PRETORIA, Nov. 20, 1899.

The position of a prisoner of war is painful and humiliating. A man tries his best to kill another, and finding that he cannot succeed asks his enemy for mercy. The laws of war demand that this

should be accorded, but it is impossible not to feel a sense of humbling obligation to the captor from whose hand we take our lives. * * *

NOT CRUEL MEN.

"You need not walk fast," said a Boer in excellent English, "take your time." Then another, seeing me hatless in the downpour, threw me a soldier's cap—one of the Irish Fusilier caps, taken, probably, near Ladysmith. So they were not cruel men, these enemy. That was a great surprise to me, for I had read much of the literature of this land of lies, and fully expected every hardship and indignity. * * *

The commander, Adjutant Roos—as he introduced himself—made a polite salute. He regretted the unfortunate circumstances of our meeting; he complimented the officers on their defence—of course, it was hopeless from the first; above all he wanted to know how the engine had been able to get away and how the line could have been cleared of wreckage under his guns. In fact he behaved as a good professional soldier should, and his manner impressed me. * * *

Our captors conducted us to a rough tent which had been set up in a hollow in one of the hills, and which we concluded was General Joubert's headquarters. Here we were formed in a line, and soon surrounded by a bearded crowd of Boers cloaked in mackintosh. I explained that I was a special correspondent and a non-combatant, and asked to see General Joubert. * * *

"You are the son of Lord Randolph Churchill?" said a Scottish Boer, abruptly. I did not deny the fact. Immediately there was much talking, and all crowded round me, looking and pointing, while I heard my name repeated on every side. "I am a newspaper correspondent," I said, "and you ought not to hold me prisoner." The Scottish Boer laughed. "Oh," he said, "we do not catch lords' sons every day." Whereat they all chuckled, and began to explain that I should be allowed to play football at Pretoria. * * *

A BROKEN-SPIRITED JUMBLE.

* * * Other Boers besides our escort who were occupying Colenso came to look at us. With two of these who were brothers, English by race, Afrianders by birth, Boers by choice, I had some conversation. The war, they said, was going well. Of course, it was a great matter to face the power and might of the British Empire, still they were resolved. They would drive the English out of South Africa for ever, or else fight to the last man. I said, "You attempt the impossible. Pretoria will be taken by the middle of March. What hope have you of withstanding a hundred thousand soldiers?" "If I thought," said the younger of the two brothers vehemently, "that the Dutchmen would give in because Pretoria was taken I would smash my rifle on those metals this very moment. We will fight for ever." And I could only reply, "Wait and see how you feel when the tide is running the other way. It does not seem so easy to die when death is near." The man said, "I will wait." Then we made friends. I told him that I hoped he would come safely through the war and live to see a happier and a nobler South Africa under the flag of his fathers; and he took off his blanket—which he was wearing with a hole in the middle like a cloak—and gave it to me to sleep in. * * *

VEXATION OF SPIRIT.

I could not sleep. Vexation of spirit, a cold night, and wet clothes withheld sweet oblivion. The rights and wrongs of the quarrel, the fortunes and chances of the war, forced themselves on the mind. What men they were, these Boers! I thought of them as I had seen them in the morning riding forward through the rain—thousands of independent riflemen, thinking for themselves, possessed of beautiful weapons, led with skill, living as they rode without commissariat or transport or ammunition column, moving like the wind, and supported by iron constitutions, and a stern, hard Old Testament God who should surely smite the Amalekites hip and thigh. And then, above the rain storm that beat loudly on the corrugated iron, I heard the sound of a chaunt. The Boers were singing their evening psalm, and the menacing notes—more full of indignant war than love and mercy—struck a chill into my heart, so that I thought after all that the war was unjust, that the Boers were better men than we, that Heaven was against us, that Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley would fall, that the Estcourt garrison would perish, that foreign Powers would intervene, that we should lose South Africa, and that that would be the beginning of the end. So for the time I despaired of the Empire, nor was it till the morning sun—all the brighter after the rain storms, all the warmer after the chills—struck in through the windows that things reassumed their true colours and proportions.

Boer Humanity.

(No. 54 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

* * * The following extracts from letters of Lieut.-Colonel Stonham to Lady Georgiana Curzon, published in the *Daily Telegraph* of July 23rd, 1900, deserve particular notice. Colonel Stonham is in command of the Imperial Yeomanry Hospitals at the front, and the letters are dated from Roodeval, Rhenoster River, on June 13th and June 17th. * * *

"The Boers treated us most considerately, and told us there were many wounded about a mile distant in the camp of the Derbys.

"The Boers, throughout their stay here, till June 11th, have treated us with the utmost kindness, courtesy, consideration, and generosity.

"I have had two interviews with General C. de Wet in his own laager, and he has not only been most kind, but has, by his advice, secured the hospital from a most perilous position, for before the action of June 11th he told me to move my camp, told me the place of safety, told me the positions he meant to take up, and in every way helped us. More of this later. * * *

"We have had the unique experience of seeing an action from the Boer side, and of having been made temporary prisoners at large. I am most anxious that the committee and the public should know the treatment we received at the hands of General C. de Wet, his officers, and the Boers (all Free Staters) who have been here. I will give you, shortly, the chief acts to which I refer. The details I am sorry time and space prevent my giving.

"1. The Boers allowed us to take comforts, etc., from the station before they blew it up, but, unfortunately, by accident, the truck we had loaded was also blown up.

"2. General de Wet personally stated to me when I went to his laager how very much

he regretted the accident, and to compensate for it, he gave me fifty sheep, which he sent men to round up and drive into camp.

"3. The Boers allowed us to keep all the tents of the 4th Derbys for our hospital use. They came the next day to see the wounded, and expressed to many of them, and to us, the regret they felt. * * *

"After the action of June 11th the Boers retreated past our camp, but no man entered it or molested us.

"I could mention many other instances of the consideration we have received at their hands, but I am sure those I have given you will be sufficient."

A De Wet Story.

(*Westminster Gazette*, January 28, 1901.)

The *Outlook* says that an English gentleman serving in the Imperial Yeomanry was taken prisoner. De Wet received him with the greatest courtesy, and when the Englishman referred to the anxiety his family at home would feel about him, De Wet told him to write a long telegram and he would have it transmitted for him free of charge. At the next engagement he had the Englishman placed on a hill whence he and his escort could watch the fight. Finally, on the exchange of prisoners, the Englishman grasped De Wet cordially by the hand, thanked him, and added: "If you ever get to England, remember you must come and stay with me."

A War Correspondent's Testimony.

(*Morning Post*, April 28, 1900.)

The medical quartermaster of the Composites, who was captured at Sanna's Post, has just returned.

He tells an interesting story of his adventures.

He afforded medical aid to the wounded Boers, and he was offered his freedom on arriving at Kroonstad.

He elected, however, to accompany the prisoners to Pretoria, where the Boers immediately granted him a passport permitting him to return to Delagoa Bay, whence he arrived here.

He reports that the Boers showed the utmost consideration for the sick and wounded.

At Winburg they desired all the prisoners to march through the town, but on the representation being made that such an act was scarcely in accordance with the usages of modern warfare, the field cornet in command forthwith revoked the order.

Incidents of the War.

(*Morning Leader*, May 19, 1900.)

Lieut. Hall, of the 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, wounded at Koorn Spruit, writes home:—

"The Boers were awfully good to me. One shouted out as he came up, 'All right, old chap; you're all right.' Another brought me a saddle and put it up to keep the sun off, and a nice old man with a grey beard brought an umbrella and left it with me as a sunshade. They nearly all came up smoking pipes, and most spoke English. They are a very fine-looking lot of men, and certainly fought splendidly."

Count Sternberg's Experiences.

(From Leading Article in *Daily News*, Dec. 22, 1900.)

It is instructive in this connection to turn to the notes on the Boer War which Count Sternberg has just published in Berlin. The Count, it will be remembered, was one of the foreign volunteers who fought with the Boers. Here is the tribute he pays alike to his friends and to his foes:—

"I cannot think of these English officers without a thrill of emotion. Decimated, shot down like rabbits, and yet always so humane and considerate, they prove beyond question that they come of the best blood. I can only repeat that the English officers and the English soldiers have shown in this war that the soldier's trade rather ennobles than brutalises a man. I will take this opportunity also of stating that in point of humanity the Boers are not inferior to the British. These people, sons of the wilderness though they be, have shown humanity on every occasion. I have seen with my own eyes how they have treated their prisoners who have surrendered after expending all their ammunition. This war has had its beautiful aspects, and I venture to say that never before has war been waged on more humane principles. English statecraft may be perfidious, but the English soldiery is upright, honourable, and brave."

The spirit of Count Sternberg's tribute might well find a general echo in this country. A great nation is never backward to cherish the valour of its own sons, or to recognise that of its foes.

Mr. A. G. Hales's Testimony.

(From "A Catechism for the Constituencies.")

Q. How did the Boers treat their prisoners?

A. Mr. Hales, the brilliant Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was himself a prisoner in their hands says:—

"I have made it my business to go about amongst the private soldiers, to question them concerning the treatment they have received since the moment the Mauser rifles tumbled them over, and I say emphatically that in every solitary instance, without one single exception, our countrymen declare that they have been "grandly treated."

The Appalling Scene on Spion Kop.

BRITISH CHAPLAIN'S ACCOUNT.

(*Manchester Guardian*, March 3, 1900.)

(The italics are mine.—H.J.O.)

Laffan's Agent at Chieveley Camp, writing on February 6, sends the following deeply interesting extracts from a British Chaplain's report of what took place on Spion Kop after the fight:—

To General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Commanding Fifth Division, South Natal Field Force.

General,—I have the honour, in compliance with your request, to make the following report of what occurred on the Spion Kop during the three days (Thursday, January 25, Friday, 26, Saturday, 27,) during which I was engaged in the painful duty of burying the dead who fell there on the previous Wednesday.

At daybreak on Thursday I went to the scene of the previous day's conflict. On reaching the plateau of the Spion Kop, I found several of the officers of the R.A.M.C. attending to our wounded, and also a considerable number of Boers in

possession of the ground. Numbers of other Boers were streaming up in all directions, and soon there was a very large force of them present in all parts of the plateau.

Shortly an officer of the R.A.M.C. came to me, asking if I could speak German, as one of the commandants had forbidden, so he understood, the removal of the wounded. On inquiry I found this to be the case, and after explaining to a field cornet that delay in removing wounded men was a very serious matter, and certain to aggravate their sufferings, he allowed the removal of the wounded in our immediate neighbourhood. For about half-an-hour I was then engaged going about with the two medical officers collecting identification papers and letters belonging to the dead.

A clerically dressed Boer, who said he was secretary to General Botha, then came up, and asked me to go and speak with the General, who was on horseback at a short distance. In polite terms the General asked me who had given leave for the removal of the wounded. I told him that the removal had already been objected to, but that one of the field cornets had subsequently allowed it to take place. The General then said that he was in supreme command, and that he had given no permission. Afterwards he said, "Well, the time is going by, and these wounded men should be seen to. It is one thing my dealing with General Warren, and another, as you see, my dealing with other commanders. How am I to know what other Generals will do? Now, take this message to your General. Tell him we want to fight out this quarrel in a Christian way; that it should be clearly understood between us what is to be done after a fight (*schlacht*) and during the war (*krieg*). But there must be reciprocity, there must be reciprocity. Ask him to send me a list of those of our people who are in his hands. Their relations and friends want to know whether they are alive or dead. I myself will give at all times the fullest information of those we have belonging to you. That he may count upon. As I give up your wounded he should give up ours. You can now carry away the wounded and bury the dead. There are also six wounded who are prisoners in my hospital down there. They can also be taken away, or I will give an order that one of our ambulances convey them to any place decided on by your medical authorities. There is with us in hospital a wounded superior officer. He is not to be removed. I will decide about him later on." After shaking hands with the General and his secretary, and thanking the former for the permission he had granted, I withdrew. * * *

I venture to think it a matter of considerable importance to draw attention to the attitude of the Boers whom we met during the carrying out of our duties on these three days. After collecting all the identification papers, letters, and personal property of the fallen, and whilst waiting for the graves to be dug, we chaplains were unoccupied, and therefore had plenty of time to talk to the Boers around us. For my part I confess that the deepest impression has been made on me by these conversations, and by the manly bearing and straightforward, outspoken way in which we were met. There were two things I particularly noted. As there was no effort made to impress us by what was said (they spoke with transparent honesty and natural simplicity, and in nearly all cases the conversations were begun by us), so there was a total absence of anything like exultation over what they must consider a military success. *Not a word, not a look, not a gesture, or sign that could by the most sensitive*

of persons be construed as a display of their superiority.

Far from it, there was a sadness, almost anguish, in the way in which they referred to our fallen soldiers.

I can best convey the truth of this statement and show that there is no attempt at exaggeration in using the word "anguish," by repeating expressions used, not once, but again and again, by great numbers of them as they inspected the ghastly piles of our dead. "My God! What a sight!"

"I wish politicians could see their handiwork."

"What can God in heaven think of this sight?"

"What a cursed war that brings these poor fellows to such an end!"

"We hate this war. This war is accursed. Every day on our knees we all pray that God will bring this war to an end."

"It is not our war; it is a war of the millions."

What enmity have we with these poor fellows?"

"Would that Chamberlain, Rhodes, and the millionaires could see these trenches and graves."

"When will this unjust war end?"

"We hate all war. We are men of peace. We want to go back to our homes and farms, to sow our seed and reap our fields, and not to make war. Good God! When will it end?"

I do not hesitate to say that in the three days I spoke with some hundreds, standing around us in groups of from ten to twenty. Apart from several foreigners, chiefly Swiss and Italians, the Boers seemed to belong to the farmer class, some dressed like English gentlemen farmers, and others, who formed the majority, less well dressed, but with no sign of raggedness about them, and with scarcely any evidence of the wear and tear of the campaign. I think I have written enough to convey to the military authorities an idea of the friendly and courteous bearing of the Boers towards the chaplains, and of their sympathetic and respectful attitude towards our fallen comrades during our visit to Spion Kop in discharge of our duties.

Again and again, I will add, they expressed their admiration for the bravery of our men. Several used the expression "Ausser ordentlich tapfer" (extraordinarily brave). One matter more in the interest of mutual courtesy I will end with. During the burial of our dead the Boers informed me that they had orders not to fire a shot. It was by some inadvertence, I am convinced, that both on Friday and Saturday our guns opened fire. Several of the field cornets referred to this action on our part with great regret, one with considerable warmth and indignation.—I have the honour to be, General, your obedient servant,

(Signed) REGINALD F. COLLINS, Chaplain to the Forces.

Boer Treatment of Prisoners.

(No. 40, S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

LIEUTENANT KINAHAN, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, wrote to his father from Pretoria:—

"We were all taken prisoners, together with the Gloucestershire Regiment, and a battery of mountain artillery, which accounts for us being in Pretoria so soon. While we were in their laager they treated us extremely well, and gave us food and tobacco. All you read about the Boers in England is absolutely untrue; they are most kind to the wounded and prisoners, looking after them as well as their own wounded, and

anything they've got they will give you if you ask them, even if they deprive themselves. We came up to Pretoria in first-class sleeping carriages, and the way they treated us was most considerate, feeding us and giving us coffee every time we stopped. The day we arrived we took up our quarters on the racecourse, but we have been moved into a fine brick building, with baths, electric light, &c. They provide us with everything, from clothes down to tooth brushes. They also feed us, and we are constantly getting presents of vegetables and cigars from private people. In fact, we can have anything we like except our liberty."

The SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Chronicle* describes, as follows, the arrival at Pretoria of the Nicholson's Nek prisoners:—

"Thousands of spectators were at the station to see their arrival. When they came out a Boer officer ordered all the onlookers to bare their heads. The prisoners looked astonished at this salute, and then returned it."

The following is from one of the SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS of *The Times*:—

"General French ascended Coleskop this morning, and obtained a good view of the graves of Bradford, of the New Zealand contingent, and Scott, of the 10th Hussars, over which he found the Boers had placed headstones."

Nursing the Sick.

(*Daily Telegraph's War Correspondent, May 1, 1900.*)

"As regards myself—and I think I can speak also for the others wounded—I wish to state that the Boers showed us the greatest kindness. They took us away in a comfortable ambulance, and we were attended by German doctors and nursing sisters. Everything possible was done, so far as circumstances permitted, to relieve our sufferings. A bullet had struck me in the left elbow, shattering the bone, so that amputation was necessary. I also lost the third finger of my right hand through a shell. They took the wounded to Colesberg Hospital, and after that they were sent to Pretoria. I was too ill to be moved, but, considering my serious wounds and shock, I made rapid progress, for which I am indebted to the skill of the Boer doctors and zeal of the nurses. I was then sent to Springfontein, where the fever took me. Again they nursed me back to life and hope. Then, on March 13, I was to be sent to Pretoria, together with another man named Chapman, belonging to the Wilts, who had lost his left leg. As we were going along by Kaffir River, in the Orange Free State, we saw a troop of cavalry galloping towards the train. We found them to be the 9th Lancers, and they took possession of us." * * *

Such was the plain, soldierly story of Private Alexander, of the 1st Suffolks.

Soldiers' Letters from the Front.

(*Burton Herald, July 18, 1900.*)

The following letter has been received from Private Blackney by his parents in South-street, Buxton:—

* * * "Since changing our quarters we have done a little better, as we have had a little bread served out to us, and the Boer commandant sent the surgical cases a large pailful of blanc-mange, of which I got half a pint tinful. How some of the fellows go on who have no money I don't know. * * *

"Two German and one Boer doctors have been to see us from the Boer ambulances, which came in with Steyn after our troops had left the place, and they went round with our doctor and saw all wounded cases and offered any assistance they could, which was very good of them." * * *

Lance-Corpl. W. Perkin, writing from Kroonstad, June 19th, to his mother at Fairfield:—

* * * "While I was helping a man who was shot through both feet, the second in command of the Boers rode up and told him the Sergeant was my father, which he had been (he was lying close to), and he helped me to lay him out, and presently the Commandant rode up, and he told him, and he asked me if I should be satisfied if they buried him with Col. Douglas and the other officer, who were also killed. I said yes, I should. So he ordered his men to do so. * * *

"We kept making kettles of tea for them to drink, poor fellows. De Wet said we could have any of the stores we wanted and carried some champagne across himself and gave it to the wounded. I filled a box of tongues, milk, tea, chocolate, etc., and two Boers carried it across for me; they were very kind to us considering, and left all the tents for us to put the wounded in."

The Prisoners at Watervaal.

(*The Daily News*, June 14, 1900.)

A Sergeant of the E Squadron of Kitchener's Horse, who has been a prisoner of war for the last

four months, in writing to his sister from Watervaal on the 6th of May, says: "Our life here is not so bad considering. We are encamped in a place about the size of Kennington-park, hedged in by a triple fence of barbed wire, and armed guards every few paces, with a Maxim up in one corner, so they do not mean us to walk away. We live in sheds, which have no floor or front, which is really good from a health point of view: plenty of fresh air. * * *

"For washing we have a small stream running at the end of our field, where we have dug out a pond for bathing in, and tables have been erected where we can wash our clothes. For pleasures we have a football and cricket set, and some fine matches we have—England v. Australia, England v. Ireland, Regulars v. Volunteers, &c.

The Puzzled Tommy.

(No. 40, *S. A. C. C.'s Publications*.)

These are samples out of a sheaf of cuttings from various English newspapers, to which I will add one more as an illustration of the comedy as well as tragedy of war as it struck one of the Devons, who was suddenly laid prostrate by four bullets while on outpost duty. Some Boers thereupon ran to him and carried him tenderly, under the protection of a white flag, to the British ambulance. His puzzled reflection is:—

"What a rum thing war is! Here's a lot of fellows who put four bullets into you to take your life, and then run off with you to a doctor to save your life."

FIRING ON THE WHITE FLAG & RED CROSS.

Why the Red Cross is Fired upon.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 21, 1900.)

Mr. W. T. Maud has suggested in a lecture that the red cross of military hospitals and ambulances ought to be made much larger, whether it appears in the shape of a flag or is painted on the sides of waggons. Our special correspondent in Natal, as readers may remember, made a similar suggestion in one of his letters. If it were carried out there would certainly be fewer mistakes to regret in the future than there have been in South Africa. A whole field hospital is often equipped now with one flag, and that not a large one; and the red cross is often painted on waggons rather as though it were the name on the bows of a ship. This plan may be neat, but it is not sensible. There is no reason why the whole side of every waggon should not be covered with a red cross, and no reason why a red cross should not reach from top to bottom of the outside of every hospital tent.

(*Daily Telegraph*, May 14, 1900.)

Sir William Thompson, late president of the Irish College of Surgeons, and chief surgeon to Irish Hospital contributes to the *British Medical Journal* some suggestive reflections on the atrocities which the Boers are averred to have committed by deliberately firing on ambulances and hospitals flying the Red Cross flags. Sir William, who dates his notes from Naauwpoort, says that the flags now in use are not sufficiently distinctive, and that he has come to understand "how a hospital may be shelled by an enemy in utter ignorance of what it really is." Indeed, he

goes further than this general expression, and, as the result of a trial which he himself made, asserts that in calm weather the flags "were absolutely indistinguishable at 200 yards," though he knew the exact place to look for the flagposts. A very reasonable suggestion is made by Sir William, namely, that a light canvas on a wire frame, bearing the red cross, should be erected above the hospital when the breeze is not strong enough to shake out the ordinary flag and render it visible at a distance.

Lecture on the Natal Campaign.

(*Manchester Guardian*, May 5, 1900.)

Mr. René Bull, war artist and correspondent, lectured to a large audience in the Free Trade Hall last night on incidents of the campaign in Natal, and illustrated his narrative with a number of photographs which he had taken on the field. * * *

The picture most loudly cheered was that showing General Buller on horseback, and there was a good deal of applause when Mr. Bull declared that, though the Boers had unfortunately fired upon some of our ambulance waggons, he did not believe they had done so intentionally. Mr. Bull referred in appreciative terms to the courtesy of both General Joubert and General Botha, the former of whom generously sent to General Hildyard a written commendation of a West Yorkshire soldier who, after being terribly wounded, insisted upon remaining in the firing line of his regiment, and continued to use his rifle until he was taken prisoner.

The White Flag.

(From "*How Not to Make Peace*," by Mr. Stead.)

The question of the white flag and its alleged abuse occurs three times in Lord Roberts' telegrams.

The first at Driefontein, March 11, 1900, the second near Kroonstad, on May 14, and the third quite recently, where three Boers convicted of abusing it were captured and tried.

Only in the first instance have we the reply of the Boers. Both accusations and reply are taken from Lord Roberts' own despatch.

DRIEFONTEIN, MARCH 11 (9-45 A.M.)

"The following telegram has been addressed by me to their Honours the State Presidents of the Orange Free State and South African Republic:—

"Another instance having occurred of the gross abuse of the white flag and of the signal of holding up the hands in token of surrender, it is my duty to inform your honours that if any such abuse occurs again I shall be most reluctantly compelled to order my troops to disregard the white flag entirely.

"The instance occurred on the kopje east of Driefontein Farm yesterday evening, and was witnessed by several of my own staff officers, as well as by myself, and resulted in the wounding of several of my officers and men.

"A large quantity of explosive bullets of three different kinds was found in Cronje's laager, and after every engagement with your Honour's troops.

"Such breaches of the recognised usages of War and of the Geneva Convention are a disgrace to any civilised Power. A copy of this telegram has been sent to my Government, with a request that it may be communicated to all neutral Powers."

BLOEMFONTEIN, MARCH 19 (8-25 P.M.)

"I have received the following reply to my telegram No. C 414, March 11, to the Presidents Orange Free States and South African Republic:—

"Your Excellency's telegram dispatched at 9-45 a.m. on the 11th reached me yesterday. I assure you that nothing would grieve me more than that my burghers should make themselves guilty of a deed such as that laid to their charge by you. I am, however, glad to say that you must have been mistaken.

"I have made personal inquiry of General Delarey, who was in command of our burghers at the place mentioned by you. (He) denies entirely that our burghers acted as stated by you, but says that on Saturday (date illegible) the British troops, when they were about fifty yards from our position, put up their hands as well as the white flag, whilst at the same time your cannon bombarded the said troops as well, with the result that Commandant De Beer was wounded.

"Yesterday morning at eight o'clock the head Commandant wrote in his account of the battle as follows: 'The soldiers hoisted the white flag, but were then fired at by the English cannon and compelled to charge.'

"Perhaps it is unknown to your Excellency that the same thing happened at Spion Kop, where, when a portion of the troops had hoisted the white flag and put up their hands, and whilst our burghers were busy disarming them, another portion of the troops fired on our burghers and on the troops who had surrendered, in consequence thereof not only our burghers but some of the British troops were killed. It has also been reported that at the last battle on the Tugela the English cannon fired on the troops who had surrendered.

"With reference to the explosive bullets found in General Cronje's laager and elsewhere, I can give your Excellency the assurance that such bullets were not purchased or allowed by the Government. I have, however, no reason to doubt your statement, as I know that many of the burghers of this State and of the South African Republic took a large number of Lee-Netford rifles and Dum-dum and other bullets from the British troops. May I request your Excellency, as the cable is closed to me, to make my reply known to your Government and to the neutral Powers by cable.—STATE PRESIDENT."

Writing in the *Daily News*, November 9, 1900, Mr. Hales says:—

"Few things have astonished me more during the progress of this war than the number of charges levelled against our foes in reference to the treacherous use of the white flag. Almost every newspaper that came my way contained some such account, yet, though constantly at the front for nine months, I cannot recall one solitary instance of such treachery which I could vouch for. I have heard of dozens of cases, and have taken the trouble to investigate a good many, but never once managed to obtain sufficient proof to satisfy me that the charge was genuine. On one occasion I was following close on the heels of our advancing troops, and had for a comrade a rather excitable correspondent. When within about fourteen hundred yards of the kopjes we were advancing to attack, the Boers opened a heavy rifle fire; and though we could not see a solitary enemy, our fellows began to drop. It was very evident that the enemy were secreted in the rocks not far from a substantial farmhouse, from the roof of which floated a large white flag (it turned out later to be a tablecloth braced to a broom handle).

"'There's another case of d— white flag treachery,' shouted my companion. 'I wonder the general don't turn the guns on that farm and blow it to Hades.'

"'What for?' I asked.

"'What for! Why they are flying the white flag and shooting from the farmhouse. Isn't that enough?'

"'Quite enough, if true,' I replied. 'But how the devil do you know they are shooting from the farmhouse?'

"'They must be shooting from the farmhouse,' he yelled. 'Why, I've been scouring all the rocks around with my glasses, and can't see a blessed Boer in any of 'em. No, sir, you can bet your soul they are skulking in that farm. They know we won't lose a shell on the white flag, the cowards!'

"I did not think it worth while to argue with a man of that stamp, but kept my glasses on that farm very closely during the fight that followed. Right up to the time when our men rushed the kopjes and surrounded the farmhouse I did not see a man enter or leave the house, and when I rode up I found that two women and three children were in possession. Furthermore, on examination I soon discovered that, as the doors and windows faced the wrong way, it would have been impossible for a Boer to do much shooting at our men, unless the walls at the gable end were loopholed, which they were not, I know, for I examined them minutely. Fortunately for the credit of the British army, most of our generals are cool-headed men who do not allow the irresponsible chatter of the army to influence them. Otherwise our guns would have been trained upon many a homestead on charges quite as flimsy and groundless as the one quoted above."

Dr. Conan Doyle in his book, "The Great Boer War," says:—

"They were rough in their ways and speech, but in spite of many calumnies and some few unpleasant truths, they might compare with most disciplined armies in their humanity and their desire to observe the usages of war."

To the members of the Pall Mall Club, soon after his return from the war, Dr. Conan Doyle said:—

"The Boers had been the victims of a great deal of cheap slander in the press. That the white flag was hoisted by the Boers as a cold-blooded device for luring our men into the open was an absolute calumny."

The Red Cross.

(No. 10, S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

Reuter's representative at Ladysmith, writing on November 7th, 1899, says:—

"After the evacuation of Dundee the Boers shelled the hospital and the ambulance until the white flag was hoisted, when their firing ceased. Captain Milner rode with one orderly into the Boer camp with a flag of truce, and was told that that the Boers could not see the Red Cross flag. *This statement he verified by personal observation.*"

Our Naval Gunners' Mistake.

(S.A.C.C.'s Publications No. 10.)

The *Chronicle's* correspondent reports that upon the gun opening fire Cronje told the British ambulance men and doctors that he gave them five minutes' start to get away before he opened fire. They made "record running" towards the British lines, but midway they met messengers hurrying up to inform Cronje on Lord Methuen's part how much he regretted the incident, the result of an unfortunate mistake, which he asked him to overlook. Cronje replied that he would, of course, overlook the mistake, but he hoped the British would remember that excitable men among the Boers sometimes committed similar errors which their leaders equally regretted.

White Flag and Kaffirs.

(Standard, June 21, 1900.)

While the cannonade was in progress two immense white flags were seen to be flying from the enemy's position. Our gunners ceased fire, and eagerly awaited the surrender of the Boer Army; but the flags proved to have been displayed by Kaffirs, accompanied by a whole tribe of women.

Accidents Occur on Both Sides.

(No. 16 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

The *Natal Witness* relates that after the battle of Colenso, when firing had ceased by the main armies, three Boers rode out towards the donga where Colonel Bullock and his men were. Two of the Boers bore white flags, to cover a demand for the surrender of Bullock. "These two Boers," says the *Witness*, "were shot down" by our men. Thereupon 400 Boers rode out, and Bullock surrendered. It was an accident. of course, or at anyrate a misunderstanding. But suppose it had occurred on the other side? The *Natal Witness*, it may be added, artlessly remarked the other day that one way to settle the

South African question would be to exterminate the Dutch; hence it would be ungenerous to describe it as a "pro-Boer" journal. * * *

Colonel Winsloe, C.B., of the Royal Scots, who was in command of Potchefstroom during its siege by the Boers in 1881, says in his book dealing with that event: "The Boers are a fine, sturdy, manly people, such as I should like to live among * * * a class to command respect." He pays more than one distinguished compliment to the humanity and kindness of General Cronje, and writing of the final scene, when the Boers drew up in line for the British to march out with the honours of war, says, "No troops in any part of the world could have behaved more courteously throughout."

Charges brought against the Boers.

(A few examples from "A Catechism for the Constituencies," by Mr. Stead.)

Q. Can you mention any instance of the abuse of the white flag on the English side?

A. Certainly. The first notable instance of it was at Nicholson's Nek. When our troops found that they had got enough of it some of them hoisted the white flag. But the rest of their comrades continued firing on the Boers.

Q. Who reported this?

A. The late Mr. G. W. Steevens of the *Daily Mail*, who not only records the fact, but says: "It is some sneaking satisfaction that for a long time the soldiers refused to heed it. Sitting up there behind the breastworks they were aiming coolly by the half minute together," and he mentions particularly one new-come Boer who was shot through the head after what he called the "cursed white flag" was put up over a British force in South Africa.

Q. Was this evidence confirmed by anyone else?

A. Yes, an officer admitted that they went on firing after the white flag was hoisted and the "cease fire" was sounded, "for we were so mad."

* * *

When Lord Methuen at Magersfontein shelled the Boers when they had suspended fire for the purpose of allowing us to attend to our wounded he sent an apology to General Cronje. The latter at once accepted the apology and added that he hoped the British would recognise that such innocent but dangerous mistakes were quite as possible on the side of the Boers as they were on the side of the British. * * *

Q. What other complaints were made about the Red Cross?

A. General Cronje complained that Colonel Baden-Powell stuck up Red Cross flags all over Mafeking so that it was almost impossible to fire without hitting them. Generals Joubert and Cronje proclaimed death for any Boer firing on the Red Cross. The Boers bitterly complained that Lord Methuen captured an ambulance at Modder River, and kept it in defiance of all the rules of the Geneva Convention. As for other complaints that ambulances were used to convey ammunition these were rife on both sides, and the mutual recriminations may be set off against each other.

Q. What is loot?

A. Robbery under arms.

Q. Is it permissible?

A. It is sternly prohibited in theory and constantly practised, especially by the British Colonial troops. * * *

Q. How was the abuse of the white flag avenged?

A. The British appear to have given no quarter to any body of men who were accused rightly or wrongly of abusing the white flag. No such charges are made against the Boers. Our troops frequently fired upon Boers bearing a white flag when they came forward in good faith to arrange for the burying of the dead. * * *

Q. What truth is there in this?

A. It is another case of six of one and half a dozen of another. With the immense range of modern artillery it is quite impossible to recognise a Red Cross flag at firing range. At a distance of seven miles it needs a very sharp-eyed gunner to

see the difference between the Red Cross flag and the Union Jack. The battle of Eland's Laagte was begun by the British shelling the Boer ambulance waggons. There was no breeze so the flags were invisible two miles off, and several rounds of shrapnel were fired at the ambulances before the Boers were able to return the fire.

Q. Was this admitted in the British camp?

A. Yes, by the more intelligent officers. Surgeon Beadnell, R.N., writing from Lord Methuen's camp, said: "Stretcher-bearers cannot help being hit. No Boer would purposely fire upon a Red Cross party. The Boer hospital here was struck by shell more than once."

ENQUIRY AND FREE SPEECH FEARED.

Mr. Gladstone and Free Speech.

(*Liberal Magazine*, p. 151.)

Mr. Gladstone, speaking in the House of Commons as Prime Minister on October 23rd, 1884, deprecated the disturbance of public meetings convened in opposition to a scheme of Parliamentary reform which had been adopted by the Cabinet of which Mr. Gladstone was himself the head:—

"For my part, if I refer to this subject, I must refer to it first with a strong expression of my extreme admiration of the general conduct of the people with regard to the whole matter. They have shown the greatest triumph of civilisation in the capacity of the masses of the nation—sometimes greater, sometimes smaller—to meet together and to discuss questions of the deepest interest on which the strongest differences prevailed, and yet show respect for every difference of opinion, and above all, to maintain absolutely the laws of order. * * *

"I should condemn any disorder in point of policy, and I should condemn it on principle if I did not believe it to be inexpedient."

Sir William Harcourt on Free Speech.

(*Liberal Magazine*, p. 123.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 15, 1900.

"* * * The conclusion of the remarks of the right hon. gentleman, the leader of the House, seemed to me to be capable of an interpretation which would have the effect, I will not say of promoting rioting, but of discouraging the right of public meeting by people who hold opinions which are capable of exciting rioting and outrages of this character. I hope I may be mistaken in that interpretation, but I confess that it had the effect in my mind of asserting that people who do not hold the opinions—which unquestionably are the opinions of the great majority of the people—ought to abstain from public and even, as I understand, from private meetings.

"In my view nothing could be more injurious than that such an opinion as that should go forth with the sanction of the House of Commons. I say we ought to maintain that people who hold opinions which are unpopular ought not to be discouraged, but should feel that they have a right to express those opinions, and that all the power of the House of Commons and of the Executive Government should be employed in protecting them in doing so. * * *

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman later pointed out how irrelevant in the circumstances Mr. Balfour's *apologia* for the rioters really was:—

"* * * There are two classes of persons aggrieved—those who have not been connected with any meeting whatever, but who, simply on account of opinions, imputed or genuine, have been subjected to coercive proceedings on the part of their neighbours; and there are those who have called meetings together for the purpose of expressing their opinions in private. In the latter case only those people have been asked to attend who are of like mind in political matters; but other men, holding different opinions on a purely political subject, have chosen to come and prevent the holding of the meetings. * * *

"Anyone listening to the right hon. gentleman's speech would have thought that he considered the conduct of those who had called the meetings or who were the subjects of the violence was quite as reprehensible as that of those who disturbed the meetings."

Mr. Balfour, however, professed himself impenitent. No one, of course, imagines that the Government has had anything to do with encouraging these outrages against free speech, but the Executive ought in such a matter to take particular care to say or do nothing to induce those who have been guilty of rioting or excess to imagine that after all their proceedings are perfectly natural. If the man in the street is told that it is "human nature" to break up a "stop-the-war" meeting he probably gives way to "human nature." * *

(*Liberal Magazine*.)

Professor A. V. Dicey is a Unionist who (in his own words) "gives a zealous and conscientious support to the foreign, no less than the domestic policy of the present Government." That does not, however, prevent his valuing Freedom of Speech, and he wrote on March 20th the following strong letter to the *Times* (published on March 22nd):—

"In various towns throughout Great Britain, such as Edinburgh and Scarborough, freedom of open discussion on the subject of the war is, it would appear, for the moment at any rate, suspended. When meetings in favour of peace and meetings which are not in strictness public have been broken up by the use of stones and brickbats, it is idle to contend that persons who wish to stop the war are free to express their legitimate, though, as it seems to most of us, unfounded convictions.

"An appeal has been made to the Executive. The Government, through one of their principal members (Mr. Balfour) have promised to do their best to enforce the law, but have intimated that they can do very little, and have taken the opportunity—a singularly ill-chosen one—to administer a reproof to zealots who, while acting within their legal rights, outrage the natural sentiment of the people. The Ministry will, I take it, act in accordance with the law, but they have already failed in one elementary duty. They have not made it apparent that, so far as the Government is concerned, it is the breakers of the law, and not the men who claim to exercise their legal rights of citizens, who are in fault. * * *

"This is a serious state of matters, and it is made the more serious by the calmness with which the public accept it.

"The results to which it will lead are as certain as they are disastrous.

"The peace party will feel themselves, and rightly enough, the victims of oppression. Their silence will mean not success, but embittered opposition. * * *

"The moral reputation of England will be lowered throughout the civilised world. * * *

"The hint that the right to advocate the stopping of the war ought to be qualified by deference to popular sentiment means nothing less than that legal freedom is at an end, and that, instead of rights secured by the law of the land, we must accept the capricious dictates of popular sentiment enforced by the sanction of popular violence."

Sir H. Fowler at Wolverhampton.

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 20, 1900.)

Sir Henry Fowler, on rising, was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm. He said the one subject which occupied supremely the attention of the whole Empire at this moment was the war in South Africa. He was quite aware that there were differences of opinion existing on that question, and he was not going to ignore those differences, or undervalue them or speak disrespectfully of them. (Hear, hear.) * * *

If either their case or his case would not stand the test of public opinion it was not worth much.

* * *

He had said before, in Wolverhampton, and he would repeat it, that unless war were an absolute necessity it was a gigantic crime. * * *

He spoke of the Jameson Raid as the greatest outrage ever committed. * * *

Dinner to Mr. Cronwright Schreiner

BY THE NEW REFORM CLUB.

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 6, 1900.)

Sir W. Harcourt wrote: I am glad you are about to make a protest against the outrages practised upon persons who venture to express opinions that may happen to be at variance with the sentiments of the majority. Mr. Balfour's plea of 'extenuating circumstances,' founded on the doctrine that men may be excused, if not justified, for breaking the heads or the windows of their opponents because there own particular 'human nature' is not capable of bearing the strain of such a divergence of conviction, cannot be too emphatically repudiated and condemned. I remember that in the controversy arising out of the Russo-Turkish War similar demonstrations

were directed against Mr. Gladstone—proceedings which were not ratified by the majority in the election of 1880. * * *

Sir Wilfrid Lawson said they were met mainly, as he understood, to show their adherence to the right of free speech and public meeting in this country. (Cheers.) * * *

They used to consider that England was the home of the oppressed, the refuge for all who were in trouble. But Mr. Schreiner, who was not a criminal, so far as he knew—(laughter)—who came here with no bad object, but simply to tell us what he believed to be the truth, had been reproved, reproached, reviled, misrepresented, caricatured, abused, hustled, cuffed, and kicked. He, however, in the language of the ring, came up smiling. (Laughter.) Because they appreciated his pluck, patience, and perseverance they had asked him to dine with them. (Cheers.) It was a time when Englishmen should prove their hatred of mob law, their love of free speech, and their determination to defend the right of free speech and public meeting, which was the basis of our liberties and the foundation of the Parliamentary Government, of which they were once so proud. (Cheers.) * * *

A man who applied to the War Office to be sent to the war, asked for his qualification, said, "Well, the fact is, I am suffering from homicidal mania." (Laughter.) * * *

They were for truth against error, justice against injustice, peace against war. In that cause their guest was ready to help them. He was sure they would give him the welcome he deserved. God grant that he might do something to assist in extricating our country from the situation of error, suffering, and humiliation into which it had been plunged by our own folly and weakness. (Cheers.)

Mr. Halley Stewart then proposed the "Houses of Parliament." He deprecated the attitude which the Leader of the House had taken in reference to the recent incident at Scarborough, and said it was time the House of Commons vindicated the right of citizens of this country to freedom of speech and public meeting. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bryn Roberts, M.P., in replying, said he thought the House of Commons did maintain within its own borders the right of free speech. If some of the members had spoken in the country as they had spoken in the House, their heads, he was afraid, would have been broken long ago. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") He believed that to a great extent the army had seen with their own eyes what tremendous misrepresentations and lying had taken place for the purpose of egging on this country to war. They had seen that the Boer people were not deserving of the condemnation and unscrupulous abuse passed upon them in order to force us on to war. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Maddison, M.P., proposed the health of Mr. Schreiner, coupled with "the right of free speech." He said the uninstructed democracy was always the prey of the adventurer with the longest purse or the greatest tongue. The great mass of organised labour, however, had never been wrong upon this question. (Hear, hear.) The disgraceful conduct of which Mr. Schreiner had been the victim was a blot on the name of Britons. (Cheers.) The public mind had been prejudiced by organised lying. Mr. Schreiner had not seen the England of traditional freedom, but as corrupted by the Shylocks of finance. (Cheers.)

Mr. Schreiner, who on rising to reply had a cordial reception, thanked the company for the welcome they had given him. His experience, he said, had been somewhat on the other side, but it was a side one anticipated when one knew how foolish the mob was when it ran riot. (Hear, hear.) The opinion which now seemed to be uppermost would not prevail when the nation became more sober and more reasonable. (Cheers.) He was pleased to see ladies present—the unfortunate Outlanders of Great Britain. (Laughter and cheers.) They were taxed without reforms, and no other nation had been called in to shoot those 600 egregious people who constituted the House of Commons, which kept them out of their vested rights. (Hear, hear.) Various reasons had been given for the war, and now they found that it was being waged for the sake of the natives. (Laughter.) * * *

If it was true that both races had persecuted the natives there were individuals among both races who behaved justly to them. It was undeniable that on the whole the native had a better status in Cape Colony than anywhere else in South Africa, and he was worse off in Rhodesia than in the Transvaal. * * *

The Matabele war was forced upon the Matabele for the sake of taking their country from them, just as this war was forced upon the Dutchmen for the sake of taking their country from them. (Hear, hear.) With regard to Rhodesia, the Empire did a great crime when she handed it over to a body of speculators and to the mercy of men whose only object was to make money out of it. (Cheers.) * * *

It happened at the last election that all the pro-native men were opposed to Mr. Rhodes, who with his capitalist friends tried to keep the native champions out of Parliament. It would startle those people who looked at the other side to find that the Dutch put the native champions into Parliament. * * *

They should see to it that the men who had brought the war about did not get the spoil. (Cheers.) They must also see that the settlement was so wise, generous, and large-minded that it would show that this nation had done everything it could to make life as happy as possible for the unfortunate people whose lot was cast in that torn country. (Cheers.)

Sowing the Wind, &c.

(Leading Article, *Manchester Guardian*,
November 3, 1900.)

In London they are seeking high and low for explanations of the carnival of drunkenness and violence that spoilt the welcome which the respectable majority of Londoners hoped to give the other day to the City Imperial Volunteers on their return home from the war. * * *

Hardly anybody seems to have observed that an outbreak of mob violence is a very natural sequel to the preaching of the doctrine that mob violence may be a very laudable thing. * * *

At the height of the war-fever it was not an uncommon thing for well-known newspapers to propose in the morning that a "peace meeting" to be held later in the day should be wrecked, and these proposals were sometimes carried into effect. * * *

In Scarborough a large mob almost laid in ruins a restaurant in which they were told that a small body of persons not agreeing with them were meeting in private. * * *

The preachers of ruffianism and rowdiness ought scarcely to complain now of their own success. * * *

Where they erred was in thinking that mob brutality is a genie which you can call forth from the leaden pot when you want it to annoy somebody whom you do not like, and which will then go back into the pot and be quiet until you want it again. As Mr. A. V. Dicey pointed out at the time, this error was shared by Mr. Balfour, of whose speech in Parliament on this "rowdiness and ruffianism" last March Mr. Dicey said that it "certainly encouraged every ruffian who wished to check by force the expression of opinions which he disliked. * * *

The truth is that war always has been and still is a thing coarsening and soiling to the character of the races who wage it. * * *

The South African People.

BY S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER.

(*Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1900.)

The citizens of Great Britain do not realise that another people is arising in South Africa—a race that is neither British nor Dutch, but a fusion of the two, blending to a large extent the qualities of both, and modified by the environment in which it is being formed, and, to a slight extent, by a strain of other nationalities, principally German. The child of Britain has taken to himself a wife of South Africa, and is setting up for himself his household on the other side of the globe. The new family will be "South African." * * *

The two races are blending rapidly into one which, as I have said, is neither Dutch nor British, but South African, and at the same time English-speaking. We South Africans (or Afrikaners) are educated at the same schools and colleges, we enter for the same University examinations, we play the same games, we meet in the same athletic contests. Education, community of interests, mutual friendships, and intermarriage are rapidly breaking down the racial division and making one people of us, notwithstanding the fact that plotting politicians and capitalists are continually fanning the dying embers of race-hatred into flame again for their own ends. That is the essential fact for the British people to lay hold of—that we are becoming one people out there. It follows, in consequence, that this war is a civil war; it is as though England and Scotland were fighting each other. * * *

South Africans are held together not only by community of interest and sacred ties of friendship and blood, but by a fervent love for the land of their birth. Does it seem strange that a man should love best that part of the Empire where he was born and reared? Is it possible that any sane man can hold that a profound love for such a spot is inconsistent with a devotion to the mother country? Does loving a wife mean not loving a mother? And can it be imagined that this fervent love for South Africa is confined to British subjects of Dutch descent? Not at all. There are many of us who are wholly British by descent who have the same love for that country. As the Canadians and Australians do not call themselves "British," but by the sweet name of their own countries, so we in South Africa are ceasing to call ourselves "English" and "Dutch." We, too, are becoming a people; we who have been born in that country are "South Africans" or "Afrikaners." The grown-up child does not

necessarily love the parent more or less than the little child; it depends entirely upon the parent's treatment of him. If the parent has treated him well, the love of the man will be infinitely greater than that of the child; it all depends upon the parent.

It is the love of the South African people that is in danger of being alienated. We have idealised Great Britain and given her a love and devotion unsurpassed in these islands. And what do we see? This country we have so loved and idealised sending out a great army (and calling in the aid of our brother colonists) to override our Constitution and to kill our friends and relatives. * * *

Because Great Britain has been misinformed, misled, and craftily engineered by a small gang of capitalists and Jingoists into doing that which if it knew the truth it would recoil from with horror. And what will the result be? If the greatest wisdom be not used, the result will be to hand us whites over to the domination of a largely foreign capitalist gang who will reduce the public life of South Africa to that of Kimberley (a lower level does not exist), to hand the natives over to the same men, who will virtually enslave them, and to alienate a love which it should have been the pride of Great Britain to preserve, and the preservation of which is a strength to the Empire.

Effect of Mob Violence.

(*Morning Leader*, June 12, 1900.)

On the night of the Pretoria rejoicings assaults were made on complainant's house, which had a most serious effect on the health of Mrs. Smith and her daughter. The latter was almost in danger of losing her reason, and, it was alleged, would scream in the night, "Daddy, daddy, they're coming again!" and rush terrified into her father's room.

"Peace on Earth."

MINISTER EXPELLED FOR PREACHING AGAINST THE WAR.

(*Morning Leader*, July 2, 1900.)

A short time since, the Rev. G. Critchley, who for 25 years has been the pastor of the Burnt Ash Congregational Church, Lee, was called upon to resign because of the attitude he had taken up over the war in South Africa. In his farewell sermon he said:—

"The counsels of God were against it, and he had held it his duty to declare them unto his congregation. He had expected better things of Christians and of Nonconformists than that they should lend themselves to inflame the war passions of a multitude and should apparently rejoice in the fact that this great Empire should have spent its giant strength in wiping out two small, free, Protestant Republics from amongst the nations of the earth.

"He was their pastor no more. They had represented the greatness, the comprehensiveness of the Gospel he had preached to them. Might the peace of God be with them that sought peace."

Freedom of Speech.

LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN WELL KNOWN IN LANCASHIRE.

(To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, July 17, 1900.)

Sir,—The following extract from a letter received this morning from a writer in the South of

England tends, with many other facts, to show that while professedly fighting for the liberties of the Outlanders in the Transvaal we are in danger of losing our own at home: "The Rev. — has been obliged to retire from his pulpit owing to persecution on account of this war. He occupied this pulpit for 25 years and has done a good work, and this is his earthly reward. Several times his house was surrounded by howling mobs, and once, in the absence of himself and his wife, the house was thus attacked and windows broken, to the great alarm of his children, one an invalid daughter."—Yours, &c., JOHN P. THOMASSON.

No Freedom of Opinion.

(*Manchester Guardian*, May 3, 1900.)

Truth publishes the following: Many examples of the intolerance and rabidness of some self-styled "patriots," male and female, have come to light during the past few months, but none more remarkable in its way than the following. For two or three years a young lady from Manchester had been engaged as visiting governess to the children of a family in the neighbourhood of Northwich. The engagement was about to terminate, and the governess had been promised a satisfactory reference. While at the house one day, however, the governess ventured to express an opinion regarding the justice of the war which did not meet with her employer's approval; and the result was a letter dispensing immediately with her services on account of her "pro-Boer" views. * * *

Extracts from

"The War in South Africa:

Its Causes and Effects."

(By J. A. HOBSON.)

(Taken from pages 55, 103-118.)

THE HELOTS OF JOHANNESBURG.

Several young men told me that they had been for years in the habit of knocking about Johannesburg at night and returning home to the suburbs early in the morning, but that they had never been subjected to any interference. This view was certainly borne out by my personal experience. During the weeks I spent there, public feeling ran high, and then, if at any time, it would seem reasonable to expect scenes of disorder and even riot. But never have I seen a large English town more quiet or more orderly at night than Johannesburg. Though a great deal of drinking goes on at the bars, where the company (Outlanders almost to a man) has often a most disreputable aspect, there was scarcely any of the street-brawling which I saw in Cape Town. Where occasionally a noisy tippler staggered by, the neighbouring "Zarp," with orthodox official delicacy, generally looked the other way, though the delinquent was in most instances one of the Britishers who wanted his country. I have no desire to whitewash Johannesburg or its administration; there is much reason to suppose its police to be more bribable than those of London, and more ignorant and incapable; but I saw literally no indication of the prevailing terrorism and oppression, the insecurity of person and property, charged against it, nor did my cross-examination of many Outlanders elicit any material support for such accusations. * * *

THE ALLEGED DUTCH CONSPIRACY.

A certain considerable section of the Colony was seething with anger against the attack on the Republics, and if the Afrikaner Bond were the treasonable body it is represented as being, it could have evoked a most dangerous rebellion.

* * *

Long before the outbreak of hostilities fears of disturbance in this part of the Colony (where Cape Colony adjoins the Free State) were entertained by responsible Ministers and Members of Assembly. Many of the latter expressly left their post at Cape Town before the session was over, in order to exert their personal influence among their constituents in preventing popular meetings from being held, and other demonstrations which might give colour to the charges of treason. * * *

The Bond is a substantial and effective organisation of small groups of farmers and professional men in the small towns and country districts for the purpose of urging practical schemes of reform upon the Legislature, and of protecting the local interests of the inhabitants. There is nothing whatever in the constitution of the Bond about Dutch nationality or about a union which shall exclude British control or supremacy. * * *

When Sir A. Milner can find no popular press from which to illustrate his charges of disloyalty against the people whom he is set to govern, and is driven to quotations from papers so insignificant as the *Rand Post* and the *Natallander*, he surely gives away his case. * * *

The only really important personage at this gathering (a branch meeting, of the *Afrikaner Bond*, held at *Burgersdorp*, May, 1899,) was Professor J. C. Cachet, head of the Reformed Church of South Africa, whose speech consisted of a powerful appeal against the methods adopted by the Rand agitators and their press to prejudice the mind of the Imperial Government, and to fan the flame of race hostility. There was indignation, even invective, in his address,

but no single word which carried a suggestion of disloyalty. Instead of being an incentive to revolution, it was a powerful plea for peace; and the following passage, received with great applause, points a most important lesson which Sir A. Milner and some of the more inflammatory journalists who support him might digest with advantage: "There were the Englishmen born and resident in the country. He knew that if the majority of them were asked, 'Do you wish to make an end of the Boer?' they would say, 'No; we live here, and are quite satisfied. We have no grievances.' The Englishmen in their midst were not the mischief-makers; it was the new-comers, who knew nothing about the country, except to be continually making an uproar and keeping the fire of race hatred alight." * * *

If any man voices the true inwardness of Dutch sentiment and Bond politics it is Mr. Hofmeyr. Yet it was this man, not many years ago, who strongly urged in England a scheme of Imperial Federation by which England's colonies might be more closely bound to her and to one another. * * *

Would the leaders of a party pledged to rapidly-ripening revolutionary action have voted with enthusiastic unanimity the sum of £30,000 towards the Imperial navy last year, and have handed over Simonstown to the possession of Great Britain for a coaling station? * * *

These Dutch Afrikaners have never been disloyal; they have merely been grieved and indignant, as they have every right to be. But call them traitors in a thousand insulting ways, fabricate charges of incipient rebellion in every issue of the press, set spies among them and threaten them with troops, and you take the most effective way to turn honest opposition into treason. Then, when this persistent goading has attained its natural result, and some open exhibition of disloyalty occurs, the "agents provocateurs" of this malign policy gleefully rub their hands and say, "We told you it was there, and out it comes." * * *

Patriotism ! Imperialism ! Glory and the Realities of War !

The meaning of "Patriotism" is summed up by the acknowledged authorities on our language as "love for one's country and service even unto death." Under this ruling we must admit that the Boers are model patriots. How do *we* stand? *Here* there appears to be two kinds of patriotism—the *sound* and the *false*. We will begin with the *latter*.

The main principles are that, having started on certain lines of action, we must continue on them; there must be no hesitating because doubts or conscientious scruples arise; there must be no attention paid to adverse foreign criticism, even if universal; there must be no appeals permitted to our manly instincts; there must be no sympathy or softness shown to the enemy and his family; but the plain, simple maxim that "this country's mission is to rule over all others it can conquer" must be steadily kept in view. We must back up the Government, notwithstanding our conviction that their policy is wrong and their action foolish. Further, the people must be exhorted to vote "Khaki," or the troops will be disheartened.

This is not badly shown in the following extract from "The Struggle of the Dutch Republics":—

Neither the representatives nor the press may criticise before or during the war!

*"Hush! do not speak, * * * you'll hasten the war!"*

*"Hush! do not speak, the war has begun * * * you'll encourage the enemy!"*

"Hush! do not speak! The war is over, we have now to take care of the present and the future."

"Let the dead past bury its dead."

Just as "Alice in Wonderland" had jam to-morrow and jam yesterday but never jam to-day, so the time for criticism is over or coming, but for present use the jam is always too expensive or too indigestible!

This programme is a difficult one to carry out. So many people are troubled with tender hearts, and, after dutifully submitting to a long spell of mental inactivity, their brains at last insist upon being permitted to enjoy some exercise. Those without brains, but whom Nature often slightly compensates with an extra share of muscle, have partly succeeded in curbing this desire for investigation, and public meetings were forced to give way to the circulation of literature. Happily, a clear tendency to resent this interference with their liberties has recently been evident all round, and much credit is due to the brave women who have brought their powerful, though gentle, influence to bear in inaugurating it.

Be Careful Not to Dishearten the Army.

A few words regarding our Volunteers and voting "Khaki." Notice page 168, the report of the persecution of a well-known Volunteer. Such action as this will destroy the force. We are all prepared to shoulder a gun in *defence of our country*, but we should certainly be fools to risk being ordered off to any other country with

which our Government was wicked or stupid enough to quarrel. The army has but little voice in politics, and is looked upon as a machine ; but civilians are in a very different position, and will never consent to similar treatment. Another step, and we arrive at conscription.

Now, as to voting "Khaki" to encourage "Tommy Atkins." Mr. Birrell humorously said that the arrival in camp of an extra and unexpected sound mule would meet with much more attention and appreciation than the announcement of the election of an additional supporter of the Government. Who ever saw the slightest reference to the Rossendale election of February, 1900, in all the South African news with which our newspapers at that time were crammed ? Yet all our great successes in February and March followed immediately on the Government's rebuff in the Lancashire valley. At the recent bye-election at Blackpool Mr. Hanbury worked this theme for all it was worth, but the electorate did not respond, and the Government's supporter, while successful, received a very much diminished majority. Perhaps this accounts for the invasion of Cape Colony which immediately followed ?

Most of us know Tennyson's immortal verse on this subject :—

Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die :
Into the Valley of Death
Rode the six hundred.

And later :—

Then they rode back, but not—
Not the six hundred.

The Best Way to Prove Our Patriotism.

Let us now examine *sound* Patriotism. Abroad we ought to extend our trade and influence in every quarter open to us, but only by peaceful and legitimate means, gaining the confidence of those with whom we have differences by our proofs of honesty and our willing submission to arbitration of all points in dispute, irrespective of the size of our opponent. We ought not to undertake to protect Armenians and then forsake them because our ships cannot climb mountains, as Lord Salisbury put it.

At home we ought to occupy ourselves with legislation that will tend to lighten the burdens and cheer the lives of the poorest of our population ; to bring our system of education up to the best foreign standards, and so give our young folks a fair chance in the world's competition ; to endeavour to control to some extent the horrible curse of excessive drinking ; to redistribute taxation on a fairer basis ; and consider what means, if any, can be employed to raise the "submerged tenth," a painful feature in our midst, the extreme character of which cannot be equalled elsewhere. Lastly, we ought to cease hooting at and shouting down men like Mr. Leonard Courtney, Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. John Morley, and many others, who take upon themselves the invidious rôle of pointing out our true line of duty, and, regardless of abuse and discomfort, sever long-standing party ties, and are willing to occupy painful positions, *all for conscience' sake.*

If a genuine proof of loyalty and pure patriotism was wanted, this evidence of courage and self-sacrifice is one of the best that could be offered. John Bright and a very small following took similar action over the Crimean War, and were even worse treated. Time generally justifies such men, and sometimes quickly.

In addressing the House of Lords on our war with our American Colonies, Lord Chatham said :—

In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty: I only recommend to them to make their retreat. Let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

The following is especially interesting at this juncture :—

(*Westminster Gazette*, September 1, 1900.)

A correspondent reminds us that Mr. Chamberlain, in his "Radical days," poured great contempt upon the theory that it is unpatriotic to criticise the Government of the day in case of war. Speaking in 1878, he said :—

"Some hon. members have invented a convenient theory by which opposition is silenced in the presence of foreign complications. If we attempt discussion before war breaks out we are hampering the Government in negotiations and endangering peace. If we wait till the war is upon us, then it is said that in an unpatriotic way we are dividing the country in the presence of the enemy; while if we postpone discussion until the war is over, we are told we are guilty of futile fault finding and unnecessary retrospection. The thing, in fact, comes to this—that it is not the business of the House of Commons or the people to express an opinion on foreign affairs. This should be left to the responsible advisers of the Crown."

Mr. Chamberlain looks with more approval on the "convenient theory" nowadays. But then in 1878 he was not Colonial Secretary, with the whole world as his sphere of influence.

Consider the Recent Instance in France.

When one has laboured long and hard to master the merits of a dispute, and has become convinced that the majority of the Government are going wrong, it cannot be unpatriotic to oppose them. If this is denied, then what shall we say of Zola and his little band in opposing themselves to an overwhelming majority in their determination to obtain justice for Dreyfus? We were as loud and unanimous in praising him and his friends, and denouncing the mass of his countrymen, as other nations are to-day in their similar treatment of us. We can recall the accounts of the infuriated mob and the shouts of "*conspuez Zola*," which are fairly matched by the cowardly assaults and the stone-throwing, and the cries of "Pro-Boer" we have experienced here.

It is almost unnecessary to point out that Zola's party was not entirely actuated by their anxieties for the resuscitation of one man. Behind that object lay the character of the French nation, which had to be redeemed in the face of the world; and although, in our case, we cannot reinstate the thousands of innocent lives already sacrificed, there is yet time to prevent the guilt of uselessly adding to their number, and the further lowering of the standard of probity, honesty, and even-handed justice which we profess it to be our mission to maintain.

Imperialism.

Imperialism is by no means easy to define. Lord Rosebery wants it to be Liberal, and Mr. Chamberlain's taste is Unionist; but he somewhat relieves our troubled minds by assuring us that it is really the same compound, and it is only a matter of choosing from whose hands it shall be received. "Jingoism," "Militarism," and "Brag" must be its next of kin, and, like the arms of an octopus, are all actuated by the same will. Mr. John Morley admits the difficulty of describing "Jingoism," although he claims to know a Jingo when he sees him.

Speaking at Glasgow in 1896, Mr. Morley said :—

I have never felt that I for one am a Little Englander. I believe that the most beneficent work for humanity has been done, and is being done by Great Britain; but I am for a safe England, a strong England, a just England, a right-doing England, and then the bigger the better.

Mr. John Burns likens it to the will-o'-the-wisp, which recedes as you endeavour to approach it, and which, if you follow it up long enough, will most assuredly land you in a dangerous morass.

In good society any tendency to brag is considered as "bad form"; but, unfortunately, national brag is far too common a fault. The writer recalls an exemplification, which occurred when he was visiting a French friend near Paris. The conversation turned on armies, and the smallness of ours was commented upon. Jokingly, our belief that one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen was offered as a new idea and a method of equalising matters. Quickly came the answer: "Ah! indeed! But I quite understand, for we say the same stupid things; but we keep our numbers level with a possible enemy all the same."

Imperialist Leaders are Inconsistent.

Sometimes they admonish us for our lordly bearing towards foreigners, especially when travelling in their countries. At other times they pat us on the back when we say that "we've got the ships, the men, and the money, too." If this sort of thing is to be encouraged, we shall not fully realise its ill-effects until a genuine calamity overtakes us. The results of ancient and modern Imperialism have been alluded to in previous sections.

Lord Salisbury derides the "Manchester School," but many people still retain faith in John Bright's teachings. Speaking at Manchester in 1849, he said :—

People tell me I want to abandon our colonies; but, I say, do you intend to hold your colonies by the sword, by armies, and by ships of war? That is not a permanent hold upon them. I want to retain them by their affections.

Zola, who is so much in favour with us at present, tells his countrymen (page 167) of the importance of cultivating their arts and industries, by which, and by which alone, they can achieve true and lasting greatness. This sterling advice applies equally well to ourselves.

Sheltering Behind the Soldiers.

Everyone must surely have been struck by the regular system of employing the *heroism* of our gallant officers and troops as a means to draw the attention away from

the cause of all this bloodshed and suffering and the shortcomings of preparation and management which this lamentable war is forcing us to recognise.

The barefaced and arrogant manner in which the war party has endeavoured to appropriate to itself the innumerable instances of courage and self-sacrifice that have been displayed would be amusing if associated with a less serious subject. Whenever things are looking bad the orators envelope themselves in this sacred mantle of glory, while the newspapers try to keep up the spirits of their subscribers by big headlines on the same topic, and after recounting disasters, or unexpected difficulties, wind up with "*but the men were splendid.*" Of course they were, and the officers, too ! *They always have been.*

The army, however, belongs to and is recruited from the whole nation, and not the Unionist section of it, and Liberals have been quite as ready to shed their blood and make other sacrifices for their country as the Tories. The difference is that the Government use the soldiers for aggression, and have exposed them to needless dangers, privations, sufferings, and death for the sake of Financiers and Gold-diggers. We shall see, when the war is over, whether the soldiers will thank the men who have treated them so badly for using the army as a shelter to screen themselves from the condemnation they so justly deserve.

But while honouring ourselves, it is only the baser spirits who would attempt to defame an enemy who has proved himself worthy of our steel. Yet how often have our newspapers been defaced with evidence of this meanness. Happily, there have been recent signs of an improvement in this respect, as those at the front, from the generals to the privates, have spoken out against such slanders. If anyone remains in doubt on these matters he should turn to a few extracts on the subject under Section 8. The Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*, a newspaper with a world-wide reputation for war correspondents, says that the Boer is "as good as anything on God's green earth if he only had military training." He also prepares us for some astonishment when "Tommy" returns to relate his experiences and express his feelings. Mr. John Burns, M.P., has repeatedly stated that the said "Tommy" will become a Boer sympathiser. The writer's opinion is that the officers will not be behindhand in the same generous sentiments, although it may not be considered politic to speak so openly as the men are expected to do.

Professional soldiers are not supposed to occupy themselves with the merits of their country's quarrels ; but sensible people cannot avoid thinking, and it is known that the campaign has been far from congenial to the majority of our soldiers.

A War Devoid of National Glory.

Now, although the foreign military critics may testify, as one trusts they will, to the energy and resource of some of our generals, as they already have done to the courage of the army as a whole, and notwithstanding that numbers of Victoria Crosses and other individual distinctions will have been honourably won, there cannot, by any possibility, be any ground for *national glorification*.

On September 21, 1900, in concluding a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian*, the able writer says :—

Take the soldiers' achievements away from this war, and what is there left to redeem a series of humiliations almost unexampled in our history, and the sheer brutality of the end? The country made the soldiers, the Government the humiliations.

That *fifty millions* of the richest people in the world, with command of the sea and telegraph cables, have been pitted against less than 200,000 of a peasant population, is a fact that, do what we will, must be present to anyone's mind whenever this war is mentioned. The schoolboys and the white-bearded old men are bound to be permanently associated with our victories. It is inconceivable that we should erect monuments to our military glory in connection with this war, or anything other than becoming memorials to indicate the resting-places of those who were its unfortunate victims. The puny Republics may do so, if they care to ; but for us it is out of the question. We could not descend to it. We should become the laughing-stock of Europe.

The Boers have no need to erect Monuments.

Visitors to the plains of Marathon, to the ancient site of the Pass of Thermopylæ, and to the mountains of Montenegro, are few ; the pillars which recorded the struggle in the Pass have long since vanished, but the heroism and patriotism which the names of these places recall will continue to exert their influence for all time to come. The Boers need not fear being forgotten.

The past cannot be revoked, but we may yet do something to mitigate its full evil effects, and if the country awakes in time to a better sense of its duty and interest, it will not be without opportunities of showing it. We must cherish the hope that when historians are describing for posterity this period of our history, they may see grounds for exonerating the masses of the nation from a full responsibility for the action of their Government. The same may be said as to the negotiations which preceded the war, but these are now irrevocable. The future settlement, however, is awaiting decision, and the *people* can direct the policy to be adopted, and must be responsible for the results thereof.

Speaking in Manchester about a month before the war broke out, Mr. John Morley said :—

*"There are great changes, doubtless, in store for South Africa, but these changes which time will bring need time. * * * High-handedness won't help you, political martinets won't help you; you may carry fire and sword into the midst of peace and industry, but such a war of the strongest nation of the world against the smallest nation will bring you no glory, it will bring you no profit, it will be wrong. You may make thousands of women widows, and children fatherless—it will be wrong; you may add a province to your Empire—it will still be wrong."*

PATRIOTISM.

(*"A Catechism for the Constituencies."*)

Q. Is patriotism then not a virtue?

A. There is patriotism and patriotism: The patriotism in which love for one's country is subordinated to a devotion to the general welfare of the race is the loftiest of all sentiments; but, as Channing said, "the patriotism which is cherished by war is ordinarily false and spurious, a vice, not a virtue, a scourge to the world, a narrow, unjust passion which aims to exalt a particular State on the humiliation and destruction of other nations."

Enemies of the Queen.

(*From Leading Article, Manchester Guardian, Dec. 13, 1900.*)

Mr. Brodrick's statesmanlike answer to these expressions of common sense and political instinct from Mr. Bryce and Sir R. Reid was that if anybody distrusted Sir Alfred Milner he was an enemy of the Queen. We know that answer. It has answered many things now. When Sir William Butler would have saved England from the tragedy of last winter he was an enemy of the Queen. When Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Hofmeyr and Mr. Merriman were striving hard to wring further concessions out of Mr. Kruger they were enemies of the Queen. For months everybody who in speaking of the Boers in the field observed the bare decencies of courtesy and fairness was called an enemy of the Queen.

Englishmen of the English like Mr. William Watson, the striker of the deepest and purest note of patriotism in contemporary English poetry, were enemies of the Queen. Mr. Herbert Spencer, the Englishman through whom more than any other one man England has been an intellectual force in the world in our time, was among the enemies of the Queen. The late Lord Chief Justice of England was a notorious enemy of the Queen. Such were the judgments passed by the least thoughtful of Englishmen during the mad months of the war fever on some of the bravest and wisest and most faithful citizens of their country. * * *

Had they the strength of really strong men they would get Sir Alfred Milner home and safely into the House of Lords as quickly and civilly as they could, send out to South Africa some Commissioner like Sir William Butler whom everybody there would both like and respect, and let the "firm" yellow press howl for a day or two over their want of "backbone." It would soon forget all about it, and we might keep South Africa and its loyalty yet.

On Being Styled "Pro-Boer."

(*The Speaker, June 2, 1900.*)

Friend, call me what you will: no jot care I,
I that shall stand for England till I die.
England! The England that rejoiced to see
Hellas unbound, Italy one and free;
The England that had tears for Poland's doom,
And in her heart for all the world made room;
The England from whose side I have not swerved;
The immortal England whom I too have served,
Accounting her all living lands above,
In justice and in mercy and in love.

WILLIAM WATSON.

M. Zola's Wish for His Country.

(*Daily News, May 9, 1900.*)

The principal article, among many notable ones, in the *North American Review*, is M. Zola's on "War"—an article in which he counsels his own country to seek her salvation in the abandonment of the warlike ideal.

" * * * I wish that she might live, above all, by her men of learning, by her thinkers; and that she would be convinced that war can only give a nation transitory power, a power subject to challenge, whereas, by fostering labour, by encouraging that progress towards a society in which justice will reign, a nation such as France can make herself mistress of the future. Thought is supreme; it breaks swords and stops the cannon's roar. The world was never positively conquered except by thought. What remains of great ancient nations, of Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, is not warlike achievements, but books and monuments; in fact, whatever is the fruit of labour and of peace. We may speak of Alexander and Caesar, but their splendid conquests belong only to a dead past; even their empires have crumbled away, nothing being left of them but ruins, grains of sand which are carried off by the wind; whereas the works of Homer and Virgil, and all the monuments of legislation and civilisation, still live and form part of our wealth." * * *

A Field-Marshal on Patriotism.

(*The Speaker, April 28, 1900.*)

The appointment of Sir Neville Chamberlain to succeed that distinguished soldier, the late Sir Donald Stewart as Field-Marshal, is a matter for very great satisfaction. * * *

The new Field-Marshal was one of the first to warn us against the mad follies of a Forward frontier policy, and events have shown that if the Government had relied upon his mature wisdom, instead of trusting to the complacent optimism of the present Viceroy, we should have been spared that chapter of disasters which is known as the Tirah campaign, and India's case at this moment would have been a little less desperate. * * *

During the Tirah campaign he said:—

"No nation is more alive than our own to the spirit of patriotism: but unfortunately in my opinion the notion prevails far too greatly amongst us that this sentiment and impulse is set aside as of no moment whenever we come into contact with it in others to whom we are opposed."

There never was a time to which Sir Neville Chamberlain's protest was more appropriate than the present crisis. His appointment is a matter for congratulation to the country, and let us add that it reflects credit on the Government.

No Liberty of Opinion for Volunteers.

(Daily News, June 2, 1900.)

The case of Sergeant John King, of the Wilts Rifle Volunteers, is a hard one. Mr. King, who is a Liberal and an Alderman of the Wilts County Council, holds an opinion unfavourable to the policy of the present Government in South Africa, and took an opportunity of expressing it recently at a Liberal club. For this, we are told, he has been reduced to the ranks and dismissed the corps, an order having been received to that effect at the headquarters of his battalion. This, of course, is a perfectly unwarrantable proceeding. An Englishman who joins a Volunteer regiment does not thereby lay down his rights as a private citizen, the most important of which is the freedom of speech and opinion. * * *

He was not liable for active service abroad. He was a civilian, engaged in civilian work, and fulfilling all the duties of private citizenship. He was speaking not in uniform or in a mess-room, but in a political club. It will be a serious matter if a political test is to be exacted when a man enters a Volunteer battalion. * * *

Canada's Help to England.

(Extract from a letter by Professor Goldwin Smith to The Speaker, June 16, 1900.)

Great Britain has been supplied with *three* thousand men from Canada for the South African war; but as she herself undertakes their payment, this is not a very decided step towards even military confederation. Nor has the process been entirely free from friction on the subject of control and patronage. There were *forty* thousand Canadian enlistments, as the Canadian Government computed, in the American army during the course of the Civil War; it is true only from mercenary motives or from the spirit of adventure without the zeal felt in the present case for the cause.

A Boer Parson on the War.

(No. 25 S.A.C.C.'s Publications.)

Mr. Bosman, who, except for his name would have passed for an English Baptist or Congregationalist or Methodist minister, spoke English perfectly, though he had not learned it till he was eleven years old. He was an educated, gentle, plain man, a total abstainer, and very friendly to England, if only England would let his country alone. Part of his theological education was received in Scotland. He was tremendously surprised at the appearance of a West-end club room in war time, full of men in the prime of life chatting and smoking gaily. With tears in his eyes he said, "War is nothing to you; you do your fighting with a paid, professional army; we all fight. War is a terrible thing to us. Every male over fourteen in my congregation is gone to the front; all my deacons and elders are fighting. My son, a boy of eighteen, who was studying for the ministry in Cape Colony, is gone." Sometimes the poor man was so broken down that he could hardly speak. * * *

Asked what settlement he thought would be sufficiently satisfactory to the Boers at the end of the war to ensure peace in South Africa, he said, "At the close of the war there will be no Boers in the Transvaal." The earnestness and evident

sincerity of belief with which he made that statement made a deep impression even on those most strongly opposed to him who were present.

True Patriotism.

(Democracy, Jan. 12, 1901.)

It is for the sake of England and of the British Empire that we have condemned the South African War. We are not pro-Boer, but pro-British. And all the writers in our columns have been pro-British. Those of our readers can understand who can grasp the moral of the following famous anecdote, the meaning of which is as deep as the human heart itself. Once Abraham Lincoln, riding along a country road, dressed in his best, of a Sunday morning, saw a pig in a neighbouring field struggling to get out of the mire into which it had fallen, and was gradually sinking deeper. He rode on a mile or two, and then, abandoning his intention of attending church, he went back, and, with boards and planks and by his strong arms, he lifted the suffering creature out of the mire, then galloped away to his home, all wet and covered with mud. His neighbours marvelled, and said of him: "You must be a very unselfish man to have helped that pig out of the mud!" "Unselfish!" exclaimed Lincoln; "why, I did it for my own sake, not the pig's."

Philistines have inferred from our pages that we have been, and are pro-Boer; but the children of light will know that what we do and say is said and done for England's sake—yes, for the integrity of the Empire.

Boer Patriotism.

(The Speaker, June 9, 1900.)

Reuter's special correspondent has telegraphed a very vivid account of the hoisting of the Union Jack in place of the Vierkleur at Johannesburg. He says:—

"More than one spectator among the rugged burghers standing round appeared touched to the heart when the Vierkleur was lowered. I saw tears streaming down the face of one man as he looked on at the loss of all he had been fighting for during many weary months. * * *

"A tall, Free Stater, an artillerist, stood watching the ceremony. He refused to remove his hat, and a fellow spectator—a small, stunted man—attempted to pull it off, whereupon a British soldier standing near pushed the aggressor away, saying, 'Leave him alone. He fought for his flag. You fight for none.'"

The True Patriotism.

(Manchester Guardian.)

Mr. Woodroffe Fletcher addressed the Ancoats Brotherhood yesterday morning, at New Islington Hall on "The True Patriotism." What, he asked, was the real nature of this sentimental force which had wrought the miracle of uniting all sections of society together for the time being in common emotion? It seemed that we had got far beyond a merely national patriotism, and what we heard of now was "Imperial" patriotism. And why was it that we were asked to throw up our caps and shout ourselves hoarse? Was it because our Empire was a very just, a very pure, a very sober Empire, because its social system was thoroughly sound and its citizens well cared for and happy?

Not at all; but because it was very vast in numbers and extent, very powerful and very rich in accumulated wealth and natural resources.

Nor was Imperial patriotism to be directed to making it pure and just, but only to making it richer and vaster and more powerful. That was the Alpha and Omega of "Imperial" patriotism. "God," said the Imperialists, "was England's God," and so we had at length, as the crowning success of our commercial enterprise, obtained a monopoly of the Almighty, and left the other nations to put up as best they could with the devil between them.—(Laughter). * * *

It was surely time for Christians to protest against such a miserable travesty of their faith. * * *

For modern patriotism was nothing if it did not pay. It was rooted and grounded in the commercialism which had taken such a hold of the

national life, and which was so fatal to all that was highest and most spiritual in character. * * *

The triumphs of the social reformer were not benefits for one nation at the cost of disaster to another, but a service to humanity at large. * * *

A member of the Brotherhood complained that Mr. Fletcher had presented a gross caricature of "Imperialism," while three other members supported Mr. Fletcher's attitude and condemned the present war.—Mr. Pilkington Turner said he was quite sure that much of the spurious patriotism really had some good in its basis, but had been misdirected. At present it only bought cheap flags and waved chair-legs in front of dissentients, but it was capable of taking really serviceable forms of patriotism.—Mr. Fletcher replied to the discussion, and was heartily thanked for his address.

IMPERIALISM AND ITS RESULTS.

Mr. Herbert Spencer: "The crowds who shouted to the departing troops 'Remember Majuba!' displayed the same passion as the lowest savages who make blood revenge a primary duty."

Edmund Burke: "The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent, helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, and contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise."

Lord Kimberley on the Empire.

COLONIAL CLUB BANQUET, MAY 24, 1900.

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

"He had no intention of speaking with any political object when he expressed the sincere hope that they would beware of making the Empire a watchword of party. It was to the interest of the nation that they should as one man, without respect to party, endeavour to foster the interests of the Empire. We had our party differences at home. This was part of our Constitution and national life, but that was no reason why they should introduce it into questions of the Empire."

"Imperialism" and Art.

FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH WALTER CRANE.

(*Daily News*, January 1, 1901.)

"And as regarding art in the twentieth century from the nineteenth century Imperial point of view?" I asked.

"Oh, my dear friend, personally I am dead against Imperialism, and let us trust that the twentieth century will in the fulness of time be equally dead against it too. I am quite sure it will be dead sick of it if it goes on at the present rate. * * *

"If you had a well-organised, contented State at home, then perhaps you may enlarge your borders, but when all is unrest and misery at home, it is impossible. The development of a country's home resources is the first thing for a great nation to attend to—her agriculture and the capacities of her own people. Imperialism vulgarises people's taste in art; they are spoilt by the Eastern magnificence which they loot, and before they half understand it they try and combine it with their own, with vulgar and inartistic results. Then, again, does it never strike you how we are destroying art and the ancient condition of things in the East, which can never be revived. Imperialism is destroying the variety and beauty of the world."

The Church and the War—A Satire.

(*Manchester Guardian*.)

"Sir,—I see that 'the Church's duty in regard to war,' is to be discussed at the Church Congress. That is right. For a year the heads of our Church have been telling us what war is and does—that it is a school of character, that it sobers men, cleans them, strengthens them, knits their hearts, makes them brave, patient, humble, tender, prone to self-sacrifice. Watered by 'war's red rain,' one bishop tells us, virtue grows; a cannonade, he points out, is an 'oratorio'—almost a form of worship. True; and to the Church men look for help to save their souls from starving for lack of this good school, this kindly rain, this sacred music. Congresses are apt to lose themselves in wastes of words. This one must not—surely cannot, so straight is the way to the goal. It has simply to draft and submit a new Collect, for 'war in our time,' and to call for the reverent but firm emendation, in the spirit of the best modern thought, of those passages in Bible and Prayer-book by which even the truest of Christians and the best of men have at times been blinded to the duty of seeking war and ensuing it.

"Still, man's moral nature cannot, I admit, live by war alone. Nor do I say, with some, that peace is wholly bad. Even amid the horrors of peace you will find little shoots of character fed by the gentle and timely rains of plague and famine, tempest and fire; simple lessons of

patience and courage conned in the schools of typhus, gout, and stone; not oratorios, perhaps, but homely anthems and rude hymns played on knife and gun, in the long winter nights. * * *

"Once more, I am no alarmist. As long as we have wars to stay our souls upon, the moral evil will not be grave; and, to do the Ministry justice, I see no risk of their drifting into any long or serious peace. But weak or vicious men may come after them, and it is now, in the time of our strength, of quickened insight and deepened devotion, that we must take thought for the leaner years when there may be no killing of multitudes of Englishmen, no breaking up of English homes, no chastening blows to English trade, no making, by thousands, of English widows, orphans, and cripples—when the school may be shut, and the rain a drought, and the oratorio dumb.—Yours, &c.,

"A PATRIOT."

"August 30th, 1900."

[Satire is a dangerous weapon, but it is, at all events, here handled with wonderful effect.—*Mr. A. Birrell's comment in "The Liberal Magazine."*]

Dr. Parker as Editor of the "Sun."

(December 20, 1900.)

* * * The outlook of the present moment in the light of this development, and especially for our own country, which has but newly entered into the mad military rivalry, is such as to cause the reflective and the imaginative grave apprehension. The unimaginative will be untroubled, for they do not look beyond the present hour and the confronting fact.

The problem is partly economical, partly political and social, but mainly religious and spiritual.

It is, first and lowest, and, therefore, most pressingly, an economical question. That was the basis of the Czar's appeal.

The European nations have an expenditure of £710,000,000 sterling, which they spend every year on war establishments, war preparations, and the cost of past wars, and this first charge upon the industry and wage-earning of their peoples forms a perpetual drain upon their economic resources which amounts to absolute depletion. But in addition to this there have been the periodic blood-letting and wholesale destructions of war. A careful calculation has shown that the wars waged by the Christian nations in the last fifty years have involved the sacrifice of three millions and a half of human lives, and the expenditure of at least £4,285,000,000 sterling, or an average of over £3 and a half per head of the inhabitants of the globe.

During the present century, the same calculation shows, Great Britain alone has spent on her army and navy, and the interest of her National Debt, the astounding sum of £5,540,309,375. This is independent of the special cost, the losses and wholesale destruction of her numerous wars. If the whole period of our modern history, dating from the Revolution of 1688, be taken into account, it will be found that war has cost this country no less than £8,738,000,000 sterling. This sum is unthinkable; nor will it be much less so if we take only the normal war expenses of a single year—that which is now closing—which amount to £88,980,385, or £150 per minute, day and night, for the whole year. * * *

Now, this is a very serious matter, involving the financial stability and prosperity, and, ultimately, the very existence of the nation. * * *

What might not be done with these enormous sums in removing the social miseries, promoting the welfare, improving the education and character, and generally ameliorating the condition of the masses of mankind? * * *

The curse of militarism is that it sacrifices the greatest treasure of the State by debasing the coinage; that is, by placing more value, in this strife and rivalry of the nations, upon the drilled automaton than the cultured and developed man. The future is to the nation that will train its manhood rather than its soldiers. * * *

Do what we will, the question will come to all true patriots, in their quiet moments, What is the real end of national life? Has it nothing higher than what is represented by militarism? Has man no nobler mission than to be "a wolf to his fellow man?"

"A monster then, a dream, a discord!" The Christian man, at any rate, will repudiate such doctrine; the humanitarian and the political progressive will do so on other grounds. In any particular war special reasons can be found why men should uphold the action of their country. And when so-called "patriotism" becomes sacred as a religious creed, the multitude will all do so. We have heard recently the usual arguments put forward—that there are things worse than war; that Universal Peace is a Christian ideal to be aimed at rather than attained; and that each must act according to his individual conviction in the matter. Without attempting a full answer to these and similar arguments, it may be well to say that the things that are worse than war, if such there be, are surely the spiritual, moral, and physical ruin wrought in those who engage in war; that if Peace be a Christian ideal, then it is an ideal which the Church of Christ, at least, should keep always before herself and the nation she professes to lead, and which everyone who has named the name of Christ should seek by example and precept to make a reality wherever his influence extends. Lastly, while admitting that no one should in such matters act upon someone else's convictions, we may urge every Christian and every true patriot to look into the whole question honestly and thoroughly in the light of present-day knowledge, and especially in the light that comes from the face of Christ, that their own convictions may become clear and strong, and that they may be ready to cope with the wave of militarism which is even now threatening our beloved country, the struggle with which may be one of the greatest features of the opening years of the new century.

Jingo Ministers of Religion Rebuked.

("The Coming Day.")

Edited by John Page Hopps.)

Can these be temples of the Christ
From whence the war-cries come,
The call to arms, the roar for blood,
And cheer of battle drum?

Are these His ministers of peace
That bless the lyddite shell,
That sanctify the shrapnel shower,
And prompt the vengeful yell?

They dare not preach from word of Christ,
No text of His they say;
They do not speak of "Father-God,"
But to "Jehovah" pray.

Go, traitors, in your pagan rage
 Blessing Imperial wars,
 From your Commissions blot "Christ" out
 And write in purple, "Mars"! —C. H.

Pagan Prayers Again.

(*Idem.*)

There is one subject connected with this shocking war which deserves the gravest possible attention: we allude to the advocacy of it by the clergy—by, in fact, the Church officially. This has been strongly emphasized by the issue of special prayers to be used in churches; prayers which are so distressingly heathenish and mendacious that one can hardly believe in their genuineness. But they are issued by authority of Her Majesty's Order in Council. Here are specimens of the petitions:—

"Take our cause into Thine own hands."
 (And the Republics pray that, too, and far more earnestly.)
 "Stir up Thy strength, and come and help us."
 (How utterly heathenish the very phrasing!
 reminding us strongly of the old record:
 "O Baal, hear us!"—I. Kings, xviii.)

The Churches and the War.

(*Stop the War Committee's Publications.*)

Coleridge brands for all time those priests who beat the tom-tom of War in the Christian pulpit as "Moloch priests":—

Thee to defend the Moloch priest prefers
 The prayer of hate, and bellows to the herd
 That Deity, accomplice Deity,
 In the fierce jealousy of waken'd wrath,
 Will go forth with our armies and our fleets
 To scatter the red ruin on their foes?
 Oh, blasphemy! to mingle fiendish deeds
 With blessedness.

The Late Bishop of London's Message of Warning.

The Rev. Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, addressed the following Message to the Diocese:

"I am asked to write a few words by way of a New Year's message to the diocese. I do so with great reluctance, for my words must be words of warning, not of encouragement.

"We cannot shut our ears to the voice of God, which is speaking to us as a nation. It rebukes our pride and our self-conceit; it warns us that we must strive, more than we have been striving of late, to show ourselves worthy of our place in the world.

"We must set ourselves to learn this lesson; to practise greater humility; to have less confidence in our own inherent wisdom; to have more sympathy for other peoples, and more charity towards all men.

"I wish that I could say that the Church had been doing its best to teach this needful lesson to the English people. Unfortunately, it has only been reproducing in its own quarrels the temper that prevails. Just in the point where an example was most needed, it has not been given. The Church has adopted the methods of politics."

Pacifying South Africa.

(*The New Age, July 5, 1900.*)

It is well to understand the methods that are being adopted for the pacification of South Africa.

The war correspondent of the *Morning Post* throws some light upon the matter, in the issue of that paper for June 27. Our readers do not need to be reminded that the *Morning Post* is a journal in favour with the upper ten thousand. We wish to make known as widely as possible the name of the author of the passages; it is John Stuart, a name that we hope our readers will bear in their memories. He writes from Mafeking on May 18:—

"The natives of the neighbourhood looted all the furniture, and then some one acting without orders set fire to the house. You may call me a brute, and you probably will, but I own to having felt a rare satisfaction, a warm glow at the heart, when I saw the smoke of that bonfire ascending to heaven.

"A beast of a rebel was getting his deserts. He had been a centre of disaffection, and had also assisted to tear up the railway. One of the late Reform prisoners was almost moved to tears of joy at the sight. We were getting back a little bit of our own. * * *

"Again I had the joy of seeing the smoke of a rebel's house ascending.

"Colonel Mahon, however, objected to this sort of thing and, greatly to our sorrow, forbade any more burnings. Looting was also forbidden.

"These unkempt, ill-conditioned rebels! They were an offence to my eyes. 'Gentlemen, of course you are loyal; it would be monstrous if you were not,' said Sir Alfred Milner in a moment of splendid sarcasm. But the proposition has a converse: 'You beasts, of course you are monstrous; you would be loyal if you were not.'

IMPUDENCE OF REBEL PRISONERS.

"These human vermin rode in a buck wagon, while the Fusiliers who guarded them had to do gravel-crushing. They got rations as if they had been on a level with respectable Kaffirs, and had the impudence to grumble at their food, as if starvation for a few days would not have done them good after the way they starved us in Ladysmith and Kimberley. But throughout this war the authorities have been singing the time-honoured song, 'Oh, you mustn't irritate the Dutch.'

"Irritate the Dutch! If I were Mr. Stead I should deal out the plagues of Egypt to half of them, chastise the others with scorpions, and make a few of the leaders walk on the air they have corrupted with their falsehoods. * * *

"A rebel mill had taken fire by accident some hours before, and the farmhouse was full of rebels, who were all too ill to be moved, suffering as they were from enteric, cultivated in the Boer laager at Fourteen Streams. Even the women were moving about like sheeted dead.

"We were all rather nice to these rebels. People left them brandy and tinned milk. Unjust and absurd, but quite, I think, the best thing to do. If these rebels had been in fairish health we should have desired ardently to see them put in a row and shot. And, of course, when they are well they will be no better in our eyes than the low-grade animals of the farmyard." * * *

It is to the lasting honour of Colonel Mahon that he has incurred the censure of this brutal ruffian.

The fact that this foul rubbish is allowed to appear in the columns of the *Post* is significant. Our arrogance, in "our newly awakened Imperial consciousness," is such that we have come to think of those who dare to raise a hand against us as guilty of a crime which it is beyond the

power of words to describe. It is this which explains the "splendid sarcasm" of Sir Alfred Milner, the illegal proceedings of our generals, and the coarse revilings of war correspondents, or, rather, as we are unwilling to put any one else in the same category with John Stuart, of this correspondent.

Lady Grove on "Voting Khaki."

(*Manchester Guardian*, August 11, 1900.)

Lady Grove, speaking at a meeting at Woodford, convened by the Women's Liberal Association, referred to the forthcoming general election, and said that when men voted they should have some reason directing them. They had been told by a certain section of politicians to vote "khaki," but how few really knew what that meant. She had had a great deal of experience of the simplicity of some of the male voters. The electorate should ask, first, what would have happened in South Africa if there had been no fighting, and secondly, what had we gained by fighting. In her opinion all would have worked out right without having had to resort to war. The war had given the Government an opportunity to neglect the country for "Imperial" interests. (Applause.)

Mr. Asquith on Liberal Imperialism.

(*January 10, 1901.*)

THE BLESSING OR CURSE OF EMPIRE.

(*National Liberal Federation Leaflet.*)

If we look beyond these shores to the Greater Britain of which we have become trustees, I think we see there again equally clear ground for the application of old principles to new problems. We are all proud of the British Empire. There is no distinction on that point between one party in the State and the other. But empire is a blessing or a curse according to the spirit in which its responsibilities are approached and handled. We are often told that the dominion of Rome has been the only one in the history of the world that can be compared in extent and magnitude to our own.

The Roman maxim was this, that empire was to be maintained by the same methods by which it was gained. What was the result? The result was that the splendour and the imposing unity of the whole were purchased at the price of local atrophy. Congestion at the centre, paralysis at the extremities, were followed by decay, disruption, death. These things are written in history for our instruction. Empire in any true and real sense of the word does not consist in the "pegging-out" of claims, the aggregation of acreage, the multiplication of subjects.

THE LIBERAL CONCEPTION OF EMPIRE.

There are some people who seem to look on the British Empire as though it were nothing more or nothing greater than a huge commercial co-partnership for the exploitation of the undeveloped resources of the world. There are others who regard it merely, or at any rate mainly, as if it were a vast organisation for mutual protection against the jealousies, the intrigues, the attacks of foreign powers. According to what I believe to be the Liberal conception of empire, it is something vastly greater and higher than this. There are—I believe I am speaking your sense as well as my own—in the judgment of us Liberals two tests of a standing or falling empire.

We ask, in the first place, does it in all its parts make the standard not merely of material life, but of all that goes to enrich civilisation and humanity, higher, more deeply founded, more securely safeguarded? We ask next does its unity arise not from the compulsory acquiescence of subject races, but from the conscious and willing co-operation of living and self-determining members?

Does it rest not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities, built upon the basis of equal rights? I say nothing to-night of the application of those principles to the concrete problems of the day, but if, as I believe, both in their domestic and in their wider applications, I have, however imperfectly, attempted to express that which forms the essence and the vital strength of our Liberal creed, I ask you with the more confidence to drink to the prosperity and health of the Edinburgh University Liberal Association.

Lord Kimberley on Imperialism.

(*The Liberal Magazine*, October 31, 1900.)

The burning question of the hour was whether they were Imperialists. He was sick of the term.

* * *

It would be an ill day for us when we came to identify the maintenance of the glory of our Empire with one particular party in the State. He expelled the idea altogether. The Liberals were as good Imperialists as the Tories. They were not, however, Imperialists in the sense of wishing to go to extravagant lengths in armaments, or in adding to the Empire, or in neglecting domestic legislation, and forgetting that after all the centre of our Empire was in these islands. Liberals thought it of supreme consequence to consider the wants, wishes, and prosperity of our own people, who were the nucleus of the strength of the Empire. He was for the maintenance of the Empire, but there need not be so much shouting over it. There had been too much shouting. The nation had been carried away by the war. A kind of intoxication had taken possession of us. We should come to our senses by and by, and when we did we should take a calm and just view of the situation.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman on Armaments.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, February 16, 1900.

(*The Liberal Magazine.*)

* * * We have gone on for some years anxiously apparently for one thing alone: that we should be beforehand with our neighbours in securing the possible future advantages of great undeveloped countries; and in doing that we have let the risks take care of themselves, and thus we have mortgaged our strength. This is the policy whose fruit we see in the present difficulties. Last year I ventured to express my doubts on this very ground of the wisdom of our great enterprises, brilliant and successful as they were, in the Soudan. I pointed out the tremendous strain on our military resources—the difficult and dangerous position it may develop into in the course of time—

to have a great equatorial Empire in the heart of Africa. Is there no cause for anxiety there now? Is there no one there ready to take advantage of a South African war? If there is not, and I hope there is not, it is very fortunate for us.

But it is not, however, possible demands from localities that we have to consider. It is rather the temper and disposition towards us which this line of policy persistently pursued by this country has created in the minds, not only of Governments but of peoples with whom most of the people of this country have no interest and no desire, except to remain on the most friendly and cordial terms. I am only dealing with this question now as it affects the Army. I am quite ready, let it be understood, to assent to any proposal for increasing the Army, in the way of building up deficiencies either in any particular branch of the service or in the equipment of the Army. But what I wish to make clear beforehand is that we will be no party to any alteration in the character of the military forces that may be designed hereafter to assist in an aggressive or ambitious policy.

Our Empire is vast and it is strong. Why is it strong? Because it is an Empire of peace, of commerce, of kindly relations between self-governing communities. It cannot be maintained as a military Empire. It is beyond the power of man to do it. By bringing in the Military spirit, by making a great part of it rest upon the sword, you will not add either to its extent or its strength. On the contrary, you will take from both, and you will be the worst friend of the Empire which you profess to serve.

Economic Aspects of Imperialism.

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 30, 1900.)

At the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, a conference was held on Saturday, under the auspices of the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism, to consider the economic aspects of Imperialism. * * *

The Chairman, Mr. R. C. Lehmann, intimated that letters of apology had been received from a number of gentlemen who were unable to be present, including Mr. Burt, M.P., Sir B. Gurdon, M.P., and Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P. Mr. Steadman in his letter wrote: "We now know Mr. Chamberlain's policy, and the sooner the working classes of this country understand what it means for them the better." (Cheers.) The Hon. P. Stanhope M.P., telegraphed as follows: "I regret my inability to attend the meeting, and hope strong protests will be made, especially against the insidious proposals to introduce the thin end of Conscription." (Cheers.)

It was felt, the Chairman continued, that the time had come when all who placed the good of their country above mere annexation of foreign territory must combine to check the inroads of this spirit of militarism and aggression. (Hear, hear.) They knew—those of them who had studied the signs of the times had long known—whither this spirit must lead them. The war in South Africa, infamous as it was, was only an incident in the carrying out of a policy. If this spirit was persisted in, we should have to face not only the sixty-one millions required for the purposes of this war, but much more; taxation would rise by leaps and bounds; and the working classes would find themselves with depleted pockets and empty stomachs. The reforms upon which they had set their hearts would be impossible.

(Hear, hear.) How could those reforms be brought about so long as the country's resources were wasted in wild-cat adventures such as that in South Africa? (Cheers.)

Mr. Channing, M.P., moved—"That this meeting records its emphatic condemnation of the Imperialist policy of the present Government, believing that it results in increased taxation without any corresponding benefit to the nation, in a rise in the price of the necessaries of life, and in a waste of capital and labour which can only end in economic depressions." He expressed a hope that that meeting would be the forerunner of many more throughout the country to discuss the economic issues of the political propaganda which had been carried on in this country for two years past.

The resolution pointed to the economic side of Imperialism, but it seemed to him that the moral loss also arising from Imperialism was but too plain. We had banished magnanimity, we had thrown aside some of the highest attributes of humanity, by the dissemination of the accursed creed of Jingoism and aggression. (Cheers.) But it seemed to him that the real root of the moral depravity which attended this policy was on the economic side. Selfishness was at the basis of Imperialism. (Hear, hear.) What Imperialism meant was the exploitation of the many by the few. (Cheers.) It meant the enormous extension of opportunities of enrichment, and of personal ambition and aggrandisement, for those who already had too many opportunities of raising themselves. (Hear, hear.) Imperialism invited them to sit more heavily, if he might say so, on the shoulders of the world's toilers. (Cheers.) * * *

The friends of peace had an up-hill battle to fight, and he hoped that that and similar meetings would aid in the organisation of forces which would lead to victory. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. W. Paul, in seconding the resolution, said he would ask the meeting to bear in mind that there was a true as well as a false Imperialism. The true Imperialism was that which rejoiced in a voluntary federation of great and free communities, due to British energy and British enterprise, such as existed on the other side of the world. A false Imperialism sought the extinction of the independence of free Republics and proposed to settle the future of South Africa, for all time, without consulting one of the great races by which South Africa was inhabited. If you wanted to contrast the true Imperialism with the false, compare the conciliatory language of Sir Hercules Robinson with the menacing language of Sir Alfred Milner. (Hear, hear.) Nay, compare the wise and statesmanlike speeches made by Mr. Chamberlain in 1896, when he proved that we had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, with the reckless and random electioneering speeches delivered by the same Minister recently. (Hear, hear.)

He (Mr. Paul) confessed it made him sick to hear men who called themselves Liberals talk about the punishment of "rebels." (Cheers.) There was a time when English Liberals had some sympathy with rebels—(hear, hear), when they agreed with Mr. Burke that men did not risk their lives and their property without having legitimate grievances, and that in a contest between the Government and the people it was at least ten to one that the people were in the right. * * *

There were fruits of what he ventured to call a false Imperialism elsewhere besides South Africa.

For the murder—the treacherous murder—of the Ambassadors in China, which there was too much reason to fear had taken place, there could be no palliation or excuse; but events did not happen without a cause. (Hear, hear.) And what was the cause of the terrible condition of things now prevailing at Peking and in other parts of China, except this—that when China was weak and helpless, by a series of acts which he could only describe as international brigandage—(hear, hear),—one great European Power after another, acting from motives of self-interest, seized upon portions of Chinese territory. * * *

The resolution spoke of the cost to the country of the Imperialist policy of this Government. We must bring home to the minds of those whose whole lives were a struggle for bare necessities—and who were therefore not to blame if they thought first of all of the means of subsistence—that the policy of aggression, of dishonesty, and of grab was not only immoral and unwise but also excessively dear. (Cheers.) This false Imperialism had to be grappled with. It was necessary to bring back to the minds and consciences of our countrymen the principles of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers.) The task might be difficult, but it was not impracticable. He did not think it would take so long as some supposed. The accusation that they were not loyal to the Empire might be treated with contempt. * * *

They put the Empire in peril who embarked, without counting the cost and without considering the morality or inquiring as to the utility of the enterprise, upon a series of adventures which could only, if they were continued, bring ruin and disaster. (Cheers.) * * *

The second resolution, moved by Mr. Maddison, M.P., was as follows:—“That this meeting further believes that a policy of reckless expansion and adventure so dissipates both the attention and the resources of the country that the social reforms which are essential to the welfare of the people—taxation of ground values, better housing of the working classes, and pensions for the aged—must be indefinitely postponed.” Mr. Maddison said the resolution was one which the meeting would unanimously endorse. We had reached a crisis in our national affairs. The public mind had been poisoned by an organised conspiracy, and sought in vain for guidance. But there were evidences of a change. (Hear, hear.) A few months ago it seemed as though militarism would begin to reap its harvest of prejudice and passion very early; now they could appeal to the great heart of this country. When the people realised their true interests the glamour of militarism would disappear from their view.

He asked them to consider, as an irrevocable truth, that they could have no social reform without a full measure of political liberty. (Cheers.) And political liberty could not, and never would, consort with militarism. (Hear, hear.) What was the net result, to-day, of this system which they so strongly condemned? He spoke as a member of the House of Commons. Whatever work they attempted, in Parliament, they were confronted by a military bill, a resolution, or an estimate, which monopolised the time of the House. Members seemed to take no interest in anything else—they listened to nothing in which there was not blood. (Hear, hear.) If the masses of the people ever became permeated with that spirit, depend upon it progress, as we understood it, would cease. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. Branch seconded the resolution.

Mr. Frederic Harrison (for whom there were loud calls) left the body of the hall and ascended the platform amid cheers. He said he owed an apology for appearing on the platform at all, for when the chairman invited him to speak he excused himself and said that he preferred to be a listener.

He proposed to say only a few words. He very heartily supported their cause, and endorsed what had been so well said by previous speakers. (Cheers.) He hoped all present would endeavour to influence public opinion, in their several districts, during the time which remained before the dissolution of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Personally his business was rather to write than to make speeches, and, as some knew, he had been writing on this subject for the last year. Hardly a single week had passed—certainly not a single month—in which he had not endeavoured to urge his countrymen to make a stand against the growing evil of militarism. (Hear, hear.)

Quite recently he had turned his attention to a question which, as a lawyer, had great interest for him. He meant the violence that was being done to constitutional law—(hear, hear)—the monstrous defiance of the simplest rights and privileges of British citizens which had been going on month after month in a British colony. (Hear, hear.) He was not referring now to what was being done in the name of war in a foreign country, but to the treatment of British subjects in the Cape Colony. * * *

You could not play fast and loose with the constitutional liberties of Englishmen in one part of the Empire and feel that they were perfectly safe in another. (Cheers.) * * *

He quoted Mr. Merriman, who at a public meeting at the Cape produced official documents to prove the truth of his statements. It was that after the Free State had been, so far as it could be by proclamation, “annexed” (though it had become no part of the British Empire)—after the proclamation guaranteeing liberty of life and of person to all members of the Dutch community who should abstain from carrying on acts of war—the Commander-in-Chief issued a formal notification directing that citizens who were not combatants, who had taken no part in the war, and done no act whatever hostile to the British, should be violently seized, taken from their homes, and put upon railway trains, so that if the trains were wrecked by the enemy those perfectly innocent persons would be killed or injured. (Shame.) That, he (Mr. Harrison) maintained, was contrary to all the practices of civilised war, and he was sorry to say that it had been done, as he was distinctly informed, under the authority of Field Marshal Lord Roberts. It was a disgrace to the English name.

An Earl in the Pillory.

(*The Coming Day*, Edited by John Page Hopps.)

A friend sends us the following:—

I am sending you a particularly “choice” extract, which I have copied from the *Watford Leader*, of a speech delivered here the other evening by the Earl of Clarendon, who resides in this neighbourhood, and who is Lord-Lieutenant of the County. As a specimen of brutality and “intemperance in speech” (*vide* Mr. Justice Grantham) it would be hard to beat. The following were the noble lord’s remarks:—

“Neither you nor I believe in these perpetual appeals to Providence in the wrong place and at the wrong time. Neither do we believe in these

continual quotations from Scripture. We do not believe, either you or I or anybody else here, in the man who holds the Bible in one hand and the Mauser rifle in the other. (Cheers.) And another bit of advice I should like to give you is this—if you meet a gentleman, a somewhat aged gentleman whose name begins with a K, anywhere down Pretoria way, I ask you to make him sing Psalms out of the wrong side of his mouth—(cheers)—and as to his cant, drive it down his throat with a dose of lyddite—(cheers)—and three inches of bayonet to keep it there. (Prolonged cheers.)"

Imperialism in America.

(*The Speaker*, July 28, 1900.)

* * * The words are worthy of note, and may be commended to the attention of Liberals in Great Britain:—

"The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of Imperialism involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign. * * * We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home."

The reading of this passage was followed, according to the *Louisville Courier Journal*, by long and sustained applause.

"Mark Twain" on England and America

SATIRE ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

(*Westminster Gazette*, December 14, 1900.)

Mark Twain presided at Mr. Winston Churchill's first lecture in New York on Wednesday night, and, according to the *Standard's* correspondent, his introduction was characteristic and impartially severe upon both England and the United States. He referred to Mr. Churchill as his honoured friend, whose English father and American mother made a blend which constituted a perfect man. England and the United States were also kin, even in their sinful wars.

Mr. Churchill disagreed with him regarding the righteousness of the Transvaal war, but that was of no consequence, for perfect agreement existed only in Heaven, where there was room to hope that ultimately the proceedings might be brightened by some differences of opinion.

For years he had been volunteer ambassador to promote alliance of heart and hand between America and the Mother Country. He admired England's unselfish stand for the open door and America's pious support of all open doors not her own. Both had manfully sustained China in not paying such fancy rates for extinguished missionaries as Germany extorted, although willing to take pay in fire-crackers or provinces. China must wait for a revival of prosperity before she can afford any more missionaries. England and the United States also together wept at Port Arthur, while France and Germany helped to hold Japan, and Russia robbed her. He spoke seriously regarding England's timely moral support of the United States in striking the shackles from Cuba, and coupled the United States war in the Philippines with his condemnation of the Transvaal conflict.

Sir Robert Reid on the Merits of the War and Imperialism.

(*Attorney-General in the 1st Liberal Government.*)

HOUSE OF COMMONS ON JANUARY 31, 1900.

(No. 26, *S.A.C.C.'s Publications.*)

* * * They are not soldiers, and they number in the Transvaal about 30,000 men, mostly peasants and farmers. They consist of persons between sixteen and sixty years of age. That is not the kind of people you would expect to find possessing a great army and anxious to found an empire. We have had evidences of their friendliness even since the Jameson Raid, for when we were in difficulties in Rhodesia they offered to send a commando for the purpose of assisting Her Majesty's forces. After the Jameson Raid they endeavoured to prevail upon Her Majesty's Government to cancel the charter, and place under the stronger and firmer Imperial authority the whole of the territory called Rhodesia.

After the Hague Conference we ought not to forget that the Blue-books are full of the most persistent and passionate appeals for arbitration upon points of difference—appeals which cannot but have been sincere, as they were constantly repeated; and I say it is idle after that to suggest, without a fragment of evidence, that these men have been animated by an ambition to drive us out of South Africa. The Free Staters are also supposed to be parties to this newly-discovered conspiracy. They have been our friends for years, and no one has made more strenuous efforts for peace than President Steyn. Not only this, but when Mr. Reitz, who is now the State Secretary of the Transvaal, was President of the Orange Free State not many years ago, he refused to accept the Presidency until he had ascertained that an Englishman—Sir George Grey—was unwilling to accept the position, which would have been willingly given to him by those who are now supposed to be a conspiring State.

* * * In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner wrote a dispatch upon the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, in which he dwelt with emphasis upon the loyalty of the Dutch in Cape Colony, as well as those of British descent; and in May, 1899, the right hon. gentleman who is now First Lord of the Admiralty made an excellent speech, in which he pointed with legitimate pride and enthusiasm, to the loyalty of the Dutch in Cape Colony, who were then in a majority, as they are now, in the Cape Parliament. I will only remind the House of the reasons which justified the First Lord of the Admiralty in making this statement seven months ago. This disloyal State made a grant of £30,000 a year in 1898 to support the Imperial Navy, and handed over Simons Bay for the benefit of Her Majesty's forces. * * *

It is said sometimes that the armaments of the Boers are evidence of this conspiracy. * * *

In 1893 the expenditure was £17,000; in 1894, £28,000; in 1895, £87,000, and that was the year of the Drifts Question, the year of the Johannesburg revolution, and the year at the end of which was the Jameson Raid. In 1896 the expenditure was £494,000; in 1897, £396,000; and in the first nine months of 1898 it was £163,000. The supposed policy of driving the British into the sea is a myth—an invention fabricated for the purpose of excusing the consequences of the fatal policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued for the last four or five years. The Boers are fighting

under the influence of one of the most powerful feelings which can animate human nature; they are fighting, as they believe, to save their country from foreign domination, and if any man wonders at their military success and their military prowess he has only to look back upon the history of Scotland, or Switzerland, or Holland, or the United States, and there he will find what is the true value of the stimulus of patriotism. * * *

I believe every Dutchman in South Africa, and a very large number of persons on the continent of Europe, whether rightly or wrongly, believe that the Raid was organised with the complicity of the Colonial Secretary. We are not entitled to accept suspicion for proof, nor are we entitled to accuse where our duty really is to inquire; but it cannot be forgotten that this disgraceful Raid was followed by a committee of inquiry, which I say, in the face of the House, was a scandal to the House of Commons, dishonouring to the House and dishonouring to the country. * * *

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It was the fatal persuasion of the Government that the policy of menace and brag would succeed. That was the real cause which led to the deplorable position in which we now find ourselves. And what are the consequences? Some of the consequences which are apparent are the enormous expenditure of money, the serious danger of complications abroad, and the loss of thousands of lives of brave men on both sides, all of whom have perished needlessly and uselessly, for their death will heal no feuds and advance no cause of humanity. * * *

If Imperialism means sober pride in the great empire we control, a most earnest desire to knit together in the bond of friendship the

various populations that belong to it, a firm determination to preserve the integrity of our empire at all costs, and the using of the means of advancing civilisation among all kinds and conditions of men, then there is no one more of an Imperialist than I am. But if it means departing from the old and honoured tradition of this country to respect the freedom of other nations, even if they be small nations, and to advance rather than to retard liberty, which, from the most recent developments, I am afraid is its true and significant meaning, then it is the duty of every honest citizen of this country to destroy that spirit, because, otherwise, that spirit is *certain to destroy us*.

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Mr. Burns was merciless in his attacks on the new Imperialist and the new Imperialism. "Has a change come over the English people in their policy towards foreign nations?" * * * Was that change good? He would say "No," unconditionally. * * *

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"In the sight of God and man we really announced the War when we sent out forces while we professed to be negotiating, and announced an ultimatum which we did not send, merely that we might gain time in the game of military preparation."

"Sir, I am sick of this cry about 'seeing it through.' I have heard many immoral cries since I have been in public life, but this beats them all. * * *

"If there is no option but to do wrong, let us shut up all our churches and chapels, cease canting about religion and civilisation, and certainly at once disband the Liberal party, which, unless it be what Mr. Gladstone called it, 'a great instrument for good,' is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." * * *

Mr. Bryce on Liberal Imperialism.

SPEECH AT ABERDEEN.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1900.)

Differences of view as to matters of fact must, of course, be sometimes expected, especially in a party which cherishes freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. They arose at the time of the Crimean War, which Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden opposed, while most of the Liberals supported it. Everybody now admitted that Bright and Cobden were right, and the differences produced no permanent split in the Liberal party. * * *

Does anyone propose to abandon those dominions, or any part of them? I know of no such person within the Liberal party. We hear of a sect called "Little Englanders," who are supposed to wish to narrow the Empire and restrict our action within our own islands. Who comprise this sect? Do you know them? I don't. I do not speak to defend myself, because I do not think I have ever been myself accused of being a Little Englander. Indeed, I may tell you that nearly twenty years ago I was one of those who first joined in forming the Imperial Federation League—an organisation intended to strengthen our ties with the colonies—and that I worked zealously for it for many years. * * *

There is no man in the Liberal party holding any responsible position, so far as I know, who desires to circumscribe the influence of Britain abroad, or who is indifferent to the maintenance of our power and the discharge of our Imperial duties. * * *

To justify its existence the British Empire must be based on principles that will promote the happiness of those we govern, and will not injure our own character as a governing nation. What are those principles? The first of them is justice, the strict adherence to legal rights, the same treatment of weak States as of strong ones; no bullying; no abuse of the vast power that we command. The next is humanity—the considerate treatment of subjects, and especially of native races. The British Government has on the whole behaved well to the native and semi-civilised races, but our colonists are sometimes harsh to coloured men, and need to be kept in control, and sometimes even where oppression is checked there is an insolence which wounds the feelings of the subject race. * * *

Self-governing institutions have proved the surest means of attaching the colonies to the Mother Country and of avoiding the friction which must arise if you try to control them from a distance. You cannot permanently hold down or coerce communities of European race. * * *

Lord Salisbury some years ago started a theory that the British Empire must go on advancing or else it would perish. He thinks it is like a bicycle, which must fall when it comes to a standstill. It is an awkward result of this doctrine that when there is no more room for expansion—a time must come, perhaps soon, when there will be no more room—the Empire will begin to decline. But let us turn from such fanciful theories and look at the matter in a practical spirit. Every annexation costs money and brings in its train fresh responsibilities. Sometimes the territory annexed is worth the cost, sometimes it is not. * * *

Such possessions are Canada, and Australia, and New Zealand, and such possession would the Argentine territories in South America have been but for the blundering—to call it by no worse name—of an incapable British general early in this century. * * *

India is a splendid possession, and, great as are the responsibilities it imposes, and though it suffers from calamities which we are powerless to avert, we may well look with satisfaction upon what we have done for India. Our South African colonies are elevated enough to be a home for European settlers, but other parts are of more doubtful value. Few of us will live to see the time when the vast sums we are expending on Uganda, for instance, will come back to us in revenue or in trade, though I admit, as one of the Cabinet which was responsible for the final decision to retain Uganda, that it had become, as things stood, practically impossible to renounce it. Besides, Uganda is, after all, a rich country. But the Soudan, west and south of Khartoum, which we have recently acquired, nominally for Egypt, is neither rich nor healthy. It is an arid desert, with here and there strips along the river banks which are fertile indeed but desolated by fevers. What profit can be expected from such a country commensurate with the responsibilities it involves? * * *

As for our tropical dominions, protect and govern as well as you can those you have got, but do not go hunting for more. * * *

One of the reasons why we may rejoice at the impulse which volunteering has recently received is that if it continues it will silence any cry for conscription and avert any large and costly permanent additions to the standing army. But an Imperialism which is neither sane nor unaggressive must mean immense additions to the standing army, because it will mean the jealousy and the hatred of foreign Powers. * * *

Would not nine out of every ten Liberals accept the principles already stated as forming the basis of a rational and practical Imperialism, conforming to the traditions of the Liberal party? * * *

How baseless is the charge against the Liberal party of having neglected our Imperial interests you know as well as I do. That charge dates from 1876, and was founded on the attitude which Liberals took up when Lord Beaconsfield wished to draw the country into war for the Turks. Mr. Gladstone resisted, and was violently denounced. Everyone now admits that Mr. Gladstone was right. The Empire has enormously expanded under Liberal Governments. * * *

It was by Liberal Ministers that those self-governing constitutions were given to the colonies which have made the colonies not only loyal but forward and eager to help the mother country. * * *

Take the case of China, whose future raises questions of far more material and commercial

importance than those which have arisen in South Africa. There has been no sign of division among Liberals with regard to the policy we ought to pursue in China. The truth is that within the Liberal party there are very few Jingoese. Just as few of us would fail to assert the power and duty of Britain to maintain her rights everywhere. Those of us who are most anxious that we should be free from the stain of injustice or aggression will, I trust, never want the courage to draw the sword in a cause of whose rightfulness we are convinced. No less do I trust that the day will never come when Liberals will cease to love justice. * * *

Begging for our Soldiers' "Necessaries."

(I would not wish, for one moment, to detract from the valuable services which private citizens have rendered to our gallant troops; but, is it creditable to our Government to give occasion for the following appeals?)—H.J.O.

(Daily Telegraph, April 19, 1900.)

Miss H— is in want of flannel shirts, Cardigan waistcoats, drawers, &c., for the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, to be despatched on April 28th. All parcels will be gratefully received and acknowledged by her from 73, Cadogan-gardens, S.W.

(Idem., April 16, 1900.)

For the 9th Lancers now in South Africa flannel shirts and woollen underwear are urgently required. All gifts will be thankfully acknowledged by Lady D—, G—, W—.

(Standard, June 4, 1900.)

Sir,—I venture to ask you kindly to allow me to appeal through *The Standard* for further help towards supplying our troops in South Africa with comforts of every kind? The need for warm clothing is very pressing and very urgent, now that the cold weather has set in, and contributions of flannel or flannelette shirts, pyjama sleeping suits, woollen socks, slippers, lamb's-wool drawers, and Cardigans will be thankfully received and forwarded at once to the front. * * *

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

C— C— B—.

Groote Schuur, Capetown, May 14.

Mr. Maclean, M.P., on his Political Position.

(Strong indictment of Mr. Chamberlain and of the Government's Foreign Policy, by a prominent Liberal Unionist.)

(Manchester Guardian, April 15, 1900.)

Mr. Maclean, M.P. for Cardiff, has addressed the following letter to a constituent:—

"You tell me it is decided that there shall be a general election in October, and you urge that it is time for me to put forward that vindication of my public conduct which the constituency of Cardiff expects at my hands. I think it is desirable, now the session has closed, that I should take stock of my own position, and leave the electors in no doubt as to what I intend to do. * * *

"And I am assured that Mr. Balfour will go to the House of Lords, and that the leadership of the House of Commons will fall to Mr. Chamberlain. This would be a convenient arrangement, no doubt, to suit certain ambitions; but the Cecils have never been good at giving up power, and as the time for his retirement draws near I suspect that Lord Salisbury will discover a thousand good reasons for putting it off. * * *

DECLINING POPULARITY OF THE WAR.

"Many thousands of invalided soldiers from the front have returned to England—all with the same tale, that they are heartily sick of the prolonged, ignoble, and costly war, and loathe the very name of South Africa. They have brought home no recollections to be proud of. * * *

"Our military system has collapsed, and the world has seen with astonishment a handful of peasants, owning nothing but their rifles and their horses, who can stand up for ten long months against the whole might of the British Empire, and who have so wrecked and almost destroyed an army of a quarter of a million of men that we can now only reinforce their ranks by sending out reservists and militiamen. Yet, in face of these calamities, and of fresh enterprises rashly undertaken, the House of Commons has made no sign of remonstrance. Whatever the Government has asked for has been voted by overwhelming majorities, and everything in the form of effective criticism has been postponed until the war is over. * * *

"No doubt the Government has made the fortunes of certain people—of the Kynochs, for instance, of Birmingham, and the colliery owners of South Wales,—and Mr. Chamberlain naturally considers that one good turn deserves another. But the prosperity of the gentlemen who have made large fortunes out of the copious supply of munitions of war does not extend to the community at large. It seems to me that before going to the country the Government would do well to clear up some of the mess it has made.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

"What, for instance, is its programme for the future administration of South Africa? A boast is made in the Queen's Speech that her Majesty's troops have occupied the capitals of the two Dutch Republics. But they only command the ground on which they are encamped. The whole Dutch population have been hopelessly alienated and embittered, and the language used by the English colonists who are agitating to substitute for the mild and courteous treatment which Lord Roberts extends to the vanquished the domineering rule of Sir Alfred Milner does not bode well for the restoration of harmony between the two races which must hereafter live together in South Africa. The ridiculous fabrications which the official censor allows to be forwarded from Pretoria and the frantic messages received from Capetown show that there is a party in the colony which will be satisfied with nothing less than the permanent subjugation of the Boers, and which is angry because the men who have taken the lead in fighting for their independence against us have not yet all been shot or imprisoned.

"Now, we cannot do worse than take colonial opinion for our guide in this matter. If we accept the advice of those English colonists, who closely resemble the Orangemen of Ulster, the wounds caused by the war will never be healed.

"We cannot afford to pursue the old Roman practice—*Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*.

The Boers have yielded to superior force; but they are still unconquered, and a people who have made so great a fight for freedom cannot be kept in a permanent state of social and political inferiority. I regret to notice in high quarters a tendency to maintain after the war the overbearing policy which caused the war. The Boers have already been most unfairly treated.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY AND THE "INEVITABLENESS" OF THE WAR.

"The war was only inevitable because Mr. Chamberlain had resolved that it should be inevitable. Mr. Kruger had displayed the utmost patience, and always in his demands kept within the bounds of the Convention of 1884. When Parliament adjourned at the end of July, 1899, it appeared as if a peaceful arrangement was assured. But Mr. Chamberlain was left to himself for three months, and he used the interval so well that he fairly worried the Dutch States into declaring war. It is now said that the whole Dutch population of South Africa had been busily preparing to drive us into the sea. But this is merely an afterthought. * * *

THE BOERS' UNPREPAREDNESS.

"But this war was begun on our side in the same arrogant and vainglorious spirit that had characterised our diplomacy. The Boers were not prepared. The numbers they could put in the field have always been overrated. Mr. Winston Churchill, writing from Pretoria, said that the Boers had opened the campaign with great trepidation, and Mr. Bennet Burleigh says that the enemy's force which overran all Southern Natal as far as Durban never amounted to more than 8,000 men. Their weakness was shown from the outset by their inability to follow up any advantage, and the utmost they could ever accomplish was to hold their own. * * *

"Of course, the arming of the Transvaal was continued with feverish haste after the Jameson Raid. That raid, in my opinion, would have been quite justifiable if it had really been undertaken by the Johannesburg people themselves and their friends in Cape Colony. But the damning fact was soon revealed that an insurrection at Johannesburg had been planned by Mr. Rhodes in collusion with the Colonial Office in London. Mr. Fairfield's letter to Mr. Chamberlain in the South African Blue-book about the 'ugly business' that was close at hand has always seemed to me absolutely conclusive on that point.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S "BAD FAITH."

"Neither was Mr. Chamberlain's subsequent conduct that of a man whose hands were clean. Who can have forgotten the insolent mockery with which in the House of Commons he treated Mr. Kruger's demand for compensation—a demand which, if it had been put forward by America or Russia, the Colonial Secretary would have hastened to comply with on his bended knees? Then there came the silly and irritating proposal, which Mr. Chamberlain made in all seriousness, and with a simple and childlike confidence in his little House of Commons tricks, that Mr. Kruger should come to London in order to abandon his position as an independent ruler, and be converted into an Indian rajah.

"Then came the conference at Bloemfontein. Mr. Kruger, uneasy, as he well might be, offered concessions which were not satisfactory, but which he subsequently wished to enlarge. What always struck me, however, as a convincing proof of his good faith was that at the end of the conference,

at which he sincerely believed he had given away a good deal, he said to Sir Alfred Milner, 'Now, I hope we shall begin to understand one another better,' or words to that effect. Will it be believed that to this plaintive appeal the imperious Englishman, who had been well coached beforehand by the Colonial Secretary, answered not a word? Nor was this all. A still more convincing proof of Mr. Chamberlain's bad faith happened about the same time in my own experience. Lord Windsor, who is one of the patron saints of Cardiff, and who also, by virtue of his seat in the Midlands, falls within the Birmingham sphere of influence, is the president of the South African Association—a kind of duplicate of Mr. Rhodes's league in South Africa.

"It comes to this, that you are increasing your engagements without increasing your strength; and if you increase engagements without increasing strength, you diminish strength, you abolish strength, you really reduce the Empire, and do not increase it. You render it less capable of performing its duties; you render it an inheritance less precious to hand on to future generations." * * *

"I have now given you five principles of foreign policy. Let me give you a sixth, and then I have done. And that sixth is that in my opinion foreign policy, subject to all the limitations that I have described—the Foreign policy of England—should always be inspired by the love of freedom." * * *

"While the conference at Bloemfontein was going on Lord Windsor wrote and asked me to be the principal speaker at a public meeting it was proposed to hold in Cardiff in support of the Outlanders' agitation. I wrote back asking this amiable nobleman—who, I am sure, meant no harm, and acted in perfect good faith—whether he did not think this agitation should be dropped till we knew the issue of the Bloemfontein conference, and he replied that I was very much mistaken if I supposed that the Government—that is to say, of course, the Colonial Office—did not wish the agitation to be kept up. Let me do Lord Windsor the justice to say that on my remonstrance he dropped his proposed meeting. But the fact remains that while Mr. Chamberlain was affecting to negotiate at Bloemfontein he was secretly promoting in England a hostile movement against the Transvaal. Surely, never was a war promoted with such a combination of treachery and rashness?

THE CHINA DIFFICULTY.

"It would be wrong if I were to pretend that my estrangement from the present Coalition Ministry is confined to the difference I have with them as regards the war in South Africa. The whole of their Imperial policy inspired me with the greatest uneasiness and repugnance. On the West Coast of Africa the Colonial Office is engaged in the suppression of a formidable native rising, provoked by our rigid and costly administration, and against which one of their own servants—Sir David Chalmers—had warned them in vain.

"In China, where for nearly a century we had enjoyed a practical monopoly of a most valuable trade with a peace-loving, ingenious, and industrious people, we are now being dragged along by the other European Powers to suppress the first revolt of the East against the organised brigandage of Europe. Our natural pity for the impending fate of the Ministers at Peking should not make us forget the fact that, according to the explicit testimony of the German Secretary of State, the lives of those Ministers were in no

danger till they had called upon the armed force under Admiral Seymour to advance to their rescue, and that they summoned aid, not to save themselves, but to enable them to dictate a policy to the Chinese Government and to wring from China concessions which were fatal to the independent life of the Chinese people.

"We have now actually gone to the length of accepting a German field-marshal as commander-in-chief of the Allied army, although our interests in China outbalanced those of all the other Powers by ten to one, and although the German Emperor has raised the barbarous cry that no quarter shall be given, and has ordered his troops to open a way for the triumph of Christianity in China. These are not the aims of the English people, but I presume that Lord Salisbury has given way to Germany on the principle, openly proclaimed by Mr. A. J. Balfour two years ago, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' But that is not a maxim on which the affairs of a great Empire can be conducted with advantage.

REFUSAL OF AID TO INDIA.

"Finally, I condemn in the strongest terms the selfishness of the English Treasury in refusing to give a grant of men and money to India. It used to be the boast of the Indian Government that, whatever happened in times of famine, human life at least would be preserved. But this year Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have looked helplessly on while two millions of human beings have died of starvation and disease. To all these things the Government, in the frenzy of its war fever, has been indifferent. Every man on the Ministerial side of the House who has ventured to criticise the war has been a marked man, and he has only spoken in the House of Commons at the risk of being shouted down by the well-drilled army of knights, baronets, and placemen by whom Mr. Chamberlain is surrounded.

"The central organisation of the Liberal Unionist party in London has instituted a systematic persecution of anything in the nature of free speech, and in my case—which does not stand alone—I have been deliberately prevented from meeting my constituents face to face, and an intrigue has been carried on, to which I regret to say Mr. Balfour, with all his gentlemanly instincts, has not been a stranger, for hustling me out of the Unionist party. So far was this carried that Mr. Austin Chamberlain, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, made a speech at Glasgow in which he taunted me with not daring to face my constituents.

The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, see, they bark at me.

"Not face my constituents! Why, that is precisely what I have been trying in vain to do for the last twelve months. I once more challenge the officials of the Unionist party in Cardiff to call a public meeting at which I shall be guaranteed a fair hearing. If such a meeting, to which I have a right to appeal, pronounce against me, I promise the electors that I will not offer myself at the next election as Unionist candidate for Cardiff.

Extracts from

"**Liberalism and The Empire.**"

"Colonial and Foreign Policy."

(By J. L. HAMMOND.)

(From pages 168-72, 183-5, 193-206.)

Unlike certain statesmen of modern times who,
in their haste to conquer maps or extinguish

nationalities in the Dark Continent, repudiate all responsibilities to the general system of European rights, Mr. Gladstone was proud that England had a share in the civilization of Western Europe, and that she had used her influence effectively to champion or safeguard the rights of nationality.

* * *
Mr. Gladstone during the debate on the Don Pacifico incident:—

"Lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilized world, and I for my part am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and her pride if she should be found separating herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral support which the convictions of mankind afford; if the day shall come when she may continue to excite the wonder and fear of other nations, but in which she shall have no part in their affection and regard. Let us recognise, and recognise with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong, the principles of brotherhood among nations, and of their sacred independence." * * *

None of these Liberal principles are to be found in the new ideal of national conduct and the new moral canon presented by Imperialism. The moral syllogism which it applies to politics runs thus: The British Empire is the greatest blessing known to mankind. Whatever helps to extend that Empire is good. Therefore, although a particular course of action may be immoral, in the sense that it is a breach of faith, or that it is an attack upon national rights, or that it implies violence, it becomes not merely innocent, but positively virtuous, if it helps to extend the Empire. * * *

There are certain things argues the Liberal, which our very strength makes it at once impolitic and unchivalrous for the British Empire to do. * * *

For one of the most noticeable features of the modern crisis is the action of the ecclesiastical conscience. Whilst Mr. Herbert Spencer follows Voltaire in denouncing aggression, our clergy is, for the most part, content to fill the part of the French Archbishop whom Voltaire so roundly attacked for promising their benisons to popular wars. * * *

Mr. Morley in his great speech at Oxford described "pulpit militarism" as perhaps the worst of all the symptoms of retrograde humour in the community. * * *

Mr. Rhodes, after securing the transfer of British Bechuanaland to Cape Colony in 1895, made a slight disturbance the pretext for a great campaign, hunted, shot down, and starved out the Bechuana, and deported 2,000 of them to Capetown. The Chartered Company introduced, as Sir Richard Martin reported, a system of forced labour into Rhodesia. These things were done in the name of England. * * *

In the moral revolution which has made the Imperialist, all sense of nationality has perished. An attachment to national tradition, a scrupulous jealousy for the honour of your country, a desire to express and preserve her individuality, the qualities which make up the temperament of nationalism, find no place in the psychology of the megalomaniac. * * *

We have seen Mr. Chamberlain one day at the throat of Europe; the next at the feet of Germany. * * *

Mr. Chamberlain himself changes moods within

a few hours. In the same speech in the middle of which he offered our hand to Germany, he told Europe, in his peroration, that England and America divided all that there was of the higher civilization and humanitarian sentiment in mankind. (Birmingham, 1898.) * * *

Whatever the mood of the moment, we have contrived so to indulge it as to insult our neighbours and increase our military expenditure. * *

When Russia seized Port Arthur Lord Salisbury pitied her folly, and Mr. Chamberlain cursed her double-dealing. Mr. Chamberlain said we had been swindled; Lord Salisbury thought we had got the best of the bargain, whilst the country followed in bewilderment the Government's zigzag career and conflicting apologies. * * *

Liberalism and Imperialism differ in their morals, their manners, and their ideals. Let us illustrate the contrast by two final examples. Liberalism was a peaceful influence; Imperialism means war, and war for ignoble purposes. Cobden and Bright never dictated the foreign policy of an English Government, but they taught England two great doctrines: the first the doctrine of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of another nation; the second the doctrine that commerce flourishes on peace and international goodwill. * * *

Sir Spencer Walpole in his "History of England from 1815" enumerates thirteen reforms to illustrate the growth of more beneficent and kindlier sentiments in the forty years following the overthrow of Napoleon. In the case of more than half of these reforms the example was set by France, and in the case of the rest the example was set by England. * * *

But this historical association and this community of ideas count for nothing to our modern Imperialists. * * *

Mr. Chamberlain has never concealed his hatred of France. He wished for war over West Africa as well as over the Soudan; he addressed an insolent reprimand to her at Leicester; alone of all our public men he was guilty of the grave irregularity of commenting upon a case awaiting trial in that country. * * *

The objection is brought against us to-day, as it was brought against Liberals in the past, that we are indifferent to the interests of the Empire. Mr. Gladstone had to answer the accusation in 1881: "While we are opposed to Imperialism, we are devoted to the Empire, and we who are now in Government as your agents will to the best and utmost and latest of our power, whilst studying peace with all the world, endeavour to persuade men into the observance of the laws of justice and equity."

Mr. Gladstone never allowed this cheap sneer to affect his conduct. Take his words when he was defending the retrocession of the Transvaal:

"We have not been afraid of reproach at home, as we have not been afraid of calumny in the colonies, on account of the over indulgence which, as was said, we extended to the Boers of the Transvaal. * * * It is a common reproach against us, the Liberals of England, that we are indifferent to the greatness of the Empire. One thing I will say: I hope the Liberals of England will never seek to consolidate the Empire by ministering to the interests of class instead of the public. And I hope they will never seek to extend the Empire by either violently wresting or fraudulently obtaining the territories of other people." * * *

"I will not condescend to make it a part of

controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured through my youth and manhood till my hairs are grey. In that faith and practice I have lived; in that faith and practice I will die."

(Here is another fine passage: note the contrast to recent electioneering methods.—H.J.O.)

"I have spoken, and I must speak in very strong terms indeed, of the acts done by my opponents, but I will never ascribe those acts to base motives. I will never say they do them from vindictiveness; I will never say they do them from passion; I will never say they do them from a sordid love of office. I have no right to use such words; I have no right to entertain such sentiments; I repudiate and abjure them. I give them credit for patriotic motives; I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us." * * *

And to show finally Mr. Gladstone's whole-hearted dislike for the thing as well as the word Imperialism, let us recall his own statement of his principles of foreign policy:—

"I first give you what I think the right principles of foreign policy. The first thing is to foster the strength of the Empire by just legislation and economy at home, thereby producing two of the great elements of national power—namely, wealth, which is a physical element, and union and contentment, which are moral elements—and to reserve the strength of the Empire, to reserve the expenditure of that strength, for great and worthy occasions abroad. Here is my first principle of foreign policy: Good government at home. My second principle of foreign policy is this: That its aim ought to be to preserve to the nations of the world—and especially were it but for shame when we recollect the sacred name we bear as Christians, especially to the Christian nations of the world—the blessings of peace. That is my second principle." * * *

SO-CALLED GLORY.

Special War Correspondent.

(Daily News, May 15, 1900.)

ROSENDAL, EASTER TUESDAY.

In England, just at the present moment, most men are too full of the hot blood which comes of fervid worship at the shrine of glory to think coolly of things which Englishmen would do well to remember. He who worships the goddess Glory becomes as surely drunken as he who is filled with new wine. Mobs of men go mad in such seasons, and woe to England, for there is no Gladstone in the realm to lead the people. Coolness will come with the fulness of time, but the hour is not yet. Out here it is different. Sitting with an army bivouacked around me—an army, not a mob—grim, silent soldiers, ready to fight and die; not a yelling, frothing multitude, more ready to shed beer than blood—sitting here with the rock-crowned kopjes on one side, and the far-reaching veldt on the other, a man does not feel the riot of war in his brain as men do in crowded cities. Here, where at any moment we may hear the devilish music of the deep-toned guns, a man can sit and wait, and waiting, think, and these are the thoughts that come to me. * * *

(Some of the younger bloods are thinking of the V.C. they mean to win. For myself, I cannot help thinking of the little splash of crimson I have seen so often on a man's temple, of the strong bony fingers buried knuckle deep in the soft soil, in the last death-clutch, as the soul has slipped out of the little hole in the centre of the crimson splash, round which the sharp splinters of jagged bone, like broken needle-points, project. Beautiful war, glorious war—a moment of mortal anguish, a hole in the earth, and a soul on its way to judgment!)* * *

Is it the intention of the people to sit still until a war with one of the really great Powers demonstrates that our present methods are absolutely rotten? Or is the nation ripe for Army reform? * * *

This war has, perhaps, already cost us close upon one hundred millions of money. It is going to cost pretty nearly double that amount before the trouble is ended, and we should get something practical for our outlay. * * *

I know that it is a fool's trick to find fault, unless prepared to suggest a remedy. The remedy I suggest is that as soon as there is a vacancy in a regiment for a commissioned officer, the post be given, not as a favour, not as a mark of grace, but as a matter of right, to the Senior Sergeant in the regiment. Let him thenceforth "take his step" with any other officer, even to the rank of Field Marshal. If this is done, we will always have matured men to officer our troops in the field in time of war. They may not be too graceful at a ball; they may not shine at fashionable receptions, they may not even know just how to handle a knife and fork daintily at mess; but they will know how to put heart into a lot of panic-stricken recruits, who are funking in a tight place. * * *

Will the British people take hold of this matter now, and for a little space leave off boasting of their greatness and glory? If they do not wrestle with it at this moment they will not profit by the lessons taught them by the war.

A. G. HALES.

Mr. Hales's Case Justified by the Facts.

(*Daily News*, August 2, 1900.)

The *St. James's Gazette* has received the following correspondence:—

"Sir,—My son had had some eighteen months of Boer sheep farming in Africa previous to his volunteering for the war, and I must say it is very hard reading for parents of young fellows going out to fight for their country that they are 'always hungry,' and can stand all the hard work and privations willingly, to say nothing of risks, if only they were fed. I could give you many quotations from his letters which we have almost word for word with Mr. Hales.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"July 30, 1900."

"E. H. HOLDER."

The Next Step.

By DR. R. SPENCE WATSON.

(*The Speaker*, July 28, 1900.)

This has been a Government of blood. Ever since it came into office this poor old country of

ours has been at war, or what has been called war. * * *

We have had "a spirited foreign policy" with a vengeance. We have had wars in the North, the West, the Centre, and the South of Africa, and in the North-east of India, and have three wars on hand at the present moment. Every one of these might have been avoided, would have been avoided by any Government in which reason, honour, and common sense were allowed to have sway. They have cost an enormous number of valuable lives, and an amount of money which if expended in any useful way would have permanently lightened and brightened the lives of the whole people. We have gained nothing by them, and we have lost heavily in our international credit. Where we have fought native Africans, the so-called fights have been hideous *battues*. Where we have fought white men we have required to have four or five men to each one of our opponents. Where we have tried diplomacy, we have chosen agents who only understood the absurd arts of bluff and bullying. In killed and wounded this "spirited" Government is responsible for tens of thousands of lives maimed or destroyed.

Why the British Soldier is Sacrificed?

(*The Star*, June 1, 1900.)

* * * It is not given to many common soldiers to die for the paupers of Park Lane. The blood of the Gordons and the City Imperial Volunteers cements the West End palaces of the South African millionaires. It is on the lintels of their great mansions.

Here is a theme meet for the muse of the Poet Laureate. Why tarrieth Mr. Austin?

The Heroism of the Boers.

AN AMERICAN OPINION.

(*South African News*, July 18, 1900.)

Writing upon the day following the occupation of Pretoria by British troops, the *Times of Philadelphia* said:—

"The remnant of the brave little army of the South African Republic has kept the British forces fighting up to the very threshold of Pretoria. Constantly outnumbered and surrounded, the Boers have nevertheless put up a marvellously gallant defence, and at the last have slipped away from their capital, leaving Lord Roberts to enter a deserted town, while they, with their guns and ammunition, have taken up a new position in the mountains. * * *

"All England is rejoicing to-day over the fall of Pretoria. It is no glory to England. Her soldiers have been brave and enduring, but the resources of the two parties to the contest were so widely disproportioned, that like the handful of Spartans who withstood the Persian hosts, it is the vanquished rather than the victors whom the world will acclaim. * * *

"While the victors rejoice to-day, the sympathies of the world are with the vanquished. And it is not the Boers now, but England whose conduct is to pass before the judgment of mankind."

Carlyle on War.

(While engaged on the arrangement of matter for this section I remembered that Carlyle had dealt with the subject, and on referring to his works I find, in "SARTOR RESARTUS," the following treatment of it).

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "Natural Enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them: she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois.

"Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot, in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending: till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire!' is given: and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

"Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

THE REALITIES OF WAR.

I had not intended to put under this heading other examples than those mainly affecting our own troops. The two subjoined reports of farm-burning, recently to hand, seem to indicate a worse condition of things than prevailed when Lord Roberts was in command. As they are written by responsible persons—our own officers—bound to be in sympathy with our Army, I decide to include them.

The Boer soldiers have their own miseries to support, as our men have, and we see what their women and children are undergoing. During the months of December and January (1900-1), news from the front has been very scanty, and we are in

ignorance of the "new methods" of procedure. We have learned, however, that thousands of women and children are reported to have been taken long distances in open railway trucks, and that through fright and anguish many premature births have occurred during their journeyings. These "misérables" are herded in large camps and are guarded by armed men.

Surely every decent-minded person must be stung with remorse to know that our brave officers and soldiers, at the command of incompetent statesmen and diplomatists, are reduced to such distasteful and degrading duties.—H. J. O.

"A Canadian Officer on the Conduct of the War."

FROM A LETTER CONTRIBUTED TO THE "OTTAWA CITIZEN."

(*Manchester Guardian*, February 23, 1901).

"Belfast, November 21.

"Just after I wrote my last letter we were ordered out for a five days' trek, and it was announced that we would leave for home as soon as we returned. It must be confessed that a good many of us Canadians felt rather blue. A month ago we would have welcomed the order with joy, but on nearly every trek somebody must get hit, and it seemed rough to think that some good lads might be cut off at the last moment with 'the trooper on the tide' for home. However, the men did not seem to mind it a bit (it's always the other fellow who is going to stop the bullets!), and with us it was difficult to convince enough men they were sick to furnish a camp guard. * * *

"Besides, they all had a little account to settle with our old friends the enemy up there; and we would not have been quite satisfied if we had gone home without wiping it off the slate.

"Bright and early on Tuesday morning we marched off. The force was the same as that which went to Lilliefontein, except that for infantry we had the Gordons and the Royal Irish, two of the best fighting regiments in the service. The Canadians, as usual, were in the advance guard, with the 5th Lancers and two pom-poms. Colonel King commanded the advance and General Smith-Dorrien the main body. * * *

"The valley is about six miles wide and twenty-five miles long. It is fertile and well-watered, and full of fine farms. * * *

"There were a number of very fine farmhouses near by, and we saw the Boers leaving them and making off. The Provost Marshal came up from the main body, removed the Boer women and children with their bedding, and proceeded to burn or blow up the houses. From that on during the rest of the trek, which lasted four days, our progress was like the old-time forays in the Highlands of Scotland two centuries ago. The country is very like Scotland, and we moved on from valley to valley 'lifting' cattle and sheep, burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and cry beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. It was the first touch of Kitchener's iron hand. And we were the knucklers. It was a terrible thing to see, and I don't know that I want to see another trip of the sort, but we could not help approving the policy,

though it rather revolted most of us to be the instruments. * * *

"We burned a track about six miles wide through these fertile valleys, and completely destroyed the village of Wilpoort and the town of Dullstroom. The column left a trail of fire and smoke behind it that could be seen at Belfast. Some of the houses that were too solidly built to burn were blown up. Away off on a flank you would see a huge toadstool of dust, rocks, and rafters rise solemnly into the air and then subside in a heap of debris. Ten seconds afterwards a tremendous roar like the report of a cow gun would rend the air, and the dust would blow slowly away. Many of the houses were surrounded by beautiful gardens abloom with roses, lillies, and hollyhocks, and embowered in fruit trees.

"As we sat by the guns we would see a troop of mounted men streaming off towards a farm. With my glasses I could see the women and children bundled out, their bedding thrown through the windows after them. The soldiers would carry it out of reach of the flames, and the next moment smoke would commence curling up from the windows and doors—at first a faint blue mist, then becoming denser, until it rolled in clouds. The cavalry would ride rapidly away, and the poor women and children, utterly confounded by the sudden visitation, would remain standing in the yard or garden watching their home disappearing in fire and smoke. * * *

"The column marched into Wilpoort, a pretty little village surrounded by hills. The guns were placed on the hills and trained on the place, and the cavalry and mounted infantry rode into it and looted and burned every house and shop except one belonging to a British subject. The flour mill was blown up. We sat on the hills and watched the scene. When the mounted troops rode back they looked like a gang of dissolute pedlars. Their saddles were hung like Christmas trees with shawls, clocks, mandolines, tea-kettles, lamps—every sort of imaginable article—besides chickens, ducks, geese, sucking pigs, vegetables, and agricultural products galore. All we gunners got was the merry 'Ha, ha,' and such unconsidered trifles as the bloated cavalry chose to donate to us. * * *

"On the following morning the troops were up long before daylight and marched off at four o'clock, leaving the baggage and transport in camp under an infantry guard. We had no trouble getting up at the right hour. You could hear alarm clock bells in nearly every heap of blankets, and the veldt hummed like a telephone office (when a soldier loots a house the first thing he

grabs is the clock). In the dim, early dawn the column, nearly all mounted troops, moved swiftly north. We were going to sack and burn the town of Dullstroom.

"Nobody who was there will ever forget that day's work. About seven in the morning our force seized the town after a little fight. The Boers went into the hills around, and there was nobody in the town but women and children. It was a very pretty place, nestling in a valley. The houses had lovely flower gardens, and the roses were in bloom. It was another grand place, but I wasn't introduced to Evangeline if she was there. We seized a hill overlooking the main street and placed all the guns on it, while the cavalry galloped through and skirmished up the hills beyond. The Boers drove in our outposts on the flank and began sniping the guns, and we had all to turn loose, and amid the row of the cannonade and the crackle of the rifle fire the sacking of the place began.

"First there was an ominous bluish haze over the town, and then the smoke rolled up in volumes that could be seen for 50 miles. The Boers on the hills seemed paralysed by the sight and stopped shooting. When the lull came General Smith-Dorrien invited the artillery officers to go down into the place with him on a sort of official appearance—'just tell them you saw me' style of thing. The main street was full of smoke and fiery cinders, and as the flames belched out in huge sheets from one side or the other our horses shied and plunged from side to side.

"The place was very quiet, except for the roaring and crackle of the flames. On the steps of the church were huddled a group of women and children. The children didn't seem to know whether to cry or to be diverted by the spectacle. The women were white, but some of them had spots of red on either cheek and their eyes blazed. Not many were crying.

"The troops were systematically looking the place over, and as they got through with each house they burned it. Our Canadian boys helped the women to get their furniture out, much as they would do at a fire in a village at home. If they saw anything they fancied they would take it ('muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn!'), but they had not the callous nerve to take the people's stuff in front of their faces. Of course, in the case of shops it was different.

"But you should see the Royal Irish on the loot! They helped the people out with their stuff by heaving bureaus bodily through the window, putting pickaxes through melodeons. You'd hear one yell, 'Begorry, Tim, here's a nice carpet. Oi think oi'll take it home for the ould woman. Lind a hand here.' R-r-r-ripp! Up would come a handsome pile carpet in strips. And so the work went on, the officers standing by laughing at the fun their men were having.

"I went into a very pretty little cottage standing in a rose garden on a side street. The M.R.'s and R.C.D.'s were looting it, but really helping the woman out with her stuff more than sacking the place. The woman was quite a good-looking lady-like person, and the house was almost luxuriously furnished. She was breathlessly bustling about saving her valuables and superintending the salvage operations. A big dragoon would come up to her and say in a sheepish sort of way, 'What you want next, lady?' And she would tell them and they would carry it out. As I stood looking on she turned to me and said, 'Oh, how can you be so cruel?' I sympathised with her, and explained it was an order and had to be obeyed.

"She was a good-looking female in distress, and had quite the dramatic style of an ill-used heroine. I certainly was sorry for her—we all were—until the house began to burn and a lot of concealed ammunition exploded and nearly killed some of our men. But all the same it was a sad sight to see—the little homes burning and the rose bushes withering up in the pretty gardens, and the pathetic groups of homeless women and children crying among the ruins as we rode away. * * *

E. W. B. MORRISON.

A Legacy of Hate.

(Morning Leader, February 8, 1901.)

Major Wyndham-Quin CONDEMNS Farm Burning AS Unworthy OF US.

Major Wyndham-Quin, who recently returned to England from the front, where he was serving with the Imperial Yeomanry, has pronounced against the farm-burning policy in the most emphatic way.

"So far as the manner in which the campaign has been carried on is concerned," he stated to a representative of the *Cardiff Evening Express*, "I think that the burning of the farms has been a fatal mistake.

"I have witnessed heartrending scenes when the women and children have been turned out of their homesteads, and but for these acts I believe that long ago we should have had the Boers surrender.

"This burning and destroying has aggravated the evil, and now the Boers who would have come in hate us as they never did."

Asked about the white flag incidents, and if he advocated letting those who fired on our men under those circumstances go free, he replied:

"Certainly not. When farms are used as fortresses they should be destroyed, but not otherwise. It is the burning of the homestead without cause that I protest about.

"I well remember one sad occasion. In the eating-room of a house we had to destroy there was a picture of the Princess of Wales on the wall.

"We have always been taught to regard her as a good woman," said the vrow to me, 'and so we framed the picture and put it in the place of honour; but if this is the thing she countenances we don't believe it.'

"Whereupon," said the major, "she dragged the picture from its place and smashed it into a thousand pieces. It is this burning of farms and houses," he went on to say, "turning the women and children out on to the veldt, which is doing us so much mischief.

"It is not worthy of us, and at the first opportunity I shall raise my voice against it in another place."

Farm Burning: the Soldier's Humanity.

(Daily News, March 2, 1901.)

Mr James Barnes, a well-known American war correspondent, contributes an account of a "farm burning" incident to *The Outlook* (American), which comes as a welcome relief to the grim stories with which our feelings have been harrowed of late.

Mr. Barnes was with the Eleventh Division, which has been encamped for a day or two "beside a little half-dry watercourse, in a country that once had a reputation as a rich farming district." One evening "there had been a sharp little rattle of rifle fire, one Rimington Scout had been killed, and three or four infantry men wounded." The next morning Mr. Barnes rode out to a little white farmhouse standing in a tree-shaded garden, some two miles to the eastward, to see if he could "bargain with the women folk for a fowl or two, or perhaps obtain those longed-for luxuries, soft bread, milk, or eggs." As he approached the farmhouse, he was surprised to meet an English officer with a file of infantry.

"I've got a rotten job," he said shortly. "I'm ordered to set fire to this farmhouse yonder. Some of our mounted men were fired on from the walls and buildings last night. I hope there are no women about. I don't believe much in this burning business."

They went on to the house.

As we approached, we saw that they had all the evidences of belonging to people who were plainly prosperous. * * *

An old lady and a pretty young girl met them at the gate.

"I'm so sorry for what occurred here yesterday," she said. "I begged the Boers not to fire from our garden, but they would do so despite me. I come from the Colony, and so did my husband. * * *

"I hope the war will soon be over; I hope and pray it will," she continued. "We have had enough suffering and destruction already."

The ladies invited the two men into the house and offered them coffee. They were surprised at the evidence of taste and comfort—almost luxury. * * *

The young officer explained his errand, "the perspiration rolling down his face."

"But it was not our fault!" cried the old lady. * * *

"What am I to do if you burn my house?"

"My orders took care of that," said the young officer. "You are to be allowed to take supplies, and I will give you a pass for yourself and servants to Bloemfontein. There the authorities will take care of you, or you can stay here at a neighbour's if you like to."

The officer gave some orders to the men, and they began to remove things from the house. The two women did not stand by idly. It was pitiful to see them carrying out armfuls of clothing and other articles. The soldiers worked without a word. They appeared ashamed of the job also.

When they had got as much out of the house as they could, the two women sat down and began to weep. The officer ordered his sergeant to march his men away, leaving only his soldier-servant. The denouement is best told in Mr. Barnes's own words:—

Now the house was a stone one, and on one side, the gable end, it had but one window high in the peak. The women had stopped weeping, and were watching us. The officer, with the soldiers' assistance (for, of course, I would not bear a hand), dragged the inflammable bale of chaff to the side of the house. He pitched the loose bundles of hay on top of it; but before he had done this, he had taken out his little red order-book and scribbled a few lines on a page and torn it out. The elder woman had taken it.

"My orders were to set fire to the house," he said to me, as if I had expostulated with him.

"Orders are orders," and he repeated it, "to set fire to the house."

Then he took out a silver match-box and struck a match, quickly applying it to the loose end of the bale. A little crackling flame leapt forth.

"Now come," said the officer; "we'll go." And, leading my horse by the bridle, the officer, Judson, and myself walked over the hill after the company. Not one of us looked back over his shoulder, and not a word did I say of the occurrence to my friend again, not a word did I say to any one in connection with the army, and this is the first time the story has been written. But I kept thinking to myself: "If those two able-bodied Kaffirs cannot put out that fire before it has eaten through the foot of solid stone or completely ignited the window-casing above it, they are not worth much!"

And there is just another ending: when I came down on the railway some five months later, I stood at the window of the coach, waiting, glass in hand, to pass this very spot, and I am rejoiced to say that there stood the white farmhouse nestling among its trees, and I could see a woman's figure hanging out some things on the clothes-line. Apparently the Kaffirs were worth something.

Semi-starvation of Women and Children.

(To the Editor of the Daily News.)

Sir,—Surely no more shameful scene ever disgraced a Legislative assembly than that witnessed in the House of Commons on Tuesday night. Ministers of the Crown and representatives of the English people deriding protests against the semi-starvation of Boer women and children! When, after the Hungarian insurrection of 1849, General Haynau, the woman-flogger, visited London he narrowly escaped lynching at the hands of Barclay's draymen. But what mother would not rather a thousand times endure physical torture and indignity than see her helpless little children day after day crying for bread?

There are many of my country people doubtless like myself whose meals are spoilt by tears of shame and sorrow at the thought. One would have imagined, however, that the wives and mothers of England would have raised a unanimous protest against such enormities. And the Church, too! How can any minister of religion unfalteringly read aloud next Sunday the text, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not," etc. Were twentieth century Christianity a moral force instead of a hollow conventionalism, from every pulpit throughout the United Kingdom would be thundered denunciations of this most inhuman and un-English procedure.—I remain, sir, yours, &c.,

MATILDA BETHAM-EDWARDS.

March 1, 1901.

The Seamy Side of War.

(Daily News, May 17, 1900.)

It sounds very pretty, "the pomp and glory of war," but when you have been for weeks in a military hospital, heard the groans of the sick during long nights, and witnessed the harassing work of doctors and ward attendants, one wonders where, indeed, is the pomp, and whether there is much glory after all in war. * * *

The officer sahib gets the glory as a rule, unless a man finds his name in regimental or divisional

orders for brave conduct. And how few officers are unselfish enough to note men's conduct! The names of the men of the 7th Battery R.F.A., who are to receive the D.S.O., will live for ever in the history of the noble attempt to save the guns at Colenso, and this notice of General Buller's is the exception to the rule that the private soldier rarely gets any individual glory out of a campaign.

The obituary notice of the leader is as lengthy as that of the trooper is brief—"No. 1,730,451 Trooper Weldone, of enteric." That's all! Yet the latter probably served the Queen for years, and did his "little bit" faultlessly, too!

Enteric! dysentery! right and left barrels in the hands of a foe more relentless than a Boer even, that have indeed brought tears to many a home during the campaign. * * *

As to the water supply, everyone knows that the filthy water our men have been compelled to drink is the cause of most of our sickness. Cannot a filter be attached to the inside of our water-carts, so that each tap will, when turned on, let out water at least a trifle less dirty? The idea seems, to my simple mind, practical; perhaps some moneyed man will act on my suggestion. It is not to be expected that any stomach, bar a Kaffir's, can stand swallowing the microbes of dirt, of dead horses, or of defunct Boers; and, if I am not misinformed, Tommy has sampled many out of the Tugela. * * *

In fine, the public can hardly realise the difficulties with which our army doctors and their staffs have to contend. *Experientia docet*. I ought to add that three or four men occupy a tent. Not the least pleasant experience is when one wakes up in the morning and turns to ask one's neighbour "how he is?" Getting no reply, one sits up and feels his arm, to see if it is cold! It is sometimes. The ward attendant is sent for, the body is carried to the mortuary tent, and a few hours after the "last post" sounds over another victim to the pomp and glory of war!

Human Wreckage of the War.

(*Morning Leader*, May 29, 1900.)

Mr. George Lynch, writing in the *Westminster Gazette*, says:

"We are coming back to England in a ship laden with the human wreckage of war—the wounded, the maimed, the sick, who to their graves will carry the maiming of their sickness. There are, amongst these men, those who will crawl about the world lop-sided, incomplete cripples, or those who will be perpetually victims to intermittent or chronic disease; but there is a worse than any of these disasters to the victim. The man without a leg can get along with a crutch. The man who loses his sight from the earth-scattering shell can at worst carry a label to tell that he was blinded in the war, and his charitable fellow-countrymen will give him enough to keep him enjoying life through the channels of the four other senses, and he will still admit that it is good to be alive."

Maimed in Mind.

(*Morning Leader*, May 29, 1900.)

"Blindness is bad, but war deals worse blows than in the eyes. It deals blows under which the reason itself staggers and is maimed. The lunatic asylum is worse than the hospital. We are carrying back nine men who have lost their reason at Magersfontein and other battles; two

have been mercifully treated and have lost it completely—the padded cell must mean a certain unconsciousness; but the greatest, deepest pity of which the human heart is capable is called forth by those who are maimed in mind. Long lucid intervals of perfect sanity give them time to learn the meaning of the locks and bars. 'Yes, I know; I went off my head after Magersfontein,' one poor fellow tells you; another repeatedly asks, 'Will they put me into an asylum when I go home?' What a home-coming! Sure enough it is to the asylum they are going. They will be lost to what friends or relatives they have in that oblivion of a living grave."

On the Way for Enteric Fever.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

(*Daily News*, May 28, 1900.)

It is raining outside my tent. It has rained for three days and nights, and looks quite capable of raining for three days more; everything is simply sodden. You try to look around you at the men's camps. At every step your boots go up to the ankle, squelch, in the black mud. You slip as you walk, and go down on your hands and knees in the slimy filth; that brings out all the poetry in your nature. * * * I look at the soldiers hanging around like sheep round a blocked-up shed in a snowstorm, and I feel sympathetic. * * * They don't look happy, and the cause is not hard to find; they have slept out for three nights without tents. Their blankets are like sponges that have been left in a tub. Each blanket seems to hold about three gallons of water. * * * The soldiers relapse into language. Most of their adjectives have a decidedly pink tinge, and I shouldn't wonder if they became scarlet if this sort of weather continued.

(*Swiss Correspondent to Daily News*, May 29, 1900.)

* * * Two days ago I returned after inspecting the battle field. It was horrible. On the morning after the engagement, the English had hurriedly buried their dead, but so perfunctorily that feet and hands were to be seen protruding from the earth here and there. Many of the bodies had been left where they had fallen, and under two days' exposure to the African sun had turned quite black, and were fast decaying. And what wounds! The Maxims had torn off heads, arms, and legs, and some of the bodies were quite carbonised, while blood drenched the soil. The English left their dead for eight days, till the Boers sent word in and asked them to bury them. I saw one grey-haired officer of superior rank, whose breast had been pierced with a wound large enough to hold one's two fists, and who had been shamefully abandoned where he fell. The English prisoners were glad enough to be rescued from such a fate, but gave me information which, in my opinion, reflected unfavourably on their conduct and moral tone.

Campaigning in South Africa.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)

(*Manchester Guardian*, May 16, 1900.)

The Eighth Division is still here, sweltering in the heat in the day-time and frozen at night, with the intense cold. The Division still bivouacs, and if after a night on the veldt it succeeds in melting

from freezing point to a nice warmth by the gentle glow of the morning sun, and escapes sunstroke later in the day, it has a good chance of another day's existence, were it not that it had to further run the risk of a million or two microbes in the fever-infested water which it is forced to drink. When we arrived here on Friday the 27th of April no one dreamed of staying for anything like fourteen days. Accordingly, in his happy-go-lucky way, "Tommy" made his arrangements to suit the occasion.

Dead horses and dead mules—and *English horses go down in this country like wheat before the scythe*—were left to lie and rot where they fell, many of them finding their last resting-place in various watercourses, from which the men later on, acquiring an intense thirst in the heat of the day, drank their fill. The offal of bullocks and sheep, killed for eating purposes, was left to foment disease where it was thrown aside; refuse was kicked about anywhere; and, finally, there was no attempt made in the beginning to provide sanitation for the ten thousand odd men. * * *

Rheumatic Fever accounts for Many Lives.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

(Daily News, April 15, 1900.)

* * * It is not raining as I understand rain; it is as if God's reservoir had overflowed, and earth was getting deluged. * * *

But tough as things are, they might be worse. Heaven help our soldiers this night; there are about 5,000 of them scattered around the veldt within rifle shot of where I sit, and they, poor beggars, have no tents, they sit about in their great coats with their waterproof sheeting thrown over their shoulders and shiver the night out. They could not bring tents on account of the immensity of the transport, they had to march quickly and lightly. This may be a wise move, but I doubt it, for one night like this will take more out of these young fellows than a week's marching. Personally I do not believe in pampering soldiers, but there is a difference between spoiling men with luxuries and killing them with rheumatic fever.

The War Relief Funds.

(To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian, May 2, 1900.)

Sir,—I venture to address an appeal to the administrators of the immense funds so generously subscribed by the British and colonial public for the benefit of those who may suffer through the war. * * *

The war fever is at its height, and money is flowing in freely, but the flow will cease with the hostilities, and public interest will abate with great rapidity. Then, however, will be the time that we shall begin to find out who are the real sufferers and who is able to earn his own livelihood. * * *

The South African climate is only now beginning to make itself felt on British constitutions. Men are gradually dropping out with enteric and exhaustion fever, two complaints quite as deadly in the long run as Boer bullets. The cold and wet of the high veldt, and nights spent without blankets or shelters, will tell their

tale—not now, but in six months' time, and that is when we shall require assistance for our invalided men. I trust that those whose duty it is to distribute the money will take this matter into consideration, and will stay their hand until they know the true extent of the distress it is their mission to alleviate.—I am, &c.,

H. C. LOWTHER,

Captain 1st Battalion Scots Guards.

Trompsburg, Orange Free State, March 28, 1890.

The Salvation Army and the War.

(Manchester Guardian, June 5, 1900.)

General Booth, writing to a correspondent about the South African war, says: "You are quite right in supposing that I deplore the conflict. I have ample reason for doing so, for not only is it opposed to the spirit of the salvation I advocate, but it has already wrought sad havoc among my people in South Africa. Many have been driven from their posts; others have been filled with bitterness; some have been ruined in their temporal circumstances; while others are agonising in the hospitals or lying low in their graves. But what can I do beyond pleading with God for His intervention, and entreating my people to stand true to their principles as peace-makers between man and man, as well as between man and God?"

Sick of the Campaign.

(Morning Leader, June 6, 1900.)

Lieut. Lupton, of the Yorkshire Volunteers, in a letter dated April 23, Surprise Hill Camp, says: "No man under the rank of sergeant is allowed to shave. The men, in consequence, look more like navvies than linesmen. They are all, officers downwards, awfully sick of the whole campaign, as they have been knocked about so. The regiment has been very highly spoken of for its work on the way to Ladysmith, and they say here that Colonel Kitchener took a very leading part in the relief. I have been given command of the regiment's Maxim, as well as our own, and hope soon to have a chance of using them."

"Starvation Allowances" for Troops.

(Manchester Guardian, May 3, 1900.)

Truth publishes the following: The public will probably be as astonished as I was to learn the other day that the Government have lately reduced the victualling allowance for troops conveyed to South Africa by 6d. a day. Considering all the disclosures there have been as to the feeding of the troops on board ship during the earlier stages of the war, this is one of the most monstrous and unjustifiable bits of cheeseparing ever perpetrated. When the Government is spending hundreds of thousands of pounds per diem, and coming to Parliament for thirty millions at a time for purposes connected with the war, surely, if expenses must be cut down somewhere, it might be done somewhere else than in the feeding of the men on their way to the front. A friend connected with the shipping trade told me the other day that the scale of food allowed by Admiralty regulations meant nothing less than starvation. His company had supplemented the official tariff at their own expense, and I dare say others have done so—luckily for our soldiers.

How the Poor Mute Animals Suffer.

HARDSHIPS OF OUR TROOPS.

(Manchester City News, September 1, 1900.)

The hardships experienced by the troops in Lord Roberts's march eastward are graphically described by Mr. H. H. S. Pearse, war correspondent of the *Daily News*, under date Balmoral, July 26. The rain, we are told, fell in sheets before a cold wind from the east, against which thickest overcoats and so-called waterproofs were little protection. Our men, however, had no better protection than serge tunics and scanty underclothing, for the baggage waggons with greatcoats and spare blankets were far behind dragging slowly through water, mud, and black peat that clogged the wheels so that the ill-fed oxen could hardly move them. The waste of animal life is enormous. Mr. Pearse says that every mile of the road was strewn with dead animals that had fallen exhausted and been shot to put them out of their misery. On one hill he counted a hundred dead horses and mules within the space of a hundred yards square. He goes on to say that owing to the inability of the exhausted animals to do more than crawl along, many battalions got neither rations nor greatcoats, nor waterproof sheets to lie upon, nor blankets to cover them that awful night. Roads ploughed by hundreds of wheels became so soft that waggons could hardly be moved along them even when double spans of oxen were put to the work. Attempts were made to light bivouac fires, but the rain beat them out, and groups of our poor men huddled together on the water-soaked grass for warmth, and tried to cheer each other with jest and song. Their endurance and good spirits impel Mr. Pearse to exclaim, "Tommy is a wonderful creature, and at his best when tried hardest!"

Sick and Wounded at Johannesburg.

(Daily News, August 8, 1900.)

The *Rothe Kreuz*, organ of the Swiss Red Cross Society, has just published a letter from Dr. de Montmollin, dated from Johannesburg, June 12.

* * *

"For six months they had lost the habit of using rooms and beds. Others, although tired, made efforts not to sleep in order to enjoy longer their good beds! All of them are famished, having been marching strenuously for as much as 20 miles a day, with a ration of two biscuits, and less fortunate ones with one biscuit per diem. A man who had been on sentry at the post-office confessed on returning that he had had nothing for 24 hours. These English are very enduring. I have seen a wounded man left in the garden of the hospital, lying under a tree, who was surgically dressed at 6 p.m., and had not taken anything since the day before."

Officer's Sharp Criticism.

(Daily News, July 23, 1900.)

A member of Parliament has received a letter from his brother, who is serving in the Orange River Colony, dated June the 29th, which is of a rather interesting nature. * * *

"The officers do their best for their men, but the medical and nursing service is so frightfully under strength that the doctors and nurses cannot bear the strain. It is the old, old story of self-satisfied departmentalism, and the complacent

British public seems to care nothing for the sufferings and misery of the soldiers who are dying like flies, because 'someone has blundered,' who ought to have sent up tents, blankets, medicines from the base, and physicians and nurses from home. * * *

"It seems to us here that you are all too quiet in the House of Commons, and don't tackle the Government with any sort of spirit for its criminal lack of preparation and neglect to appoint qualified men to administer the lines of communication."

How Poor Tommy is "Put Away."

(The Speaker, July 21, 1900.)

The most hideous aspect of the war in South Africa and of its utterly needless prolongation is the disease which pursues our armies. The town, writes a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* from Bloemfontein, is to-day a vast hospital camp:—

"Enteric of a virulent type has been laying men low. * * * The other day there were just sixty funerals here! Fifty in the day were quite common; and, as you may imagine, the cemetery is well filled with the remains of the best fighting stock of Britain."

There is no dead march; there are no death drum beats; no last volleys are fired over the graves. Why? Because the place is full of sick and wounded, and there being 6,000 at a time in the hospitals at Bloemfontein, the sounds of death "would be too depressing for the army of sick men."

Campaigning Trials in South Africa.

(Westminster Gazette, November 15, 1900.)

My keenest memory of South Africa will be of the winds. I had never been warned of these, but for the last two months everywhere along this western frontier there has not been a day on which it has not blown hard. It is bad enough on the march; in camp it is something approaching the infernal, for, of course, when it rises the least bit above its normal velocity of half a gale it makes a sand-storm, and the hardly-washed clean shirts in your leather wallet become filthy before you can wear them. As for food and tea and coffee, I hardly know what they taste like without sand. And in spite of the few washes we could manage we have been irremediably dirty for months and months. Ottoshoop is famous for its lice, and we most of us share its fame. By the way, you may find it marked on the map as Malmani, and Zeerust as Marico. I have not met a single soldier or officer who isn't longing for home, nor a single volunteer, English or Colonial, who doesn't imprecate this country and his fate in having to remain in it. I can assure you the phrase to swear like a trooper has acquired a new significance, and I hope I shall not make all your hair curl when I get home. When?

The Sick in South Africa.

(Daily News, July 19, 1900.)

A non-commissioned officer, writing from Umtali, says, in reference to the camp at Twenty-three Mile Creek: "Yet, while you admire nature in all its grandeur, it never seems to flash across your mind you are living in a fever-stricken death-trap, where vapours rise day and night—vapours which stink, vapours from a putrid virgin soil,

only a few feet above the sea level. Who is responsible for placing English troops in this hell of Portuguese East Africa? Who is responsible for feeding us on five hard biscuits a day, and salt bully beef for five weeks without variety? Our treatment has been disgraceful. From Twenty-three Mile Creek we go to Bamboo Creek, a condemned swamp.

"Truly the sight here was terrible to witness. A man was strong and healthy one minute, the next almost a corpse. Never while I live shall I forget this horrible white man's grave. Hundreds of enormous vultures circle round the camp. Dysentery rampant, and the men served with bad coffee, as owing to mismanagement the tea was sent forward. The hospital tent was a disgrace. Men lay in stinking hot tents, and never had their clothes taken off for five days. The orderlies got drunk, and the sick were badly fed—starved—when good food could be had for money. * * *

"Let me mention three men—men in the true sense of the word—who took the sick man's cause to heart: Colonel Park, Sir William Miller, and Sir R. Crossley. Sir William Miller kicked up a terrible row, and did his best to get a court-martial, but the men would not back him up. He gave all his luxuries to the sick, even his clothes, and spent all his money on them."

Half the Yeomen down with Sickness.

(Leading Article, *Daily News*, January 18, 1901.)

The war-tage commences with the very first moment that troops enter upon a campaign, and of the ten thousand Yeomen who entered upon that in South Africa now, unhappily, so many months ago, it is quite certain that but few more than five thousand can possibly be effective at the present moment.

How the Soldiers are Buried.

(*Westminster Gazette*, January 10, 1901.)

That is a gruesome statement made this morning as to the state of some of the graves of the British dead in South Africa. A correspondent who has been visiting in the neighbourhood of Spion Kop writes:—

"Viewing the graves, some of the poor fellows are only partly covered. There are two buried within eighty yards of our tent, which are only covered as far as their middle. The bones of their legs are exposed, their trousers have decayed and are hanging down. They still have their socks on and part of their shirts. Another two have their heads sticking out of the grave. One has a helmet on. * * *

"One of the men was not covered at all from the middle downwards, and we could see the bones of his legs. It is a sight never to be forgotten."

Men Like Ghosts.

(*Morning Leader*, May 5, 1900.)

Private Mark Routledge, of the 2nd North Staffords, writing from Bloemfontein, states that they had ridden 500 miles by train, riding day and night, and had done 200 miles on foot. He thought they would have a rest for a little while, and afterwards they would travel through the Transvaal to Pretoria. To tell the truth, he added, he was about "fed up." They had not tasted a bit of bread since they left Aldershot. Some days

they got one biscuit, other days two. They were the same as ghosts. They had offered as much as 2s. 6d. a bottle for water, and had been unable to get it in some places.

War Breeds Cruelty and Indifference.

(From *Mr. H. M. Thompson's Pamphlet*.)

* * * In a single day of a campaign such as we have been prosecuting, probably more horrible agonies are suffered by dumb creatures than will be hindered in England by the endeavours of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in a whole decade. Far inferior in importance to these considerations are those of the destruction of property and the loss of national wealth; yet these too are important. Consider what the result would be if the money lavished on armaments were spent in national education.

But perhaps worst of all is the spirit of savage cruelty engendered in the fighters, and even in the lookers-on; witness the horrible accounts that we tolerate, and even approve and have depicted for us in our illustrated papers, of such details as the lancer who spits through two Boers on his single spear, or the grim pleasantries accompanying the terror and havoc of our lyddite shells. These things make one realise—in spite of the prating of the churches—how very little hold the ethical ideal of the brotherhood of man really has upon us.

With Carrington's Force via Rhodesia.

(*Daily News*, August 2, 1900.)

* * * There were thousands of men in the harbour who might well have been landed at Durban, since it was utterly impossible to do anything else with them than dump them down between Beira and Bamboo Creek. Some of the contingents were detained on board ship for a month, landing night and morning to feed their horses, which they were forced to land. The result of this has been a frightful mortality amongst the horses, and an alarming amount of sickness amongst the men. * * *

There have been so many blunders in this little expedition that it is very difficult to fix upon the extreme folly. * * *

They have finished their trek, and the Beira Railway is only an unpleasant recollection—a bad dream of pungent smells, dead horses, and yellow-skinned, shivering comrades. * * *

Soldiers' Experiences.

(*Morning Leader*, May 4, 1900.)

Private J. Madden, of the 2nd Cheshire Regiment, writing from Karee, 3 April, says: "I was properly in the thick of it the other day, but came out all right, although they were falling right and left of me. Lord Roberts gave us great praise. * * *

"Plenty of poor fellows marched to their death laughing and joking as though out for a Sunday morning walk. * * *

"It was one continual rain of bullets for six solid hours in the broiling sun, and then to lie out all night as we were, and without anything to drink or eat, and half of us dying from thirst. We could see water, but dare not go and get it."

The following is an abstract from a letter from **Private J. Wilde**, of the 2nd Norfolk Regiment. It is dated Bloemfontein, 24 March: "We reached here about 10 days ago, and as they have given us full rations we are just getting round all right again. I for one am in good hopes that we are getting within measurable distance of the end of this war, as it is by no means so nice as it is painted, I can assure you. We have one suit of khaki only, and when that gets wet through, which is likely to occur once every day, it has to dry on us; and the nights are getting cold, and we are bivouacked out every night, so you may bet a barrack room would be a little palace just now in comparison."

Private G. Brooks, of Nottingham, writing from Eland's Laagte, says: "When we marched through Ladysmith into this place we were all done up and thoroughly jaded. We had not seen a bit of bread or a scrap of fresh meat for over two months. Our boots were soleless and clothes torn to rags; in fact, we were the most disreputable-looking lot of 'Weary Willies' to be found anywhere, and footsore and fagged out at that. * * *

POOR FOOD AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

(*Morning Leader*, May 16, 1900.)

Private R. Arnold, of the 17th Lancers, writing to his brother-in-law at Aigburth, from Bloemfontein, under date 4 April, says: "The food we get is very poor, between two and three biscuits a day and a bit of corned beef. We cannot buy anything to eat here. Bread is 2s. 6d. a loaf, sugar 1s. 6d. a lb. It is nothing to see our fellows digging between 20 and 30 graves at a time."

ENTERIC FEVER AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

(*Morning Leader*, May 23, 1900.)

A sidelight is thrown on the long death-roll from enteric fever at Bloemfontein in a letter from a soldier of the 2nd Battalion Royal Warwickshire Regiment. He says: "We had the misfortune to camp on the very spot where Cronje surrendered. Smashed waggons, dead horses and bullocks were lying in all directions. The smell was horrible, and we had to drink the water out of the river that had dead horses and Boers in it, whilst native drivers bathed in it, and waggons kept crossing it and stirring up the mud."

TERRIBLE MARCH TO BLOEMFONTEIN.

(*Morning Leader*, May 23, 1900.)

Private Lewis Evans, of the B Company 1st Battalion Welsh Regiment, writing from Springfield Camp on 18 April, says: "We have won our honours well, but we paid a very heavy price for them. There is not one of us who wants to experience what we went through on the way to Bloemfontein. We were fairly starving with hunger and parched up for water. We have had to eat and drink what the pigs at home would not touch; but it was a choice between hunger, thirst, and death."

ROUGH WITH THE SMOOTH.

(*Morning Leader*, May 23, 1900.)

Trooper Vernon Lambert, of Kitchener's Horse, now stationed at De Aar, writes on 11 April: "The Yeomanry and C.I.V. chaps are suffering from enteric fever, brought on by

nothing else but drinking impure water. The Colonial troops have got the best end of the stick; they get about five times as much pay, and, what I can see of it, better food. We get 7s. 6d. a day, but 2s. 6d. is deducted for rations. They only issue us out one suit of clothes; we have to buy the rest. On the whole, I have nothing to grumble about; of course, we have to take the rough with the smooth."

TOMMY AS A BAKER.

(*Morning Leader*, June 2, 1900.)

A private in French's Mounted Infantry, writing from Bloemfontein, says they have been getting a little more to eat during the past few weeks. "I was almost too weak to walk about before," he proceeds. "We were on one biscuit a day, and when we used to draw ½ lb. of flour per man, we sometimes mixed the horses' bran with it and made cakes."

POOR YORKSHIRE HUSSARS.

(*Morning Leader*, June 4, 1900.)

Writing home from the Convalescent Home, School of Mines, Kimberley, Private Jesse Helliwell, of the Imperial Yeomanry, says: "The poor Yorkshire Hussars are now not more than half their strength, there are so many sick and wounded and a lot of prisoners. I was lying in the ambulance during the engagement at Swartzkopjefontein, but I could see them peppering away. The Boers fired a few shells at us, but they could not get the range. It is a terrible thing to see the dead and dying, but you get used to it. I think the Yorkshire Hussars have seen as much service as any, considering the time they have been here."

Tommy Atkins and the Boer Fraternise.

(*Star*, May 26, 1900.)

Our correspondent has served in various parts of the Free State. He was at Paardeberg, and was astonished that Cronje's men could have held out so long amidst such an awful stench as the dead horses and the partially buried bodies of men produced. He goes on:—

"On our way back we came upon the graves of several Highlanders, and we were shocked to see

LEGS AND ARMS STICKING OUT OF THE GROUND.

They had been buried hurriedly at night, and the rain storms had almost washed the graves bare again. We managed to get some shovels and cover them over, and then went sorrowfully back to camp.

"No one who witnessed the sight could help thinking that if only those Jingoos who howl for war at home could see the effects of it they would howl for war no more. * * *

Those who had been killed by bullets seemed to have died quite easily, but those who fell by the bayonet were twisted up in every kind of way, and from the contorted appearance of their faces must have died in awful agony. * * *

"There are a considerable number of Britishers in the Boer ranks, but there is no truth in the stories that they are bayoneted by our troops. When the Boers throw down their arms, no one knows what their nationality is, and it is only when they are having their meals that Tommy gets into conversation with them. Many of them have told us frankly where they came from, and our Tommies have sometimes met fellow-townsmen as prisoners from the Boer ranks. * * *

"A tiny British drummer who gave an aged Boer a match said: 'There you are old cock, I'm as good as a father to you.' * * *

"I met an Englishman at Edenburg camp. He tramped to Liverpool, worked his way out to the Cape 22 years ago, got a situation in Edenburg started for himself, married a Dutchwoman and settled down. When war broke out he and his eldest son, aged 19, both joined the Boers. He told me that in England he met with nothing but poverty and hardship, but in the Orange Free State a man was treated like a man as long as he behaved himself and he felt he could not 'go back on' the country that had made him what he was * * *

"An old man I met who need not have fought for the Boers as

HE WAS BEYOND THE AGE LIMIT.

told me that he left England in 1860, returned in 1870, and was glad to get back to South Africa again. He asked me who governed England now—was it the

QUEEN OR THE CAPITALISTS?

"I met an Irishman who had been with the investing force round Ladysmith. He left Ireland 30 years ago ('hounded out of the country,' he said). He first went to Boston, U.S.A., and then came out here. When the war broke out he had no option but to join; he could not turn against his adopted country, he said, and besides, he believed they were in the right. * * *

Before I left him he said:—

"God knows which of us is in the right. Victory for Britain will only prove her strength, and the question will still be open until the Day of Judgment comes, not only for you and I, but for Rhodes and Chamberlain."

"Enteric" Deals Heavily with the Colonials.

(Daily News, July 6, 1900.)

Of the 1,150 Canadians who arrived at the Cape only 350 remain on active service, the majority of the other 800 having been stricken down with enteric, due, it is believed, to the drinking of putrid water at Paardeberg.

Criticism from the Ranks.

(Daily News, Dec. 5, 1900.)

Tommy Atkins is a silent fellow. He fights, he marches, and he bears all the hardships of a long campaign, and says nothing about it. * * *

FIGHTING—AND PLENTY OF IT.

The other day (writes a representative) I had an interesting talk with a non-commissioned officer who recently returned from the fighting line. He had been in a dozen battles, and had had personal experience of both field and base hospitals as an enteric patient. He has served his time, and is no longer in the army. He was a non-commissioned officer in the Guards, and is an educated man, who made careful notes of his experiences in a diary which he kept from day to day.

"Were you in all the fights in which the Guards took part?"

"Fighting? Yes, we had plenty of it. Most of us had never been under fire before. You feel pretty bad the first time. But you soon get used to it. After the first fight or two we thought no

more of a battle than of a parade day in England. It was all in the day's work. * * *

ONE PINT OF WATER FOR EIGHT MEN.

"The heat must have been terribly trying?"

"It was fearful. You had no protection whatever except the thin khaki uniform, and that was hardly any use. * * * Eight men got a pint of water between them, and that was all they had from Saturday till Monday. The fighting was all right. No one grumbled about that. It was the long marches and little food which were killing."

HALF STARVED.

"That was after Lord Roberts took command?"

"Yes. We could have marched the distances all right if we had been properly fed, but we were half-starved. We left Modder River on Feb. 19, and reached Bloemfontein on March 13. We marched about twenty to twenty-six miles a day. All we had to eat was a biscuit and a half. That is about two ounces of biscuit a day. * * * When we found water it was often in stagnant pools in which two or three bodies of dead horses were decaying. You were not allowed to wash. The use of soap was strictly forbidden, for the troops which followed had to drink out of the same stream or puddle."

BOOTS WITHOUT SOLES.

"Is the veldt good for marching on?"

"It rained almost every day, and the veldt was churned into a sticky mud. Before leaving Modder River we had new boots supplied us. The mud simply tore the soles from the uppers, and by the time we reached Klip Kraal Drift my boots had all come to pieces. Some Colonial-made boots were sent from Kimberley."

CLOTHES IN RAGS.

"When the Guards marched into Bloemfontein they were a sight! They were clothed in tatters. Uniforms were patched with anything that the men could pick up off the veldt, and many of them had great rents, which exposed the flesh to view. The men had not washed themselves, to say nothing of their shirts, for weeks. We did not get our new uniforms till the second week in April, and then a few weeks later were supplied with winter suits and new boots."

A HARD CASE.

"It was cruel hard to have to report the poor fellows who, from sheer exhaustion, and through no fault of their own, fell out on the march. The ambulances would not pick them up unless they were actually dying. I will just give you an instance. We were near to Bloemfontein. A sergeant in the Guards was limping along beside me. 'I cannot go any further,' he said to me; 'I must drop.' 'No, no, don't do that,' I said. 'You know what will happen if you do. Here, give me your rifle, and I'll help you along.' He struggled on a mile or two, and then simply dropped in his tracks from exhaustion. He was left behind. An officer in the Guards found him lying prostrate on the ground. 'What are you doing here?' he said. 'I'm very ill, sir; I can't go any further.' The officer, looking at his feet, said, 'You have a good pair of boots. Get up, and march at once!' The man said it was quite impossible, he could not do it. 'Very well,' the officer exclaimed as he left him, 'stay there and die.' The sergeant was subsequently picked up and brought into Bloemfontein. But others of our men who had fallen out were found days afterwards with their eyes picked out by the vultures." * * *

THE SCENE AT PAARDEBERG.

"The insanitary state of Cronje's laager at Paardeberg had a good deal to do with the outbreak of enteric, had it not?"

"The stench was horrible, but all along the line of march you were continually coming across the dead carcass of a horse or mule, which made the air foul all round. Yes, I saw the surrender. The Boers seemed more like the inmates of a lunatic asylum than like decent Christians. There were men, women, and children, some almost without a rag of clothing on them." * * *

OVERCROWDED HOSPITALS.

"Did you see anything of the hospitals in Bloemfontein?"

"Yes. Nothing that has been said about them has been bad enough. Every morning ten or twelve more men would be down with enteric. A hundred and fifty of our men were herded together in three or four rooms. There was no one to look after them. There were no nurses. There were no orderlies. There was not a drop of stimulants to be had. The dying lay side by side with the living. Men tired out with the long marches were told off to look after the enteric patients. They were the only attendants. The Field Hospital outside the town on the veldt was even worse."

NAVAL AND MILITARY OFFICERS.

"Did the officers fare as badly as the men?"

"No fear. They always looked out for themselves. They could always find a flask of whisky. Although there was not sufficient transport for the needs of the army, many officers were allowed a hundred or two hundred pounds of baggage in place of the thirty pounds to which they were entitled. They expected everything to be the same as at home. Some of them were too fine gentlemen to speak to a non-commissioned officer. They would smoke their cigarettes and keep to themselves. The officers of the Naval Brigade were very different. They were with us at Modder River with the 4-7 guns. They worked and talked with their men, and even messed with them." * * *

TOMMY ON HIS OFFICER.

"What did Tommy think of his officer as a leader?"

"They were always leading you into death-traps unless you kept your eyes very wide open. They often did not know what to do. I will give you a case that happened at Magersfontein. We were supporting the Highlanders. When they were shot down by scores we held the ground and formed the first firing line. There was a great deal of barbed wire fencing about. Crouching on all fours, we managed to get past one fence. The next could not be passed, as the wires were too close together. The Boers were firing in front and on our flank. We were protecting a battery of guns by firing volleys at the enemy. That's the only thing that will keep them quiet. The lieutenant in command of my section lost his head completely. 'Really,' he kept on saying, 'really, I don't know what to do. I think we shall be cut off if we stay here. Really, I believe we had better retire.' 'I think, sir,' I ventured to suggest—they don't like you to interfere, so you must be careful—we had better remain here.' He thought better of it, and there we stayed. If we had retired we should have lost some more guns. Some of the officers cared very little for their men. They would speak to them as if they were dogs."

Sick and Wounded at the Front.

(Daily News, July 4, 1900.)

Mr. Young, colliery manager, Caergwrle, Flintshire, has received a letter from Private Wynne, of the 2nd Warwick Regiment. * * * "I got tired of seeing a dozen corpses at a time being taken on a bullock wagon to the graveyard, and asked to be sent to the Rest Camp, a place where light fatigue is done until you are fit for duty. Here I found about two thousand men. The nights are very cold at this time of year. I think I caught cold at Springfields, where we stayed for a fortnight, and where it rained for the whole time. We only had one blanket, no canvas, and woke up in the morning sometimes in several inches of water. I would not tell you this only I see by the papers how well Tommy is treated."

OUR DISCONTENTED ARMY.

The steadily-growing dissatisfaction of the Forces will probably prove one of the most formidable difficulties in carrying out the Government's unreasonable policy. Volunteers in sufficient numbers, and properly qualified, are not forthcoming, and further temptations, even beyond 5s. a day, will be necessary if they are to be obtained. As yet there is only an undercurrent of grumbling. The few following extracts will give some indication of the causes of the unpopularity of the Army at the present time.—H. J. O.

C.I.V.s not Coming Forward.

(Morning Leader, July 3, 1900.)

Under the heading "War Items" the *Evening Standard* announces that the City Imperial Volunteers wanted for the front are not coming forward in so prompt a manner as had been anticipated. The writer also gives some reasons for this slackness which are both interesting and ingenious.

One corps, it seems, was asked for ten men, and three only were forthcoming, despite the fact that at least 100 were known to be willing to volunteer at the time of the formation of the C.I.V. Regiment, in addition to those who actually went out to South Africa. * * *

There is nothing surprising in this coyness on the part of the C.I.V.s after the recent revelations. There is nothing very attractive in the prospect of having enteric on the hard ground,

being "nursed" by a half-convalescent private, jolted in an ox waggon when half dead, and left to lie like a bale of goods on a station platform for nine hours at a stretch. * * *

Neglecting our Canadian Soldiers.

(Daily Telegraph, July 25, 1900.)

To learn that the splendid soldiers of our Canadian contingent in South Africa who were invalided home have been thrown friendless into the London streets after treatment in the military hospitals is sufficient to send a thrill of bitter indignation through the country. Yet it is a fact that men whose magnificent conduct at Paardeberg elicited the warmest praise from Lord Roberts have thankfully, in their loneliness and destitution, accepted the hospitality of the Soldiers' Homes in Buckingham Palace Road, near Victoria Station. Worse still, some four at least are known to have had to spend the night in the park. It is due entirely to the observation and watchfulness of Major-General the Hon. H. F. Eaton, who, as Camp Commandant at Bisley, saw two or three poor fellows, still showing signs of the wounds and privations they had endured, about the camp of the Canadian team, that inquiries have been made concerning them. * * *

These, to the number of thirty-three, are now in the two homes named, but there are still a large number who will be passed out of Shorncliffe shortly under precisely similar circumstances.

Cannot be Tempted to Stay.

(The Speaker, July 28, 1900.)

Compare the "only too glad" of Mr. Bryden with what Mr. Shelley, a war correspondent just returned from South Africa, has written in the *Westminster Gazette*:—

"Out of the 200,000 British soldiers now in South Africa I opine that more than 90 per cent. will turn their backs on the country with the same desire—never to see it again. Indeed, it is safe to affirm that the bulk of those men will harbour for many years such a loathing for the country as would almost make the bribery of them into silence a desirable speculation on the part of any who may be interested in attracting British settlers thither. 'If I owned hell and South Africa,' said one private to another, 'I'd live in hell and rent South Africa.'"

No More Soldiering.

(Star, August 10, 1900.)

A number of Canadian invalids from South Africa left Liverpool yesterday by the *Parisian* on their return home. * * *

They said that having experienced the life of a British soldier under British officers in a difficult campaign, they are resolved to stay at home and mind their own business in the future.

They were resolved to lay the whole facts of their case before the three Canadian Ministers who were also on board the *Parisian*.

Canadian Soldiers and their Return.

(Daily Telegraph, August 10, 1900.)

"We have waited long and patiently; but though as soldiers we have been accustomed to obey orders we cannot much longer endure in silence what seems to us the injustice of keeping

us in a strange country, where we are of no use to anyone, and simply a burden to ourselves and everyone concerned," is an extract from a letter addressed to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* from a private of the 1st Canadian contingent, and dated from the Soldiers' Home in Buckingham Palace Road, and the gallant fellow says, further: "Will you say a word for us?" * * * For in and around London, and at Shorncliffe, there are just a hundred of the men who were in a post of honour at Paardeberg, where their splendid courage elicited the highest approbation from Lord Roberts, and who suffered both from wounds in action and from the epidemic of enteric engendered in that pestilential laager. * * *

So far, however, no date has been fixed or even indicated, and the men express themselves strongly on the tedium and idleness of the life they are living. They have seen most of the sights of the metropolis, and, with the exception of a very small number incapacitated for further military service, are now sound and strong in health. A considerable proportion of them are from farms or ranches, and they know how much they are needed to bear their part in harvesting operations and the necessary defences against winter's long campaign. Letters from friends and home are calling them, and they themselves feel that desire to be back in the land of their birth that comes after illness and hardship. * * * "This interminable delay is maddening, and far from what we expected of England." * * * The devoted loyalty of the Colonies has been the brightest feature of the whole war, and it seems as though the least recognition that might have been expected would have been generous and broad-minded consideration for the personal feelings of the men who were wounded or stricken in fulfilling their duty towards the Queen and Empire.

Captain Lambton on the War.

(Manchester Guardian, August 20, 1900.)

Captain Lambton was the principal speaker at Weymouth on Saturday night in support of the candidature of Captain Renton, who served under General Buller in South Africa. Captain Lambton, having referred to the confirmation of the good news from the East, gave it as his opinion that the trouble in China would not be of long duration. Touching on South African matters Captain Lambton severely criticised the Government in not sending suitable guns to support the military, and asked how was the country to account for their extraordinary optimism. He contended that in leaving the diplomacy of South Africa in Mr Chamberlain's hands there was from the first no chance of a peaceful settlement, even if Mr. Kruger wished it. The task which England had had to perform was greatly under-estimated, and the weapons which were sent to South Africa were ridiculous toys as regarded range. Was the army to be grateful to the Government for sending such inferior weapons, and was that a reason why the present Administration should appeal to the country on a khaki basis? The present party in power had shown remarkable lack of foresight. They knew nothing, thought nothing, were always hoping for the best, and were never prepared for the worst. Captain Lambton then dealt with the results and mistakes of the past five years. He showed that expenditure and taxation had enormously increased, and, in speaking of the Peace Conference instituted by the Emperor of Russia, contended that the result showed that England cared less for peace than other Powers.

Losses by the Yeomanry.*(London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, December 18, 1900.)*

Mr. Douglas Hogg, the son of Mr. Quintin Hogg, founder of the Polytechnic, is in South Africa with the Yeomanry. Writing home by the last mail, he says: "In three weeks we had 171 casualties—10 per cent. of the column out. There are only 60 of us left now in my own squadron out of the 120 who came out. There seems very little chance of our getting home for a time, though there is a very strong feeling throughout the Yeomanry that the War Office are hardly acting fairly in keeping us. We enlisted to help them through a crisis; that crisis is over, and now they treat us as a permanent part of the army, just because we are cheap and they have got us bound down."

Yeomen and the War.*(To the Editor of the Westminster Gazette, December 20, 1900.)*

Sir,—I have just returned from South Africa where, for some months past, my fellow Yeomen have been, and are now, under the impression that a Bill has passed Parliament for paying them 5s. a day from April 1 last. * * *

Thirdly, every Yeoman is a horseman, and whereas every sound man is fit for infantry work only a small percentage are capable of doing mounted work; thus, I think you will admit, his value when mounted men are required is somewhat greater than the ordinary infantryman's. Fourthly, because all Colonial mounted corps doing similar work to the Yeomanry received 5s. a day, while we, the men from the mother-country, are only paid 1s. 2d. a day.

All the Volunteers, C.I.V.s, Colonials, and many of the regulars have been sent home and are resting on the laurels of their work, while the Yeomanry are still in the field, doing perhaps the hardest work of the whole campaign, and cannot be spared. Is there no deduction as to merit to be made for this? * * *

I can mention one company of Yeomanry where, out of 116 men, 42 are dead; and this is only a fair average of the casualties in other companies. Of the 10,000 Yeomen who went to South Africa not 4,000 are left in the field. * * *

I enclose my card, in case any interested person would like further particulars, and remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

December 17.

AN IMPERIAL YEOMAN.

Incompetent Officers.*(Manchester Guardian, Dec. 22, 1900.)*

The following is a copy of a letter which was received last week from a trooper in the Wiltshire Yeomanry:—

"WINBERG, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1900.

"My Dear Mother,—I am afraid you have been a long time without a letter, but we have been cut off here for the last month, and are only just relieved. The branch railway up here from Smaldeel, on the main line, 28 miles off, has been blown up, the telegraph wires all cut, and Boers have been all round (almost right in the camp sometimes) all the time. * * *

"We are waiting, waiting, and hoping against hope to get out of this business, but I see no prospect now of getting home before the early spring.

The war has not progressed one iota since 1st May in this State; in fact, I think the position is worse. * * *

"Never has England needed her Press correspondents more than now, yet she has not one in the country. They left for China, England saying the war was over, whereas it is not half over, nor likely to be. You know simply nothing in England—the War Office Press censor manages that all right. * * *

"It is on account of this flying column being here that the railway is again open; but they left yesterday for Bloemfontein, burning farms on the route, as they have been doing for some months; and as soon as they are gone a comfortable distance, back come the Boers, cut the telegraph wires, blow up the railway, and pick off our poor Yeomanry, who are sent off as patrols eight or ten miles from camp. * * *

"I see one of the Colonial regiments has mutinied and refused to go on any longer, and have been disbanded, which was all they wanted, of course. They were told they would not get the medal, and both officers and men sent word in reply to Brabant that even if medals had been given they would have been ashamed to wear them. * * *

"Fancy sending two or three men on patrol to a set place at a set time every day, and hundreds of Boers just lying hidden waiting for you. I call it murder. Thousands of letters are going to England to the same effect as this, which must begin to disclose the rottenness of our army. England will never get any volunteer who gets through this war to go out again and serve under such officers and staff. I think Conan Doyle, who did splendid work in the Bloemfontein hospitals at the time of the great enteric epidemic, hits the nail on the head when he says that if England, who has spent years teaching her men to keep step, had spent even minutes in teaching them how to use the rifle, the war would have been over long ago.

"This place is unhealthy. Ten of us have been sent down country to-day from the hospital, but I feel well and strong, though this hot weather tries me. " (Signed) JOE."

Losses by the Yeomanry.*(War Correspondent, Daily Telegraph, Dec. 25, 1900.)*

It may sound ungenerous to say so, but the Yeomen could answer were they so inclined, "Thank you for nothing." Wages run high in South Africa—very high—and commodities considered as common necessities in civil life cost much ere they appear on the mess tables or benches. Regulars have been sent home, certain Colonial mounted troops disbanded, and the big police force that ought to have been filled up and at work two months ago is not yet completed. * * *

It should take from three to six months before the raw police, many of whom are altogether new to the country, will be of any great service as gendarmerie. So the Boer raiders and guerillas and small commandoes will have to be hunted by the Yeomanry. South Africa is a big country, and distances are immense, and the Yeomanry, though in reduced numbers, from sickness, wounds, and death, will have to hang on to oblige the War Office, and yet awhile cover its failures. The loss among the Yeomanry has, owing to the length of service of many corps, been heavy.

Occasionally that has been due to reckless over-working of the men.

At Biera, for example, a body of 120 odd were quartered in a most inhospitable swamp, where even negroes declined to stay. There, they, amongst other things, were set to dig trenches. Between that cause and bad water over fifty in a short time were under the doctors' orders. As there, it happened upon somewhat similar lines to Yeomen in Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal Colony. Others have suffered by downright incessant mounting guard, escorting convoys, and chasing Boer raiders. In the Yorkshire and Bucks squadrons, or companies, less than 50 per cent. are left to appear on parade.

Do the Public want Information?

(Leading Article. *Star*, Dec. 22, 1900.)

But the truth is the last thing to be told in this war. Those who tell it are treated as traitors. Yesterday we commented on the singular temper which denounces proven facts as slanders, and accuses those who make known realities of shameless wickedness. To-day we have another example of this temper. On last Friday week the *Morning Leader* published a letter which one of the most prominent Liberals in the North of England, a gentleman of the highest repute, has received from his son in the Yeomanry. The letter contained an account of the discontent among some of the South African Colonial troops.

To-day the War Office issues a statement from Lord Kitchener which confirms the letter which appeared in the *Morning Leader*. Opinions may differ as to the policy of publishing the truth about things as they are in South Africa. We think it is better to let the public at home know the truth, for, if the Government were allowed to have their way, abuses of the gravest kind would remain unknown and unchecked. One result of the exposure of the state of feeling which exists in the Army is the decision of the War Office to pay the Yeomanry as much as the Colonials. We rather fancy that the rank-and-file of the army do not object to the ventilation of their grievances, if thereby they secure better treatment.

"Lest We Forget."

(*Punch*, June 13, 1900.)

Whilst we are applauding the heroism of Tommy Atkins at the front, let us remember that the usual refuge for our wounded veterans is still the workhouse.—*Daily Paper*.

Who are these marching, 'mid cheers of the nation,

Bronzed from the battlefield, gallant of mien,
Smiling and pleased with the people's ovation?
They are the heroes who fight for the Queen.

Hip! Hip! Hurray!

Khaki for aye!

Cheer we our loudest for Khaki to-day!

Who is this cripple, bent, ancient and hoary,

In Poverty's sombre old uniform grey?

He's but a pauper—who cares for his story?

Just an old soldier that's passing away.

He's lost a limb,

Eyes have grown dim—

Isn't the workhouse a haven for him?

A Very Different Tone.

(*Morning Leader*, December 20, 1900.)

The City Imperial Volunteers, who were sent out amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm, and welcomed home with adoring pœans, are almost cheap-to-day in the estimation of the Unionist Press. The *Evening Standard* belittles all that has been said about those who since their return have been unable to find employment. It dismisses the matter as something which, "like other popular outcries," has been "greatly exaggerated." The unemployed volunteers are gaily described as "unattached heroes," and then comes the unkindest out of all:—

"It must be borne in mind that while many members of the corps were drawn from situations in offices and warehouses to which they have mostly returned, a still greater number belonged to that class who are disciples of the Micawber philosophy, and were waiting for something to turn up."

One wonders what would have been said of any Liberal paper which had ventured to describe a majority of the City Imperial Volunteers as "disciples of the Micawber philosophy"—a euphemistic way of calling them loafers, and almost vagabonds!

Stranded!

(*The Sun*, under Dr. Parker, December 21, 1900.)

Some of the ex-troopers of Roberts's and Kitchener's Horse, who have been discharged "medically unfit," called at the *Sun* office this morning.

They are still without their pay, have no friends in London to whom they can apply for temporary help, and, so far as the officials are concerned, are being left to starve.

What is being done?

Mr. Broderick clearly indicated that he would do all he could to expedite matters for the men. But his silence causes them some fear that his efforts to get behind the red-tape and "proper forms" of the W.O. have been in vain.

What are the men to do?

It has been suggested that they should be helped by the Discharged Soldiers' Aid Society. That seems a reasonable suggestion. All of them have money due, some of them £40 or £50. What they want is a loan until they can get a settlement.

AS TO THE C.I.V.s.

Many of the C.I.V.s are still out of employment.

To them Christmas will be but a dull time, without work or money.

A correspondent suggests that the regimental authorities, knowing that each man will be paid the Government gratuity of at least £5, should advance them a portion of that sum to see them through the holiday.

It has also been suggested that we should appeal for public subscriptions. We should have been happy to do so, but from consultation with certain of the men we are convinced such a course would be against the wishes of the majority.

But who will offer work or the New Year?

Broken in the Wars.

(*Manchester City News*, September 1, 1900.)

A London correspondent writes : Men "broken in the wars" are very conspicuous in the streets just now. The "gentleman in khaki" who went away in such high spirits, and amidst such imposing scenes of enthusiasm, to fight for his Queen and country, has returned with a painful limp or mutilated arm, or a frame shattered by fever, and he walks slowly about the town with his friends, challenging nothing more than passing notice from those who acclaimed him so violently when he went away strong and well. The khaki seems to have somewhat lost its inspiring novelty for the multitude.

Destitute Yeoman.

(*Daily Telegraph*, January 15, 1900.)

At Shrewsbury, a member of the Imperial Yeomanry, who had been invalided from South Africa, and since discharged as unfit for further service, was compelled yesterday through absolute destitution to apply to the Shrewsbury Guardians for relief for himself and family. He had been attached to the Staffordshire Company Imperial Yeomanry, and was now unable to continue his former civil employment through injuries received during the war. He was granted 5s. a week.

A Bitter Cry.

(*Punch*, June 13, 1900.)

"The leader of the Liberal Party in North Walsham has proposed that the peace celebration should take the form of a house-to-house collection for the Indian Famine."--*Westminster Gazette*.

Britannia loquitur :

While their pæan sings the Nation,

Like a million chanticleers,

While their joyous jubilation

Fills the spheres ;

While mad victory is flinging

High her cap and gaily singing,

Hark ! what cry is this that's ringing

In my ears ?

O'er the waste of many waters,

Over leagues of land and sea,

Do my dusky sons and daughters

Call to me.

While the flags are gaily flying,

Hark ! I hear my children crying

"Mother ! help us ! We are dying.

Dost thou see ?"

Other references to the discontent of the troops will be found in extracts under heading, "Loss of Life," pages 104-8.

The Settlement After the War.

The following quotation is from Lecky's History of England in the 18th Century, vol. iv., p. 400, where he deals with the struggle for American Independence:—

It was gradually becoming evident to intelligent observers that the war was not likely to be determined by mere hard fighting. In the first stages a decisive English victory might more than once have concluded it; but it was plain that, if the American people, or any very large proportion of them, persevered, no military expeditions could subdue them. In no country in the world was it more easy to avoid a decisive action, and the whole texture and organisation of Colonial life hung so loosely together that the capture of no single point was likely to be of vital importance.

In the course of the war every important town—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Savannah, Charleston—fell into the hands of the British, but the struggle still continued. A Rebel Convention governed a part of the State of New York at the very time when the capital and the surrounding country were in the undisputed possession of the King's army; and whole districts submitted without a struggle whenever the troops appeared, and cast off their allegiance the moment they had gone. To occupy and maintain in permanent subjection a country so vast, so difficult, and so sparsely populated, to support a great army in the midst of such a country, and 8,000 miles from England, if the people were really hostile, was absolutely and evidently impossible, and the attempt could not long be made without a ruinous expense.

The above extract, and the present condition of the South African campaign, might well form a ground for doubting if we can carry out the policy of annexation. The numbers opposed to each other now, however, are far more disproportionate than in the case of our North American colonies, as the whole Boer population, two years ago even, barely equalled that of the town of Leicester. The immense number of our people, and the money at our command must, ultimately, enable us to be victorious on one condition, *i.e.*, that the supply of volunteers does not fail. The Government have found it necessary to raise their pay from the customary 1s. to 5s. and upwards per day, and rather than let their policy be defeated, they may, if necessary, go on augmenting these baits, and so gain sufficient material to wear down the enemy; for, as Swift said, "Ten men well armed are more than a match for one man in a shirt."

Presuming that the subjugation of the Boers can and will be effected, we shall have to decide on the conditions to be imposed on them.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, February 19th, said:—

* * * If he were a Boer fighting in the field—and he frankly confessed that if he were a Boer he hoped he should be fighting in the field—(loud cheers)—he should not allow himself to be taken in by any message of sympathy, even if it were signed by a hundred hon. members. (Laughter and cheers.) * * *

In regard to the immediate necessities of the situation, there was a pretty general consensus of opinion that it ought to be made easy and honourable for the Boers to surrender, and painful and perilous for them to continue fighting. * * *

If there were those who desired war from its excitements or from lust of conquest, he thought they had had enough. (Ironical cheers.) If, as Mr. Labouchere suggested, persons had agitated for war in the hope of increasing the value of their mining properties, they knew now they had made an uncommonly bad bargain. (Laughter and renewed cheers.)

We like to believe that it is one of our national traits to treat a defeated enemy with consideration, and to endeavour by such action to soften and allay the heightened feelings of resentment and revenge which war necessarily creates. Far-sighted people long ago recognised the value of this method; but, unfortunately, we are not all far-sighted, nor do we all learn, even by experience, and therefore there is a fear that a harsh line of conduct may be pursued, and instead of trying to undo, by conciliatory methods, the mischief created by strife, we may content ourselves with holding down our new-won subjects by sheer coercion.

We ourselves are surely about the last people to settle down quietly under like conditions, and seeing the extraordinary sentiment for their flag and free government which the Boers manifest, it must be evident that there is no prospect of permanent peace on such terms.

Better Try Conciliation.

Sentiment carries people a long way, and we have only to consider the many evidences of it in our own history, with our Scotch, Irish, and Welsh elements, to satisfy ourselves of its importance. It is common to every nation, and it seems almost superfluous to give instances; but as the case of the United States 120 years ago is somewhat analogous to that of the Boers, it may be worth while to quote from one of the eloquent addresses of Patrick Henry, who, history tells us, was "distinguished for moral courage."

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of Nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as this which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God, who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle is not to the strong alone: it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come! * * * I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

The reader well knows that by our perverse line of conduct at that time we lost the brightest gem of the Crown of Great Britain, and although it is dangerous to prophesy, there is probably little risk in saying that if the policy indicated by the Government is carried out to its bitter end, it will ultimately result in our losing, not only the two Republics which we seek to annex, but our present adjoining Colonies as well.

Canadian Premier and Government by Consent.

(*Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1901.)

Speaking at Toronto on Tuesday night, Sir W. Laurier, the Premier, in responding to the toast of Canada and the Empire, said:—

"Not the least among the changes of the century which has just closed has been the revolution in the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies. The result of the present system has been to lead us to thoughts of closer union than ever before. Canada, while still a colony, is practically an independent nation. While no one supposes," continued Sir W. Laurier, "that the present relations with Great Britain are to last, they are satisfactory at the present day. When, in course of the future, new problems should arise, we should face them and solve them on the strictest lines of Canadian nationality and British citizenship."—*Reuter*.

Much might be said of the changed feeling in South Africa of to-day from that which animated the people four years ago, and to which Sir A. Milner bore eloquent testimony (see Extract, page 175), when Briton and Dutchman vied with each other in honouring Her Majesty's Jubilee, and won a unique place amongst our Colonies by creating an annual charge of £30,000 on their Budget in support of the expenses of our navy.

The poison that later on was so extensively and skilfully injected, under the guidance and management of an unscrupulous band of financiers, had not then been suspected. Cape Colony and, to a less extent, Natal are bound to be affected by the bitterness created by this deplorable war; and the length of time it will take to wear it away (if such a happier state of things be ultimately accomplished) must depend on the terms imposed on the adjoining Republics with which they are so intimately allied.

Is the Game worth the Candle?

Let us for a moment be deaf to questions of sentiment, and of right and wrong, and simply ask ourselves if aggressive wars pay, and whether it is necessary to keep adding to our territory so as to provide markets for our commerce and room for our increasing population? If we had not already so many millions of square miles of undeveloped fine country in Australasia, Canada, Africa, and elsewhere, there would be better ground for this commonly advanced argument. The world, with the exception of Africa, was fairly well partitioned out and appropriated over twenty years ago, when the scramble for the balance of that continent set in.

Most of our recent acquisitions entail an annual heavy loss—(Cyprus and Uganda, for instance)—which may continue to all time, nor are we alone in this experience, for France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal are all suffering in like manner, if in varying degree. When the total cost and waste of the present lamentable war is considered, and set against the value of the territory gained, which is only habitable in parts, and the fact that goldmines have only a brief life is remembered, it is not difficult to see that this last enterprise may easily prove a great financial failure. But, if the enemies it has reared up around us, and the loss of valuable labour, and expense of additional armaments it will involve are put in the balance, the foolishness and unbusiness-like character of the undertaking are painfully manifest to the meanest understanding.

Some Particulars of the Goldmines.

The following information is a brief and imperfect summary of pages 257 to 278 of "The War in South Africa," by J. A. HOBSON:—

The various goldfields now being worked, and the other known reefs which have been examined by celebrated mining experts, are calculated to yield a total of £750,000,000. In 1887 the production only amounted to £81,022. In 1898 it had risen to £15,141,376. This rapid growth of output may continue until £30,000,000 per annum is reached, when the same rate of production for 20 to 25 years will exhaust the paying ore.

In 1898 slightly over 90,000 Kaffirs were employed. The able American engineer, Mr. W. Hall, thinks the number of workers may possibly increase to 30,000 whites and 250,000 Kaffirs, and in that case the gold will be worked out in 20 years.

In the early part of 1899 the white labourers numbered 9,476, and were in the proportion of one white to 10 Kaffirs, and if the Kaffir proves capable of being trained

to fill the places of white workmen in all minor positions, he will supplant the European for economy's sake. Coal exists in paying seams, and copper and iron may be found in remunerative quantity, but it remains to be proved.

The white labourers in the mines are mainly British, but the shopkeeping, catering, and general trades are in the hands of foreigners.

Men will not stop and bring up families and make South Africa a home, and the goldmines being exhausted, the country will revert to the Dutch.

Taxation on the Necessaries of Life.

The following table shows the comparative taxation of chief necessities of life in the South African Republic and Cape Colony. The otherwise free list of the former is qualified by an *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while a similar duty of 8 per cent. must be added to the Cape Colony import duties. The result of this comparison is to show a far more liberal tariff in the South African Republic than in Cape Colony.

	Cape Colony.			S. A. R.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Tea, 100 lbs. ...	2	10	0	0	5	0
Chicory, 100 lbs. ...	0	16	8	0	7	6
Butter, per lb. ...	0	0	8	0	0	$\frac{3}{4}$
Cattle for Slaughter (each)...	1	10	0	Free		
Sheep and goats, ditto ...	0	5	0	Free		
Meats (preserved in any form, including ham, bacon, beef, and mutton), per lb. ...	0	0	2	Free		
Meats (tinned and potted), per lb. ...	0	0	2	Free		
Meat (frozen), per lb. ...	0	0	2	Free		
Vegetables (preserved), per lb. ...	0	0	2	Free		
Lard, per lb. ...	0	0	2	Free		
Coffee beans, raw, 100 lbs. ...	0	6	3	Free		
Coffee beans, roasted, 100 lbs. ...	0	16	8	Free		
Cheese, per lb. ...	0	0	3	Free		
Kaffir corn, 100 lbs. ...	0	2	0	Free		
Wheat, 100 lbs. ...	0	2	0	Free		
Mealies, 100 lbs. ...	0	2	0	Free		
Mealie meal, 100 lbs. ...	0	4	6	Free		
Meal, wheaten, 100 lbs. ...	0	4	6	Free		
Flour, 100 lbs. ...	0	4	6	Free		

History Warns Us Against Coercion.

Is the holding of white people in subjection ever a commercial success? We tried it in France a long time ago, we attempted it in the United States 120 years ago, and both proved dead failures. The history of Spain's tenure of Holland, of Austria in Northern Italy, of Russia in Poland, of Turkey in Bulgaria, Servia, &c.—and, above all, of France under Napoleon, when that unscrupulous but indomitable warrior subdued a large part of Europe—all read us the same lesson of failure. The case of Germany in Alsace and Lorraine does not disprove the argument, because those acquisitions are still a very doubtful source of strength to the conqueror, and they have been the subject of claim by both France and Germany for centuries back, and are now the main cause of the enormous and ruinous armies which both nations maintain.

In the same sense let us enquire if "Trade follows the sword," as we are assured it does by those who are responsible for having drawn it, and who consequently must discover some sort of plausible excuse for so doing. The word flag is generally substituted for sword in this sense as being less likely to shock a sensitive and conscientious mind. The negative answer given to the former question seems to *serve sufficiently for this one*, as far as white people are concerned, and with reference

to coloured people, in most cases, it appears that no trade is required because the inhabitants cannot or will not exist under white government, as is seen in the rapid decline of the aborigines in North America, Australia, New Zealand, &c.

Whereas, if we watch the official returns of commerce, we see that with those countries where our military power is not at work, whether the people be white or coloured, our trade in almost every instance shows rapid expansion.

(Manchester Guardian, Nov. 29, 1900.)

Mr. Zangwill is becoming not only an amusing and acceptable but a really informing after-dinner speaker. He proposed the toast of the day at the Article Club luncheon this afternoon, and though he wore the cap and bells he spoke a serious philosophy. Literary men were supposed to share with dukes any knowledge of business, though denied the consolation of American heiresses. Yet even a peer, Lord Rosebery, "who is almost duke and very nearly a man of letters," points out that the silent campaigns of commerce are as decisive as battlefields. "When I read that since we conquered Egypt and the Soudan our exports to those places have gone down by half and that Germany and America are already preparing to munch the chestnuts we have pulled out of the fire in South Africa, I suspect that life is not all blood and khaki." . . . Our wars were won not upon the playing fields of Eton, but in the factories of Manchester, the mines of Newcastle, and the shipyards of the Clyde.

(The Morning Leader, Aug. 11, 1900, quoting from the Midland Free Press.)

In the five years ending with 1899 we took from our colonies and possessions an average of 98 millions worth of goods per year, as against 89 millions worth per year in the five years ending with 1890. In the five years ending with 1899 we sent British goods to our colonies and possessions to the value of £81,206,704, as compared to an annual average of £81,186,508 in the five years ending with 1890. That is to say: in the ten years we increased our purchases from them to the extent of nine millions a year, while they increased their purchases from us by a paltry £20,000 a year, not because they did not need the goods, but because they bought them from other countries. British colonies and possessions are importing goods to the value of 18 millions a year more than they did ten years ago, but not from us. They import 223 millions worth a year, but only 81 millions worth from us.

Let Us Try and Tempt the Enemy to Surrender.

*"The love of justice is one of the rarest among all good qualities. * * * I should almost dare to say there are five generous men for one just one."*

— W. E. Gladstone.

At certain periods during the last nine months I have sketched out, for my own satisfaction, terms which we might well concede, and which, at those favourable moments, might have been accepted with something approaching general accord and even gratitude. Lord Roberts' entry into Pretoria was a signal instance of a great opportunity missed. We might have posed as the successful but merciful conqueror. General Buller's armistice and negotiations with General Botha was another lost chance.

Since the date of these events our farm burning and women and children herding policies have so embittered the enemy, and rendered their commanders and burghers so desperate, that it seems useless to offer anything that does not approach Independence.

Our Government stands by its "not a shred of independence," and very near to its "unconditional surrender" terms, so that unless the people, through pressure on their Parliamentary representatives, are going to take the settlement out of the hands of the Government, we remain at a deadlock. It is to be hoped that the seriousness of

the situation will be quickly realised, and that the great mass of voters will give more attention to solving the problem than has hitherto been shown.

I am quite persuaded that annexation pure and simple will produce nothing but misery and unrest, and prove to be a complete failure on the first opportunity that offers a fair chance of throwing it off. If we do not tempt the enemy to submit, and for the sake of at once securing the blessings of peace accept an acknowledgment of our control, which must be as light as is well possible, we shall live to rue our stubbornness. And some such action provides the best prospect of smoothing away, in a reasonable time, the horrible feeling of suppressed hate and animosity which, we have reason to know, rankles in the breasts of our enemies, and is directed solely against the representatives of our Civil Government, as the consideration and sympathy shown for our wounded soldiers amply testifies.

It would also, which is very important, help to rehabilitate us in the eyes of the whole civilised world. There is perhaps only a minority at the present moment prepared to listen to such suggestions, but we know how minorities grow into majorities, as the recent Dreyfus "*affaire*" in France proved. There, where the army is almost worshipped, the people, very few at first, slowly began to recognise that a wrong was being perpetrated, and they heroically rose to the occasion and stopped it. We, along with the other nations, did not stint our acknowledgments of such conduct; then why not brace ourselves up to the necessary effort and show that we are able to make similar sacrifices of false pride, and have the moral courage to act up to a high standard of justice?

The Bogey of "Injury to our Prestige."

To ask a rampant Jingo why this should not be done is a mere waste of time—argument avails not with such people. But there is in this country a large body of conscientious persons whose minds are far from easy as to the policy we are following, and who would not be sorry to see it changed, though they fear to help in changing it, because they have heard so much of our Prestige being injured, and of our Colonies liable to be filched from us if we did not keep our "mightiness" in constant evidence. *The Government's prestige would certainly be injured*, but any risk for ourselves or Colonies is out of the question. Having seen the immense effort required to subdue two small populations, together numbering less than 200,000, notwithstanding our command of the sea, telegraphs, and ports, how can we, in the name of common sense, imagine Australasia being attacked with any but the most fatal result to the assailant? Did we not test it ourselves against the United States when their population was only three millions? Canada must always run a risk, and any amount of prestige on our part will not avert it. If we, or she, quarrelled with the Americans, they would probably decide to annex her, and when there are no seas between armies, the case is entirely different. Five millions cannot stand against seventy-five millions, and if we were to send three hundred thousand soldiers to assist—supposing they could land—it would be of no avail. With a population of thirty-two millions the United States, during their civil war, placed three millions of men in the field. Our security from that danger is not wilfully to risk it. We have escaped *twice; once by paying the Alabama indemnity, and again by accepting their demand for arbitration in the settlement of the Venezuela boundary.*

The Americans, unhappily, have also succumbed to the temptation to adopt Imperial Policy, and have already suffered severely from its effects; for, having performed a creditable action in relieving the much-abused Philippines from long-continued mis-rule, they thought to try annexation and, now, after nearly three years' fighting, find themselves in a most unenviable position; and one of which a considerable percentage of the population is heartily ashamed; amongst others, Ex-Presidents Cleveland and Harrison, who condemn both the Philippine and South African wars.

What is the Commercial Aspect?

Recent news shows us that an extremely bitter feeling has been created in Cape Colony, and in a lesser degree in Natal, by the report of Lord Salisbury's declaration, that "not a shred of Independence" will be left to the two Republics. It is contrasted with the "seeking no goldfields nor territory" speech, and is quoted as a further proof of the perfidy of the English Government. Both the English and Dutch parties feel their loyalty unduly strained, as they have been accustomed to point to that speech ever since its delivery, one month after the commencement of the war, as a clear indication of the high probity that influenced the Government's action. Add to this the permanent pressure of 50,000 to 100,000 of our soldiers garrisoning and patrolling the country, from Simon's Bay to the far off northern boundary of the Transvaal (a space equivalent to that of eight Englands), with a proportionate levy of their expenses, and it is easy to realise the resentment which must ensue.

Private correspondents are daily reporting the lamentable condition of ordinary society, where men who have been in friendly intercourse for years can hardly bring themselves to shake hands. Some describe it as "hell on earth." Can we reasonably expect any of this large majority of the Dutch Colonists, and any of the people of the two Republics, to buy a yard of our cloth, or a scrap of our machinery that can be got on anything like the same terms from a German, a Frenchman, or an American, whom they feel to be in full sympathy with them? In private life, if we have a mere difference with a tradesman, do we not search all the shops in the town, or go beyond it, rather than buy his goods?

Soldier Settlers in the Conquered (?) Republics.

There are proposals to locate some thirty thousand of the Volunteers and time-expired men throughout the farming districts of the Republics. These are mostly young unmarried men, many of them never having had a training or serious occupation of any kind. Farming, to be remunerative, requires knowledge, capacity, and industry. What would be the probability of success if these young fellows were placed on well-stocked farms at home? Who would take shares in such a speculation? What, then, would be their chances if they were sprinkled over South Africa, amongst hostile neighbours who spoke a different language, and who looked upon them as so many spies? The money for stock, plant, &c., we could provide; but as we draw the line at confiscation, the new farmers would have to carve out their own properties from such parts as are not already taken up.

Attempts to plant settlers in South Africa have been made since as far back as 1820, as was well shown in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, of November, 1900.

THE SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

The following speeches are given in the order of their delivery :—

Mr. Gladstone before Majuba.

(From "Arbitration and War.")

It was in April, 1880, that Mr. Gladstone made his famous criticism of the annexation: "Moreover, I would say this, that if these acquisitions (Cyprus and the Transvaal) were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they are obtained by means dishonourable to the character of our country." These words were spoken ten months before the disaster of Majuba Hill, and afford an honest appreciation of the situation, uninfluenced by the political conditions that afterwards served to complicate the issue.

Mr. Asquith at Dundee, Oct. 9, 1899.

"I dissociate myself entirely from those, if such there be, who hail this war, this deplorable, this lamentable war, as a means to an ulterior end, the subordination of the Boers and the annexation of the Dutch Republics. Such an intention has been emphatically and repeatedly repudiated by Her Majesty's Government. It finds no place, as far as I know, in the programme or policy of any responsible politician in this country. To adopt it, to coquet with it, to connive at it, would be to justify a hundredfold the charges of pharisaism and hypocrisy which are being freely levelled against us at this moment by the critics—not always well informed or well disposed—of the Continental Press."

Mr. Courtney at Liskeard.

(January 23, 1900.)

"If we could get that demonstration of military power which was now the first necessity of peace, if we could get the forts demolished and the armaments of the Boers reduced to the natural scale, with a repetition of the offer of the five years' franchise, it would be wise in us not to attempt to upset the existing political independence of the States, but to let them recover their position. We must either grant independence with these limitations, and perhaps the re-arrangement of the frontier to make a separate province out of the portion of the country inhabited by the Uitlanders, or we must face the experiment of keeping these people down by force—a system which England would never endure."

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 5, 1900.

(*Liberal Magazine.*)

"Provided that our territories are free and our military superiority asserted, what matters it at what time or at what place a settlement is arrived at? What does matter is the nature of the settlement, and, as regards the objects to be

kept in view in that settlement they could not be better laid down than they were by my right hon. friend the member for East Fife, who classed them under four heads. He said that the settlement must be a permanent and not a patched-up settlement. He said, and I agree, that it must effectually guard against any armed invasion or quarrel of this kind. He said it must provide for political equality, and he said, lastly, that it must guard against racial ascendancy. I do not know four heads that could better express a wise policy in this matter.

("But, after all, what can sound diplomacy, what can generous and equitable considerations do in face of the bitter feelings and memories which will be left behind after this war is over? The Colonial Secretary, the other day, said he thought that, after this particular war, there would be no bitter memories and no bitter feelings. But a few years ago he spoke of the enmities which a war would excite, and which it would take generations to extinguish.) I fear that his earlier forecast was more trustworthy than his later one. The large-hearted British people will be ready to do all that forms, arrangements, and settlements and constitutions can do to bring the mixed races together, but the efficacy of all these must depend upon the spirit in which they are framed and administered."

Mr. F. C. Selous, the Celebrated English Sportsman.

(From The Speaker.)

"I have been asked by the editors to state my views as to the form of settlement which would be most likely to bring lasting peace to South Africa at the conclusion of the present war. * * *

"Now the entire Dutch Afrikaner population of South Africa believes that in this war England is in the wrong. The Dutch of the Cape Colony certainly never had any wish to exchange the government of the Queen for that of Pretoria, whose shortcomings they fully recognised, but the Jameson Raid turned them against the Johannesburg Uitlanders, and excited their race sympathy for their compatriots across the Vaal. * * *

"Then came the abortive Bloemfontein Conference, and the subsequent negotiations, which, it is firmly believed by the Dutch in South Africa—as, indeed, by all nationalities on the Continent of Europe, from Sweden to Spain—were never intended to have a peaceful conclusion, unless the Transvaal Government were prepared to grant whatever terms Mr. Chamberlain chose to ask. The despatch of Colonel Baden-Powell to Bulawayo last August, in order, as it was officially, though untruthfully announced, that he might organise a force there in case of trouble with the Matabele; the active recruiting for this force all over South Africa, it being perfectly well understood that these recruits were being enlisted for service against the Transvaal, and not in Mata-

beleland; the despatch of 15,000 troops to Natal from India; and finally the mobilisation of an army corps in England, and the calling out of the Reserves, again justified in the eyes of the Cape Dutch the action of the Orange Free State in throwing in its lot with its sister Republic, and of the combined Republics in issuing their ultimatum, invading British territory, and seizing various strategic points rather than waiting till, the British forces having encompassed them round about, Mr. Chamberlain felt himself ready to formulate his own ultimatum. * * *

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith defeated at the battle of Boomplaats the full strength of the emigrant Boers who left the Cape Colony in 1836, with a force of 800 British soldiers and a regiment of Hottentots. Only 52 years have gone by since then, but to-day we find the descendants of these same emigrant Boers forming the main strength of an army which is holding at bay over 100,000 [now 235,000.—H. J. O.] British troops. In view of this most significant piece of history, and the fact that the majority of Her Majesty's subjects in the Cape Colony are not British, but people of the same hardy and prolific race as the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, I cannot but believe that, if in the settlement of South African affairs at the conclusion of the present unhappy war a policy should be pursued which, whilst despising Dutch Africander sentiment, hopes to retain British paramountcy for ever in South Africa by the aid of British troops, such a policy must necessarily be predestined to failure.

The Advantages of Clemency.

(Manchester Guardian, April 2, 1900.)

Mr. Winston Churchill telegraphs to the *Morning Post* another earnest appeal for the lenient treatment of the disaffected Dutch colonists, in the course of which he says: "Lord Dundonald and Colonel Thorneycroft, both of whom are closely acquainted with the local conditions, have pointed out to me the military advantages which would follow a proclamation encouraging rebels and waverers to desert from the enemy's army. Colonel Sandbach, head of the Intelligence Department, favours the making of a definite pronouncement showing the rebels the advantages of voluntary surrender. Moreover, I have reason to believe that General Buller does not desire to treat them severely, and that he considers pecuniary punishment the most convenient form.

"It is strange that the soldiers in the field should hold more tolerant views than prevail at home. However, it is not perhaps the first time that victorious gladiators have been surprised to see the thumbs turned down in the Imperial box. I am more than ever convinced of the importance of showing great generosity to submitting rebels, and surely the advantages of differentiating the treatment of the various classes must be admitted. The Natal Ministers are anxious that every returning rebel against whom there is a case shall be tried, and if convicted sentenced to some punishment, which they do not desire should be necessarily severe. They are not in a vindictive mood, nor do they want anyone hanged, but they do not consider that the rebellion can be allowed to pass *sub silentio*.

"I must earnestly protest against this spirit of revenge, which, though it may not animate the Ministers themselves, agitates the colony, and may eventually, unless Imperial influence be exerted, carry all before it. Beware of driving

men to desperation; even a cornered rat is dangerous. We desire a speedy peace, and the last thing we want is that this war should enter on a guerilla phase. Those who demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' should ask themselves whether such barren spoils are worth five years' bloody partisan warfare."

Lord Kimberley on the War.

(Eighty Club Dinner, April 3, 1900.)

"* * * When the war is over we shall apply in the settlement those principles of free Colonial government which have led to the contentment generally of our colonies throughout the Empire, and we must be inspired by no spirit of revenge, and never forget that after the war Dutchmen and Englishmen in South Africa have to live side by side. What is the nature of the war? It is more or less—and that makes it the more grievous—a civil war, and being a civil war to a certain extent, you must bear that always in mind, and deal with it on that principle. You have an example of one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, that ever took place in the world, in the Civil War of the United States of America. There you see, after a war of the bitterest and most determined kind, after enormous loss of men and expenditure of money, you see our kinsmen in the United States wisely laying aside a policy of revenge, and wisely readmitting to all the principles of American citizenship those States with which they had so desperately fought year after year. What is the result? The United States are as peaceful, united, and strong as ever they were.

"We have another instance in our own Empire, and a most remarkable one—that is Canada. I can remember when Canada was seething with discontent. There was fighting, and fighting between the descendants of the two nations less nearly akin than the Dutch and the English—the descendants of two nations between whom there had been more war, perhaps, than between any other two nations in the world—ourselves and our gallant neighbours the French. Yet, after the insurrection was over, you treated that colony in such a manner that now you see that both sections there, French and English, are joined together in loyalty to this country and in carrying on government under the freest principles that prevail in any part of the Empire."

The Future Settlement in South Africa.

SPEECH OF MR. BRYCE, M.P.

(Manchester Guardian, April 6, 1900.)

At a meeting of members and associates and delegates from provincial branches of the South Africa Conciliation Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel,

Mr. Bryce, M.P., said though he was not a member of their Committee it was not from any want of sympathy with its object, and what he had to say, he was sure, would not be out of accord with the feelings which animated the Committee. * * *

He congratulated them on not being afraid of being in a minority. Minorities were very often right, and not least so in the case of wars. There had been three striking instances in our history—the war with the American colonies in the last century, when a small minority maintained the struggle against the popularity of that nefarious war; the

Crimean war, when Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden stood almost alone in their protest, and when, everybody now admits, they were right and the rest of the world were wrong; and, lastly, the question of that stupendous blunder the Afghan war of 1878. Those examples emboldened them to make a free expression of their opinions. * * *

A part of the intolerance was due to people who had an uneasy conscience and who were a little afraid of knowing more than was on the surface of this matter. There were a very large number of persons not generally actively concerned in politics who shared the Committee's opinions, although they did not express them. He believed that the real opinion of this country upon this subject was very far from being represented by the newspaper press or by public demonstrations. * * *

One thing was quite clear. There could be no satisfactory settlement of this matter; no settlement could possibly be satisfactory. Some courses might be worse than others, but all courses would be bad. They had been brought into that position that it was impossible to see any way out of it which was not open to the greatest objections. Therefore, they must bear in mind that the plans which they were putting forward were not to be judged by the objections which might be brought against them, but as against other solutions which might be even worse. Perhaps they had better consider the matter apart from the question of sentiment. * * *

One of the first things was to make arrangements which would prevent any similar armed conflict in future. * * *

The second principle, which was equally clear and equally important, was that the main thing they must keep in mind was the future relations of the Dutch and English elements in South Africa. The Dutch were there in numbers, broadly speaking, equal to those of the English—in some places larger than those of the English. The Dutch were the Queen's subjects just as much as the English, and he should like to remind them that a year ago there was no place in Her Majesty's dominions where more veneration and affection was felt for Her Majesty than by the Dutch in Cape Colony. The Dutch and the English had to live together in South Africa. The Dutch were rooted in the soil and the English were chiefly people of the towns, and it was not the people of the country who were likely to go first or to go under. * * *

They could not have free government in Canada and Australia and endeavour to inaugurate despotism in South Africa. (Loud cheers.) To a very large extent the key of this position was to be found in Cape Colony, the largest of all its communities and the most settled and the most advanced, and whatever the mob of Capetown might say—the mob which had been hustling and howling at Mr. Schreiner, to whom, he thought, the greatest possible thanks were due for his wisdom, for his self-control, and for the efforts which he had made to keep the peace and to prevent insurrection in Cape Colony—whatever the mob might say or do, they must remember that these passions would subside, and that there was an immense body of opinion in Cape Colony which they did not hear of. They could not permanently override and keep down the Dutch element in the colonies, and therefore he ventured to say that this was one of the first principles they must adhere to and proclaim—that there must be no suspension of constitutional government in

Cape Colony. (Cheers.) He ventured to believe they were all agreed about that; and whatever divisions might have existed in the Liberal party, he believed the whole Liberal party would be agreed about that. That meeting was not necessarily of a party character—probably many of them did not belong to the Liberal party—but he ventured to say, speaking for them, there was no difference of opinion upon that subject. Therefore, not only should there be no suspension of constitutional Government, but there must not be any gerrymandering of the Constitution in Cape Colony, but they must have fair play.

Finally, they had heard a great deal of violent language about punishment for disloyalty. Of course order was to be maintained, and maintained strictly, in time of war. No one for a moment could deny that they must do that. But when the war was over, they had a great deal of valuable and weighty experience to prove the virtues and excellence of clemency. After the insurrection of Canada it was the indulgence of the clement policy of Lord Durham that started the new system with a fair chance, and this was seen still more in the brilliant example of unprecedented clemency which was shown by the United States at the close of the Civil War. If the Southern States were now blended one in heart and mind in patriotism with the North it was very largely because the North used its victory with moderation and indulgence. Now for the two Republics. They heard a good deal of a great many declarations in favour of the annexation of these two Republics, but he begged them to remember, when they heard those outcries about annexation, that there were two sides to this question. In the first place, there was the side of Dutch sentiment in the colony. That, of course, they should not fail to remember. But there was another side also. How, if they were to annex the two Republics, were they going to govern them? They could not keep them as Crown colonies; that was quite clear. They could not keep two Crown colonies despotically governed side by side with two other Crown colonies. * *

He thought there was a great deal to be said for treating the Rand separately and for giving different institutions to the rural part of the Transvaal, where the population again would be homogeneous and where the recent difficulties need not again arise. * * *

The Chairman (Mr. Mackarness) having moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Bryce for his address,

Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., submitted the following resolution: "That this Committee desires to re-affirm and place on record the protest against the policy of annexation which was addressed to the Prime Minister on the 12th March by the president vice-president, and chairman of the Committee." * * *

* * * They could not by force coerce men into friendship. It was love that begot love; it was friendship that would make others friends; and it was only through a demonstration of the desire for friendships that they would be able to re-establish anything like good order and peace in South Africa. Might they not consistently with the maintenance of the independence of the two Republics secure within them that freedom for whites of all nationalities which was said to be the one thing wanting when war was declared? They might disarm in a restricting sense without imposing any relative disability on any part of the population, and therefore without inspiring any resentment on the part of those who in this way were brought under conditions more promising to peace. It was not necessarily humiliation to

the two Boer Republics that they should be put in the same position as Cape Colony and Natal in respect to forts, and in respect to armaments of artillery, and if they could approach the question so as to secure an equality of conditions in the one and the other they would have removed the implements of war which make war so possible, but at the same time they should not have kept alive those feelings of resentment, of humiliation, and of punishment which were themselves such as to make war inevitable. They might remove the temptations to war by disarmament, but they would remove the most potent motives for war by removing the tokens of animosity and by providing a policy of friendship.

* * * He demurred to the suggestion of punishment as introducing an element which was inconsistent, if pushed to any extent, with the future peace they all desired. If the restitution of the Free State as an independent Republic, guarded for some time, as it probably must be guarded, against disorder, gave them the best promise of peace for the future, then sensible men would say it was better that it should be restored, if that was the way of peace, than that its independence should be destroyed, if that was the way of future strife and future war. The South African Republic was differently situated, and presented problems of far greater difficulty, but in their case the matter might be solved by portioning the country into a pastoral and mining population, forming two provinces of a new State having great powers of self-government. * * *

Sir Robert Reid, M.P., late Liberal Attorney-General, in seconding the resolution, said whilst there were divergences of opinion on the subject they were all agreed on the principle. There was an attempt to drive the public into one groove in relation to the settlement. It was hopeless to anticipate the continuation of rival armaments in South Africa. That might be the one good consequence of this frightful war. He would regard annexation as making almost impossible a good feeling between the Dutch and the English. The idea of a protectorate had a good deal to commend it, but he protested against the Government taking any steps in this direction without full discussion. He wanted to know what the Continental nations would say to this? What would the Cape Government—not the mob—say on the question. * * *

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner, who was received with loud and continued applause, said he had hoped to escape making any speech. He had found England a land of contradictions. He had been trying up and down the country to get the opportunity of stating his views, and had not been able to do so, but that day when he wished to say nothing, he was called upon to speak. In his opinion the Outlander was on the side of the Transvaal. He viewed the question as one between the people and the financiers. (Applause.) The quarrel was not with the English people, not with the English nation. What had taken place was entirely due to the financiers, and the country had no moral right at all to annex the Republics. (Cheers.) Let them live up to their traditions, and not humiliate a gallant enemy. (Hear, hear.) If anything oppressive were done now it would react against the future of the country, but if another policy were adopted the Transvaal would be no more antagonistic, but would become attached to us for ever. (Applause.)

The resolution was then carried without dissent. A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner in Manchester.

(*Manchester Guardian*, May 8, 1900.)

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner addressed a meeting, held last night in Manchester, in the Memorial Hall, under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Associations of Manchester. Mrs. C. P. Scott presided, and the hall, to which admission was by ticket, was crowded.

Mrs. Scott said several letters of regret had been received from ladies and gentlemen unable to be present. * * *

Miss Mason wrote: "It would have given me great pleasure had it been in the least possible to have attended the meeting. My sympathy is entirely and warmly with the object of the meeting." (Applause.) The other letter was from Mr. Alderman Hoy, who wrote: "An engagement of some standing prevents me being present at your meeting to-night, otherwise I should have been glad to assist in welcoming Mr. Schreiner to Manchester. No man has been more misunderstood or more perversely misrepresented." (Applause.)

Mrs. Scott proceeded to explain the objects and the origin of the meeting. She said the idea of it first arose with some members of Women's Liberal Associations in Manchester who were very anxious to hear Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner for themselves. * * *

He was, she believed, of purely British descent, but was born in Cape Colony, and had lived there till about three years ago, when he made his first visit to England. Now, if they could for a moment throw aside party phrases and party bitterness and try to look at the differences between ourselves and the Boers simply and directly, surely the thing above all others to be desired was that we should have someone to speak to us who stood in relation to England and to South Africa exactly where Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner now stood—someone united to the Mother Country by ties of blood and tradition and of loyalty to the colony by community of interests and long intimacy, and to both alike by ties of personal friendship; one who was familiar with the circumstances, aspirations, and feelings of the Dutch in South Africa as a man was familiar with those of a friendly neighbour whose daily life and career had been an open book to him all his days; one who knew, as we here could not possibly know, the effect upon our fellow subjects in the Cape of our treatment of their brothers in the Republics. * * *

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner said that, holding as he did most emphatically that this war had been produced deliberately by a gang of capitalists—(hear, hear)—he wanted to show what would happen in South Africa if those men got the control which they had brought about this war to obtain for them, as they could not get it by legitimate means. For this purpose Mr. Schreiner related what had been done in Kimberley under the auspices of the De Beers Amalgamated Mines. Before this amalgamation and the introduction of the compound system Kimberley was, he said, the biggest and most living town in South Africa. The first effect was that in two or three years the white population dropped about 40 per cent. (Shame.) * * *

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner went on to say that he thought if ever a people were deliberately maligned and misrepresented it was the Dutch of the Cape Colony, amongst whom he had lived for the major part of his life. Not only was the idea of a conspiracy amongst them a gross absurdity,

but he would go further and say that so satisfied were they with their conditions under the Government of Cape Colony, which gave them all the freedom they could desire and the full power of their majority—so little did they like the republican form of government in the Transvaal that he said deliberately that if, without provocation, the Transvaal people had invaded the Cape Colony with the idea of driving the British out and making it a Dutch colony, they would have been met by every burgher with his gun in his hand, who would have fought for Britain. * * *

The Dutch said that they were acting in good faith but were misled by the capitalists, of whom Mr. Rhodes was the head. (Applause.) Something remarkable in its intensity was the extraordinary love of the Dutch people of the colony for the Queen. It was quite pathetic to talk to them about the Queen. * * *

He had relatives fighting for the Transvaal, for the Orange Free State, and for Cape Colony and Great Britain. If that happened to a man like himself, whose people had not been in the country as long as many of the Dutch, they could imagine how frightfully many families were divided and shooting at each other in a war which both sides were satisfied could not benefit anybody but a small gang of millionaires. (Applause.) Without outside interference by England or some other Power war could not have ensued. The vast majority of the people were against it, for the same reason that England and Scotland could not be drawn into war—they were too closely tied. Not only that, but the vast majority of the white people in South Africa were on the side of reform as regarded the Transvaal, and the progressive party in the Transvaal, headed by General Joubert, would have succeeded and the Outlander question would have been solved in at least two years. (Hear, hear.)

Proceeding to discuss what ought to be the terms of settlement, he said the interests of the natives should be safeguarded. The plan he was most inclined to favour was to set them apart in reserves and govern them directly from here. The land system of the natives was the most advanced in the world; the land belonged to the tribe. ("That is what we want in this country," and laughter.) So far as the whites were concerned, the problem was to effect a settlement under which they would not be handed over to the capitalist. If the men who brought about the war got their way, South Africa would be no place for those who loved freedom. If the principle of self-government were recognised and there were no gerrymandering of the constituencies, the solution of the problem might be left to the people. The idea of Crown colonies might be dismissed with regard to the two Republics. They must have their internal independence, and arms enough must be left in the hands of the Boers to deal with any rising that might occur among the natives. If the independence of the two Republics was taken away it would consolidate the whole of South African sentiment against England, and would eventually mean the loss to us of South Africa. (Applause.) * * *

To root out the compound system in Kimberley they must have legislation, and that would depend upon the strength of the respective parties. He might be selfish, but with regard to the Rand he would rather the Transvaal had it than the Cape Colony. He wished it were in Timbuctoo or somewhere else. (Laughter.) With regard to the petition sent out by the Outlanders signed by

21,000 people, he pointed out that a counter-petition was signed by 24,000 people. On the subject of the teaching of the two languages in schools, Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner repeated the statistics which have already been frequently published, and pointed out that where Dutch had privileges in the English colonies they were born British subjects, whereas the English of the Transvaal were alien, and to have the same advantages as the Dutch they must be naturalised.

* * *
Mrs. C. E. Schwann moved a resolution thanking Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner for his address "believing that a better knowledge of the facts of South African life and the feelings of the loyal Afrianders is essential to a right conclusion and the settlement of the problem in South Africa."

Miss Dendy seconded the resolution, remarking that it was always painful to be in a minority, and that she had never felt it so keenly as in regard to this war.

The resolution was heartily passed, as was also one, moved by Mr. C. Rowley and seconded by Miss Ashton, thanking Mrs. Scott for presiding.

Mr. Mather, M.P., on the South African Problem.

(*Manchester Guardian*, May 31, 1900.)

Mr. William Mather, M.P. for the Rossendale Division of Lancashire, met his constituents for the first time last evening. It will be remembered that at the time of his election Mr. Mather was on the Continent suffering from illness, and therefore unable to make the acquaintance of the electors in person. * * *

Mr. Alderman Trickett occupied the chair. Among the occupants of the platform were Mr. Alderman G. Shepherd, Mr. Alderman A. Holt (Mayor of Haslingden), Mr. Alderman J. H. Spencer, Mr. J. J. Riley, Mr. Fred Pickup, Mr. Alderman Law, Mr. J. L. Whittaker, and others.

The Chairman said the electors of Rossendale were particularly pleased to see and hear their new member. They were also glad to see him in such excellent health. (Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman Shepherd (Bacup) moved: "That this meeting sincerely congratulates Mr. Mather on the improved state of his health, extends to him a hearty welcome on his first visit to Rossendale as its member, trusts he may be long spared to represent us in the House of Commons and take part in assisting the Liberal party to bring about those reforms that tend for the peace, prosperity, and general welfare of the people and country."

Mr. J. L. Whittaker (Haslingden), in seconding the resolution, said he was one of those who did not believe in the wisdom of allowing the Government to go on unchecked. If they believed in the principles of Liberalism they ought to feel the tremendous importance of those principles having full play in the settlement of the South African problem. It was fashionable among some Liberals to talk of imperialism—a spurious kind of imperialism—which was not helpful and never could be to this country or any other, and to talk as if the settlement which Mr. Gladstone made with the Transvaal was something to be ashamed of. Whatever might be the opinion of those Liberals he at any rate had never felt any doubt of the wisdom of Mr. Gladstone's policy. He would venture to go further and say if that policy had been pursued afterwards, the policy of men like Gladstone and Bright, instead of men like Rhodes

and Chamberlain, England and the South African Republics would not be engaged in a bloody war at this moment. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Mather, M.P., had a hearty reception on rising to speak. He acknowledged his deep sense of gratitude to the people of Rossendale for returning him as their representative when he was far away and unable to come to them. * * *

Since the election the country had passed through a very anxious and terrible period, but the gloom had now lifted, and what had given the greatest delight and joy to the whole nation, irrespective of politics, was that the relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking—(cheers)—had broken that tension which was almost intolerable from day to day as there gradually closed around those devoted garrisons an enemy worse than the enemy in the field—starvation, suffering, disease, and all those calamities which came to people shut off from their fellow creatures. (Hear, hear.) He shared in the general thankfulness and delight at the relief of those gallant garrisons, and he rejoiced to think that as long as the annals of war were written the names of these two places—Ladysmith and Mafeking—(cheers)—would stand as emblems of some of the noblest virtues possessed by the Anglo-Saxon race. (Cheers.) * * *

He believed that England was strong enough to be just. (Hear, hear.) They loved their country so fully that they willingly passed through all the opprobrium and calumnies cast upon them, because they wished to save their country from eternal disgrace. (Hear, hear.) He believed in the principles of Christianity as being living forces. * * *

To those who call him pro-Boer he might say "you are anti-Christ"—(hear, hear),—because he held that the principles enunciated in the gospels were not in accord with the views which such persons held in regard to the war. (Hear, hear.) He could give many reasons why the war was unnecessary and to show that it was begun by a kind of trickery which was called statesmanship nowadays, and that such statesmanship could not do otherwise than lead to war. We were now as a nation in one of the gravest positions this country had ever faced, and he desired that we should realise the fact and brace ourselves to deal with it. * * *

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It is not we who, on the scantiest of information, were ready to denounce the supposed mistakes of officers in command in the field. * * *

If we have held our peace it has not been for lack of something to say. (Laughter and cheers.) It has not been because there were no failures and no blunders to indicate, no doubts entertained as to certain actions or proposals of theirs. * * *

I have referred to the advice given to us a few months ago that we should defer till the close of the war our criticisms on the events that led up to the war. Taking it now that we are—if we are—at the close of the war (I am afraid we are not, but at all events we are getting near it), you can gauge for yourselves the absolute futility of that advice. * * *

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S RASHNESS AND RECKLESSNESS.

The accumulation of armaments by the Boers began before the Jameson Raid—a short time before the Jameson Raid.

The date can be almost accurately fixed. (A voice: "When was it?") A short time before the Jameson Raid—(laughter)—and it was continued year after year.

Did the Government make any remonstrance? No; they made no remonstrance, and the only excuse they have been able to make for their neglect was that they felt themselves compromised by the Raid and by their attitude regarding the Raid. (Cheers.) * * *

The small periodic detachments which he, the Colonial Secretary, was sending out, and against which my statement of opinion was, of course, directed, were ludicrously insufficient to give any strength whatever to the colonies which he knew—although we did not—lay at the mercy of the Republics. But at the same time these small detachments were ample enough to increase the acrid tone that had been imported into our relations with the Transvaal Government, and how far you yourself can judge—everyone for himself can judge how far that acrid tone contributed to the extinguishment of the chances of peace. (Cheers.)

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE FUTURE.

No one has described it in more forcible language than the Colonial Secretary himself, who spoke of it as a war which would be in the nature of a civil war, a long war, a costly war, and a war which would leave behind it embers of strife which generations would not be long enough to extinguish. (Hear, hear.) * * *

The war, we all knew, would end in the victory of British arms. But it is the state of things after the war which those of us who objected to the war had in our minds, and it is with them that we are confronted at this moment. * * *

ONE BROAD PRINCIPLE OF SETTLEMENT.

One broad principle may be laid down, which is this. The British Imperial power, which has hitherto been supreme in effect in South Africa, must in future be supreme in form as well as in effect. (Cheers.) And this naturally carries with it the point which is sometimes put in the foreground—namely, that there must be no possibility that any such outbreak of hostilities as we have been witnessing shall again occur. (Cheers.) * * *

Her Majesty's Government—it is they who allowed this war to overtake the country, or I will put it in a more kindly way—it is they who have failed to prevent this war from overtaking the country—(cheers)—and it is for them to deal with

the state of society which the war leaves behind it. We—you and I—are but observers and critics.

THE VALUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN ADVICE.

But this I will say—that if they are wise they will be in no hurry to determine the details of a settlement. * * *

In saying this I have specially in my mind our fellow-subjects at the Cape, whether they be of British or Dutch race. These, of all men, have the most interest in this question. * * *

I think you will see that it is upon us as taxpayers that will fall the burden if an unwise settlement at this time either leaves room for further troubles of the kind we have just been spectators of or involves a prolonged and costly military occupation. But these interests, great and worthy of respect as they are—what are they in comparison with the interests of those who are inhabitants of South Africa, whom we wish surely to maintain or to win as loyal fellow-subjects, who have to earn their bread, live their life day by day, amidst the very conditions which you and I only look upon from afar? (Cheers.) * * *

I should have thought that the wise course would have been to continue for some time, as we necessarily have occupation—to continue military administration until there was ample time for inquiry, and consultation, and consideration before fixing upon any definite proposal. (Cheers.) * * *

Let us restore as early as possible, and let us maintain those rights of self-government—(hear, hear)—which give not only life and vigour but contentment and loyalty, to every colony which enjoys them—(cheers)—the rights of self-government, shall I say by way of parenthesis? which I, for my part, have thought, and still continue to think, would work effectively for cordial conciliation between communities much nearer home. (Cheers.) * * *

A WORD FOR LORD SALISBURY.

* * * And, as if this was not enough, Lord Salisbury, in order to emphasise his determination, repeated the phrase "every shred of independence." If I thought that that was the spirit of the policy of our country to the subjugated States I would hark back to some truncated kind of independence, abnormal and absurd as it might be, and take it with all its risks and all its evils. * * *

But, on the other hand, if he meant that the citizens of the two States were to be deprived of all independence in their own internal government, then I do not hesitate to say that the conception and the spirit will be fatal to our empire in South Africa. (Cheers.) * * *

You have not got to reckon only with the little communities of the Transvaal and the Free State. You have to reckon with the whole Dutch community in South Africa, which is so closely interwoven. You have got to gain them to your side.

THE NATIVE RACES.

I think it is not quite seemly to put in the very forefront our great love for the native races. I am as strong an advocate of good treatment of natives in Africa and every other country as any man can be. But you will not persuade the world that it was for the sake of the natives that we went to war. (Laughter and cheers.) And I will give you two reasons why you will not persuade the world. The first is that it is not true, and the second that the world ought not to be persuaded. (Laughter.) * * *

Therefore I am afraid that malicious people—

and there are some malicious people in the world—will be apt to call it hypocrisy if we talk too much about our love for the native as a motive and object in this matter.

THE WAY TO PRODUCE "OBLIVION."

* * * * *

The Free State, by universal assent, was a well-ordered, a contented, and a happy community. It was so by universal consent. There was no imputation of corruption. There was no influx of men from Europe taking up high positions in the Government. There was no tyranny. There was no oligarchy. There was, if you please, a great mistake of policy, for which they have heavily suffered. How, then, can we better secure what surely we desire—that is, the return to happiness and contentment—than by granting at the earliest possible time, as soon as the fever and the fret of the war is abated, as much as possible of the form and powers of the government which they had before—(cheers)—so that the burgher when he goes about his daily business should be as little conscious of the change as possible between the old order and the new. * * *

THE ROYAL ROAD TO CONFIDENCE.

* * * You may drive a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink. There is truth, no doubt, in this view, and it is in this that the greatest difficulty of the situation resides. But if we were to yield to this view of the case, then all I can say is that the whole of your future policy may be described in one word, and that word is—despair. (Hear, hear.) * * *

We have to bring strength out of weakness, sweet out of bitter, peace out of strife, reluctant friendship out of open enmity. No piece of parchment, no writing with a pen, no passing of laws will affect it. It will be effected, if it is to be done at all, only by the temper and spirit of our Government. (Cheers.) Now the faults in the negotiations before the war, faults which are admitted by a large proportion of those even who are favourable to the war, faults which some of us think contributed to if they did not create the war—(cheers)—these faults were almost wholly faults of temper and spirit. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) * * *

FEDERATION PRINCIPLES.

But don't let us forget that there has been an attempt at South African Federation already, and that it signally failed. And what was the lesson of the failure? It was this, that federation to be successful must be, from its initiation to its conclusion, spontaneous on the part of the States to be federated. * * *

Mr. Morley at Oxford.

THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 11, 1900.)

After the toast of "The Queen," **Mr. J. L. Hammond** gave "The Liberal Party." He said that he recalled the time when it was the business of the Liberal members of the Palmerston Club to set some bounds to the Conservative tendencies of their colleagues. (Laughter and cheers.) Now the club was a united, a unanimous, and a militant body. (Cheers.) They had heard lately of a proposal to unite domestic Liberalism with the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. (Laughter.) They would not drink to that inauspicious combination. He ventured to predict that it would be short-lived. It was a marriage of convenience—(laughter)—and would be dissolved on account of *incompatibility of temper*. (Renewed laughter.)

They recalled that evening the Liberalism of the great President, who was so worthily succeeded by their guest. (Loud cheers.) That was the Liberalism which did not find its triumphs in the funerals of small nations—(cheers)—which won for this country the respect and not the curses of humanity. (Cheers.) Now we had the black looks of the world and the congratulations of the Sultan of Turkey. (Laughter and cheers.) Before and after the outbreak of the accursed war in South Africa Mr. Morley had been one of the few great statesmen of the country who had never been deafened or stunned or cowed. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Morley had had his reward. The brawling crowd which divided the Government of this country, with a number of gentlemen who found it easier to influence our Press than to speak our tongue, had never made Mr. Morley their ideal. (Laughter and cheers.) But Mr. Morley's name was cherished wherever men cherished honour, humanity, and courage. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Morley, who on rising was greeted with loud cheers, said: I have to thank you all for the extremely cordial welcome that you have been good enough to extend to me, and I have especially to thank Mr. Hammond for the kind words—too kind words—he used about me. * * *

LIBERAL IMPERIALISM.

With the best will in the world and with good faith, I have read dissertations, I have pondered over oracles, and I cannot for the life of me form any clear opinion in my own mind of what it is that distinguishes Liberal Imperialism from Unionist Imperialism. (Loud cheers.) * * *

LIBERAL MILITARISM.

When I am told that the nation ought to be willing to face conscription in order to promote the predominance of empire—not the existence, not the security, but the predominance of empire,—when I read language of that kind from men of character, of authority, and responsibility, I confess I cannot see what kind of difference there is between Liberal Imperialism and Liberal militarism. * * *

I have the honour and pleasure of knowing some soldiers, and I know no men so little apt as soldiers are to sing to the glory of war. (Cheers.) No; it is not the militarism of soldiers to which some of us, at all events, object. It is to political militarism and Imperial militarism. (Loud cheers.) What a conjunction of words—Liberal militarism. There is one other conjunction more entirely out of season, more extraordinary still, and that is clerical militarism. (Renewed and continued cheering.)

There is a great deal in the circumstances of the last eight or ten months which is perplexing and conflicting, but I declare nothing to my mind is so perplexing, nothing is so conflicting as clerical militarism—(hear, hear)—the glorification of war by men whose profession is peace, the glorification of all the advantages that come from the moral discipline of war from the lips of men who have no intention of undertaking any of that moral discipline. I believe that, amongst the many symptoms of a retrograde humour in our community, pulpit militarism is the very worst. We are told—not from the pulpit; I am now talking from the point of view of party reconstruction—we are told that war braces nations, unites nations, moulds nations. I know; but then, if that be so, how thankful we ought to be that we have a Government that has let loose all those vivifying energies and all those regenerating

forces. (Laughter.) To go to the poll against the Government that has brought all these natural blessings within our reach would be flying in the face of Providence. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) * * *

A MORAL AND POLITICAL CONFLAGRATION.

If I have the honour of addressing any candidate to-night, I will venture to say to him, if he supposes he will disarm the hostility of a single elector, or attract the favour of a single elector, by talking the language or pretending to espouse the principles of this new kind of Imperialism, I believe he will make, from his own point of view alone, a great mistake. (Hear, hear.) * * *

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE WAR.

It is said that the war was made necessary, just, and inevitable by the Boer ultimatum of October 10 or October 11. I can never accept that view. (Loud cheers.) * * *

I am not going into that now. This is not the occasion. Only when you are told that the war was made necessary by the Boer ultimatum don't be taken in by any such thing. (Cheers.) * * *

When they say that we who hold these views—and in saying that we hold these views I for one, at all events, do not in the least disparage those who are not able to take the same view, the question being an immensely difficult one, and full of complex and intricate conditions—but I say that to assert that we who hold these views are a miserable faction is to be entirely in the dark, in my judgment, after applying all the tests that I have been able to apply as to the true currents of opinion among the Liberal party in this country. (Cheers.) * * *

THE FIRST ACT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DRAMA.

On the 29th of September a Cabinet Minister said that "there is not a single member of the Government who would not regard it as an unmitigated misfortune if we were obliged to take over the government of the Transvaal into our own hands." (Hear, hear.) That unmitigated misfortune has befallen us. * * *

Now, the very first occasion on which I addressed any remarks to the public or to my own constituents upon the approaching war was in the beginning of September, and I urged the South African Republic to make frank concessions. I pointed out that in case of war their military defeat was certain, and that war must mean—the Government being what it is—the extinction of their independence. * * *

What I said to this country was: "You will win your battle. You will have to take the government into your own hands, and depend upon it you will make a Crown colony of the Transvaal." That was in September. * * *

I have always regarded the war and those annexations that we are now witnessing—as to the war I shall say something in a moment—with all their wrongs, burdens, and mischiefs, as one transaction, and that was one reason why I protested against the war being entered upon because it would lead to the "unmitigated misfortune" we now see. * * *

It is impossible to argue the present situation as if the war had not taken place. You have kindled and rekindled racial passion. You began by saying that these two races had to live together, and what you have done is to fan the fires of hatred between neighbour and neighbour to a point of intensity that has not been known in this century in South Africa. You have dislocated industry. You have thrown the whole machinery of government out of gear. You have raised masterful and

tyrannical and conquering ideas in the breasts of British colonists. (Hear, hear.) We cannot treat all that as if it were non-existent.

BLOTTING OUT THE WORD "FREE."

You have extinguished the independence of the Orange River Free State. (A voice: No, no.) I do not say whether we ought to have done so or not. To avoid controversy I will say you have made a proclamation which extinguishes the independence of the Orange Free State—(hear, hear), and there has now been conferred upon it the title or style of the Orange River Colony. I am sure it is the first time in the history of this country that it has begun its acquisition of the territory of a white community by blotting out, as the Russian censor blots out an obnoxious newspaper article, the sacred word "free." (Loud cheering, which continued for several minutes.) Yes, gentlemen, the sacred word "free," which represented, as Englishmen have always thought until to-day, the noblest aspirations that can animate the breast of man. (Renewed cheers.) You have hauled in the British flag, that glorious ensign that has floated triumphantly before now over some of the grandest scenes of English history—that ensign which we never see in distant lands or on strange waters without a thrill of pride and affection. (Cheers.) Yes, but in South Africa to-day your escutcheon has drawn across it the bar sinister. (Hear, hear.) * * *

We have done what I think and what I gather most if not all of you think a great wrong,—(hear, hear.)—a wrong of which I believe there is scarcely an Englishman living who will not bitterly repent. (Cheers.) But it is done. * * *

A WISE AND PATIENT ADMINISTRATION NEEDED.

I want to say no word that will give offence or cause irritation, but when I see it suggested that the present High Commissioner should go to the Transvaal and arrange a settlement, that will be the last link in the chain of preposterous absurdity and folly. (Cheers.) * * *

A SLEEK AND COMPLACENT ILLUSION.

People who have once known real liberty in your sense and mine will not draw this distinction between real, comfortable liberty, as an English administrator may think good for them, and their own independence—the right of making their own laws. They won't recognise that distinction. (Cheers.) When we consider the dogged tenacity with which those men have flung themselves, at sacrifices that not a man in this room can realise, into this bloody struggle for the independence of their own community and country—aye; and even in this case twelve months ago we should have all declared it to be the most noble object for which a man can sacrifice himself and die—we can judge for ourselves how likely men of this kind are to subside into quiescence under the rule which you have started under the most hateful circumstances that can possibly by human imagination be conceived. (Cheers.) * * *

We are told that this war, at all events, will end in setting up equal rights. A gentleman who is a member of the Legislative Assembly of Natal, writes in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine, and he says: "The concession of self-government will have to be guarded—(laughter)—so as to ensure the preponderance of voting power in favour of those who are loyal to the Crown, until time and experience shall have made all loyal, and this can be done by a judicious splitting up of the constituencies." (Renewed laughter.) * * *

THE NATIVE QUESTION.

There is just one point to which I should like to refer, because I know it has great influence upon the minds of many with whom I sympathise, and whose motives I respect—the question of the treatment of the natives. * * *

Deep down in the hearts of this country there is a passionate feeling for fair play, justice, and humanity—for fair play, justice, and humanity to what we call the inferior races—(hear, hear)—and many at this moment find balm for their misgivings in the belief that there will, after all, out of this terrible struggle, come some good to those races. * * *

I am not going into the history of our treatment of the natives in South Africa. It is one of the most abominable chapters in the history of our times, one of the most abominable chapters in the history of our dealings with inferior races. Listen to this. Listen to what is told us by a gentleman, who is a missionary, who writes, I think, like a candid and honourable and high-minded man. He writes like that; I do not know him. What does he say? "For unabashed, selfish disregard for justice in its application to the black man commend me to some of the settlers from Europe, who have been in Cape Colony only a few years." Those are the Outlanders. "The Outlander, who has come to live in the Transvaal, has adopted the Boer view of the black man with alacrity, and is quite willing to go one better"—which we should call one worse. He says, further, what to anybody ever to be responsible for the government of South Africa is a most formidable statement—"whatever form of government may be established in the Transvaal after the war, one thing is certain, that if the spirit of Lord Salisbury's assurances"—that is, his assurances of better conditions for native races—"if the spirit of Lord Salisbury's assurances is to be kept in mind it will have to be maintained in defiance of the public opinion of the Transvaal community, Boer and Outlander alike." (Hear, hear.) * * *

There has been a very interesting and remarkable series of articles in the *Times* on the Soudan. I advise anybody who thinks that slavery has been abolished in the Soudan because of our predominance there to read those articles. * * *

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The question really is between what are called Liberal Imperialists and people like—I think I may now say—us. (Loud cheers.) * * *

I will read it to you in the words of my predecessor as president of this club: "Of all the empires whose rise and fall have been recorded in history, there is not one that has owed its ruin or decay to checking the lust of territorial acquisition. The wisest of the Roman Emperors was also the one who even recalled the boundaries of his dominions from beyond the Danube. England, which has grown so great, might easily become little through the effeminate selfishness of luxurious living, through neglect of realities at home." (Hear, hear.) Those words of Mr. Gladstone touch the latest phase of Imperialism. * * *

THE OLD LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

The day when the Liberal party forsakes its old principles—I don't call them catchwords or shibboleths—of peace, economy, and reform, the Liberal party will have to disband and to disappear. * * *

But really, if I were unfortunately called upon to choose between the Socialist and the Militarist,

with all his random aims, his profusion of national resources, his disregard for the rights and the feelings of other people, I declare to you that I consider the Socialist's standards are higher and his aims are not any more wild. (Cheers.) * * *

Examine Liberal principles, and examine them in the light that experience and the history of this country have thrown upon them, and you will see that we who are to-day so disparaged are upholding the flag and principles which have done more than all others for the greatness, the strength, the power, and the unity of this Empire, and above all for the well-being of the people of this island, who must be the centre and the most vital force within that Empire. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Dr. R. Spence Watson, in proposing the toast of "The Palmerston Club," said:—

* * * He did not like in the presence of his old friend to say too much about it, but it had been an inspiring utterance. (Cheers.) They had listened to true Liberalism. (Cheers.) If, coming from the remote North, they would permit him to say it, it had been like a breath of that vigorous, fresh, cold, pure air which he left only that morning. (Cheers.) * * *

They had only to consider this war and the issues arising out of this abominable war—(loud cheers)—to see that it had an aspect that they thought too little of perhaps in this country, for in very truth in many of its aspects it was a civil war. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Those of them who looked back into the past, those of them who remembered the struggle of the gallant Hungarians, the struggle of the Italians, to which Mr. Morley had alluded, aye, and even the struggles that were still going on in the great Empire of Russia—did it not make them feel ashamed of themselves? There was not a miserable despot on the earth who could not say to England now—"Art thou also become like unto us?" * * *

It could not be that this land of theirs was going to fall so low. They would suffer in this country. These things could not be done in South Africa without their suffering, and suffering grievously. (Cheers.) * * *

As Mr. Morley pointed out, they would win, but that did not make the war right. * * *

What they had needed was a leader, and the voice of a leader. (Loud cheers.) That leader they had listened to, and that voice they had heard that night. (Loud cheers.) There was some hope in the very fierceness of the war fever which had spread over them, because it was so fierce that it might burn itself out the quicker. * * *

They had been defeated over and over again, but their principles had never been defeated, and never would be. (Loud cheers.) There would come a time when men would return to their sanity in matters of this kind, let it be longer or shorter. Let those who were old and those who were young alike determine that they would go on patiently fighting, regardless of the end.

Others, I doubt not, if not we,
The issue of our toils will see;
And, we forgotten and unknown,
Young children gather as their own
The harvest which the dead have sown,
(Loud cheers.)

Great Women's Demonstration in London.

(Manchester Guardian, June 14, 1900.)

* * * It was a bold venture of the Committee to take one of the largest halls in London for the

purpose, but in the result their courage was triumphantly justified. The hall, which is capable of seating between three and four thousand persons, was completely filled in every part. The speeches were brief, excellent, and to the point, and the tone of the meeting was enthusiastic and unanimous. The object of the demonstration was to enable all women who were so minded to protest against the policy which led to the present war in South Africa and the attempt to silence by disorder and violence all freedom of speech. * *

The chair was taken by *Mrs. Leonard Courtney*, who was supported by a distinguished body of ladies, including Lady Carlisle, Lady Coleridge, Lady Farrer, Lady Hobhouse, Lady Mary Murray, Lady Agatha Russell, Lady Constance Shaw-Lefevre, Lady Grove, Lady Burne-Jones, Mrs. Arthur Acland, Mrs. Alfred Booth, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Mrs. Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Thomas Burt, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, Mrs. Lunn, Mrs. C. P. Scott, Mrs. Bryce, Mrs. Byles, Mrs. Tomkinson, Mrs. Annie Hicks, Miss I. O. Ford, and Miss Ellen Robinson.

Mrs. Courtney, who on rising was received with loud cheers, said: We have asked you to come together this evening not to hear the speeches of great and important political persons, but that each one of you may have opportunity of making your earnest protest against this war in South Africa—a war which, we believe, is tainted in its origin. The financial ring is no fit origin for a British war, brought about by the misunderstandings and by misleading and arrogant diplomacy, and made possible in justice-loving England—yes, I still say justice-loving England, for surely if our people knew they would be just—(hear, hear)—made possible by the poisoning of the public mind against the people of two South African Republics. The burghers of the Transvaal especially have been living as under a magnifying glass. Every bad story, of however long ago, has been raked up against them; every present sin—and what nation is without sin?—multiplied four-fold or exaggerated till it becomes a lie; the vivid imaginings of newspaper correspondents in search of copy have been endowed with the authority of official statements; and in some instances—rare, I would fain believe—deliberate lies have been concocted to ruin our opponents. * *

The one bright spot in all this sad year has been the devotion of our soldiers to what they believe to be their duty to their country—their courage in facing death, their cheerfulness in facing hardship and privation. (Cheers.) * *

Their blood can be no sacrifice to redeem the sin of those who have brought it about. Rather it adds to our indignation. They have done their duty; we will do ours. (Cheers.) * *

The flags for which they have fought so bravely are to be furled for ever. Their independence is to be torn to shreds. Against that also we have come together to protest. (Hear, hear.) It may be, and probably will be, in vain. But we cannot silently acquiesce in a great wrong—in a wrong which will be difficult, perhaps unprofitable, to maintain, which in South Africa will make confusion worse confounded, and which we believe will be a dishonour to the history of this great country of ours. (Cheers.) Continuing, *Mrs. Courtney* announced that there had been received many letters and telegrams of sympathy from women's political bodies in this country, from individuals, from clergymen, who assured them that their congratulations were with them (a very welcome

fact), and also greetings from three foreign bodies, a peace body in Berlin, and the Universal Women's Alliance for Peace, whose head-quarters were at Paris. (Cheers.) She also received that afternoon a letter from the Netherlands Women's League for International Disarmament, which she would read, and to which she proposed to send an appropriate reply. * *

A poem by *Mr. William Watson*, specially written for the occasion, was then declaimed with fine elocutionary effect by *Madame San Carolo*. It ran as follows:—

I greet you and am with you, friends of peace,
Of equity, of freedom. 'Tis an hour
Inhospitable to reason's tempering word,
Yet, being brave, being women, you will speak
The thought that must be spoken without fear.
The voice of chivalry grows faint, the note
Of patriotism is well-nigh overborne.
For what is patriotism but noble care
For our own country's honour in men's eyes
And zeal for the just glory of her arms?
Keep, then, that zeal, that noble care, alive.
Keep, then, from altogether perishing
The light of the authentic patriot flame,
And in this day, when England half forgets
That empires die not starved but surfeited,
Warn her that though she whelm a kindred race,
A valiant people, stubborn built as we,
Yet shall they gnaw hereafter at our heel,
Secretly unsubdued, though beaten down;
Too near ourselves to be in spirit o'ercome,
But on fierce memories fed, and evermore
Upborne in heart by the saluting world.

The first resolution was as follows:—

"That this meeting of women, brought together from all parts of the United Kingdom, condemns the unhappy war now raging in South Africa as mainly due to the bad policy of the Government—a policy which has already cost in killed, wounded, and missing over twenty thousand of our bravest soldiers, and the expenditure of millions of money drawn from the savings and toil of the British people, while to the two small States with whom we are at war it is bringing utter ruin and desolation."

Mrs. Bryce feared that after the burning words to which the audience had just listened her own poor words would fall somewhat flat. *Mrs. Bryce's* speech, however, was warmly applauded throughout. * *

It seems to me (said *Mrs. Bryce*) that throughout this whole affair we have shown a most extraordinary want of imagination. (Hear, hear.) Have we ever asked ourselves how all these things that have been happening in the last eight months, and all the things that preceded those eight months, appear to the Dutch in the two small Republics and in the other colonies of South Africa? * * * There has been endless misrepresentation, distortion of facts, and leaving out of facts when they did not suit our case. * *

Mrs. Bryce reminded the meeting of the history of the Dutch in South Africa—how they were there 200 years before we went there, and had acquired the patriotism that came from making a country their home, and said that nearly all our mistakes, nearly all our blunders and crimes, have been the result of this lack of imagination. The real point—the turning point—in the whole affair was the Raid on Johannesburg in 1895; but having been in Pretoria and Johannesburg a few weeks before that rising she knew from personal knowledge that at that time, in spite of a great deal that was very stupid, unreasonable, and retrogressive on the part of the Transvaal Government, there was then a party in the Transvaal who

were ready to join hands with the British for constitutional reform. The Raid put everything out; not so much the Raid itself as its attendant circumstances, and the conduct of the English Government in connection with it. From that time the Dutch had never trusted us, and we went into the negotiations that preceded the war heavily handicapped. We were also unfortunate in the statesman who conducted the negotiations on our side. (Cheers.) * * *

We committed every possible blunder in our diplomacy, and allowed our High Commissioner to ally himself solely with the British as against the Dutch, with the result that people in Cape Colony, though loyal, were burning with indignation at the way they had been called traitors and disloyal. (Hear, hear.) * * *

The resolution was seconded by *Miss Ellen Robinson*, whose humorous and pungent analysis of the circumstances that led to the war were highly appreciated by the audience.

The resolution was carried amid great enthusiasm, with only two or three dissentients.

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The thought that must be spoken without fear.
The voice of chivalry grows faint, the note
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For what is patriotism but noble care
For our own country's honour in men's eyes
And zeal for the just glory of her arms?
Keep, then, that zeal, that noble care, alive.
Keep, then, from altogether perishing
The light of the authentic patriot flame,
And in this day, when England half forgets
That empires die not starved but surfeited.
Warn her that though she whelm a kindred race,
A valiant people, stubborn built as we,
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trenches. (Cheers.) Think of the mothers sending forth boys of 15 to die in their last ditch for their country—(cheers)—and say whether in the cause of liberty these men and women have not deserved well of history and the world. (Cheers.) If for saying this we are told we do not love our country, we can bear it bravely, being well assured that what is best in our country will always claim kindred with a free people struggling to maintain its liberty. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried amid loud cheers.

Miss Emily Hobhouse, honorary secretary to the Women Workers of the South Africa Conciliation Committee moved the following resolution: "That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with the women of the South African Republic and Orange Free State, and conveys to them the assurance that thousands of English women are filled with profound sorrow at the thought of their sufferings, and with deep regret for the action of the British Government." She said it was most encouraging to her to see that meeting. There were gathered together in that hall people from the tract of country from Wales to Yarmouth, from Portsmouth to Gateshead, and away to far Aberdeen. Even remote Cornwall, sunk in Jingoism, unworthy of its greatest representative—(cheers)—had her delegate, and had sent many names of persons who expressed sympathy with them. * * *

They looked at that meeting as a great starting point for future work. It was in that light that she begged they would try to regard it, and she hoped they would take away from the meeting a fresh determination to work for the cause they had at heart. * * *

They were able at the present moment to assure Mr. Chamberlain that those Boer capitalists whom he fancied were financing them had not yet come forward. (Laughter.) * * *

Referring to the resolution, Miss Hobhouse said their hearts leapt up in sympathy for those women on whom the brunt of the suffering of the war had fallen. (Hear, hear.)

Miss Ford, in seconding the resolution, said it was splendid to think that this protest was going from the hearts of British women, who only could understand what those other women had been going through. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Watson said they were brave, and she was glad to think they were; but they were also persistent, and when women took up a thing they never let it drop. They would work all the harder now that they had seen what real enthusiasm there was among the women of Great Britain and Ireland. The Boer women, too, were brave, but she envied the cause in which they were brave. (Cheers.) They had none of that sting behind them of feeling that their country had not acted as it ought to have done. They loved their country as British women loved their country, and that was why they met that night to say that they would try to wipe out the stain that now existed through this war. (Cheers.)

The resolution was passed amid cheers.

The large assembly then sang the National Anthem, and the proceedings came to a close.

Public Meeting at Bradford.

(Manchester Guardian, July 21, 1900.)

A public meeting convened by the Bradford branch of the South African Conciliation Committee was held this evening in the Mechanics' Hall "to consider the true policy of resettlement in South Africa." **Mr. Alfred Illingworth**

presided, and there were on the platform Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P.; Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.; the Rev. Adrian Moorrees (vice-president of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church), Mr. Joshua Rowntree, Mr. W. P. Byles, and many of the leading inhabitants of Bradford. The hall was well filled.

The Chairman, who was received with cheers, said that in expressing the wish that the unfortunate warfare in South Africa might soon come to an end he felt he was only voicing the desire of every rational person in the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) For the last twelve months we have been indulging ourselves in an exhibition of unfriendly feelings towards two small communities in South Africa, and finally we were led into what he did not hesitate to say to-day—as he had felt all the way through—was an unnecessary and inglorious war. (Hear, hear.) He did not for one moment represent the case as one in which only our own Government was at fault. But of this he was quite satisfied—that had we had at the head of the Colonial Office a wise and cautious statesman—(hear, hear),—such a man as had filled that very important post in the past, who would not for one moment have allowed himself to be influenced by ambition or hasty feeling in the discharge of his most important duties, we should not have been in the position we now were with regard to these two Republics. In addition, we should have been saved the horrors and the melancholy results of the present warfare, the carnage, the pestilence, and the inevitable alienation and strife that the future had in store for us, to say nothing about the enormous waste of public resources, which had resulted from the war. (Hear, hear.)

Amongst the apologies for absence were a telegram from Mr. Percy Molteno and a letter from Mr. John Lister, who wrote that he was laid up by injuries received at Brighouse, which had entailed a serious operation.

Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheers, said there was a charm about that meeting to which in recent days he had not been much accustomed. (Laughter.) He rejoiced to think that he was now back upon the old paths which had been trodden in former years, so much to the distinction of our country. (Hear, hear.) That meeting was perfectly open. There were some present who were not in agreement with what appeared to be the feeling of the dominant majority, and he appealed to these—now that they were getting back to the old ways—to be faithful to the traditions of the past, and to weigh the arguments presented to them without haste, prejudice, or anger, but with an open, sincere, and friendly mind. (Cheers.) * * *

It was twenty years since he first addressed the House of Commons in relation to the Boer Republic—since he protested against the annexation of the Transvaal. Annexation at that time was completed, but four years later it was rescinded and the Republic was set up again. The second step may have been foolish, the first step may have been wise, but at all events there was in a very short period a great change of national policy. This experience of the past justified the position he had taken up at the present time. (Cheers.) When the first threatenings of the present difficulty rose he took the earliest steps to protest against the danger ahead. * * *

The Orange Free State—a Republic of Boer farmers—was well ordered and well organised.

and the Transvaal, also peopled by the Boer farmers, was in the same happy position until the discovery of gold. He would ask anyone whether it was not true that if gold had not been discovered we should have had no quarrel—(loud cheers)—and no war. (A Voice: "You say so.") He asked anyone to deny it. (A Voice: "I deny it," and laughter.) Then they would take note of the denial and pass on. (Cheers and laughter.) We had no quarrel with the Free States. Mr. Balfour was witness to that, and there would under similar circumstances have been no quarrel with the Transvaal. * * *

The Chairman had referred to the fact that Paul Kruger was an old man, representing a class of politicians that was passing away. A growing force within the Transvaal itself was making for reform. In the Orange Free State the fusion between the English and the Dutch was complete, and in the Transvaal there was a movement towards reform of the same character which would have been realised if we had had patience to wait. (Hear, hear, * * *)

It might be noted that within the last few days Dr. Jameson, unblushing as to the wickedness of the past, adhered to the declaration—which was perhaps quite easy—that if he had got 150 of his men through he would have made the thing a complete success, which by the way was a singular commentary on the preparations which the Transvaal was said to have been always undertaking to make war upon us. (Hear, hear.) That raid aggravated everything that had gone before. * * *

It was said—and Mr. Rhodes was the prophet in this case—that Mr. Kruger would climb down and that he would not fight. Then it was prophesied that it would be a military promenade, and that we should be at Pretoria at Christmas. Those prophecies had all failed. And yet those were the prophets in whom the people were still asked to believe. If all those prophecies had failed, what credit could the people who had uttered them assume to themselves now? (Cheers.) They were discredited men; their testimony had been falsified by experience day by day and hour by hour. And now they came forward and said it had been a more troublesome business than they thought, and there was only one way of dealing with it, and that was to crush the power of the two Republics, to reduce them to a mere combination of atoms, having no organic existence, miserable units under our authority, with no shred of independence left. Then, they said, all would be well in the future. What simple faith. (Loud cheers.) * * *

If they left these people no shred of independence they might still be certain that from generation to generation the territory would be handed down, the story of the past would be revived, every opportunity of recovering their lost freedom would be seized upon, and there would be permanent turmoil and discontent. (Cheers.) Discussing the steps that might be taken after the war to restore something of the progress and development that were in progress when war broke out, Mr. Courtney held that the Orange Free State Republic was already so well organised that it could be easily set up again. (Cheers.) The case of the Transvaal was more difficult, because care would have to be taken to avoid a conflict between the mining interests of the Rand and those of the pastoral population. But if once the Government could be shown that the temper of the English nation was in favour of a reasonable and just policy towards these two Republics, a

great step would have been taken towards their re-establishment. (Cheers.) It was no new temper that was wanted, but a temper very different from that hideous one which had been manifested in the last six months. (Cheers.) Surely such a temper could be found. Surely the old spirit of love for freedom and liberty which had always been a characteristic of the English race had not so far disappeared that it could not again be brought into life. * * *

But the annexation was not yet wholly accomplished, and the period for which it would last if it were established was not yet fixed. What they were doing by protesting might not be fruitful in actual results at this moment, but if they succeeded in affecting in any degree the temper of the British people, if they brought home the conviction that the ultimate settlement—the judgment of two, five, or ten years hence—could not be bound by the judgment of to-day they would not have protested in vain. (Cheers.) * * *

By that time (October), however, something more would be done in South Africa. We might have gone through the form of annexing and might probably have set up a military government and formed a Crown colony. Probably it would be a military government more aggravating and of a more foolish character than that which prevailed more than twenty years ago. There would then be the same result—discontent and alienation, not confined to the two Republics, but working through Cape Colony and Natal. * * *

Discontent would spread throughout South Africa, and we might lose our colonies there altogether. That was the future to which we might look forward as the possible, indeed the probable, consummation of that evil policy in which the country was now invited to take part. He implored them to pronounce their judgment against the beginning of that policy. Now was the time to be wise; it rested with the people of England to say what should be the future of South Africa, and he implored them to say that the settlement should proceed upon the enduring and eternal lines of eternal progress, which must in the end succeed. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., moved a resolution protesting against the annexation of the Boer Republics, as being contrary to the public declarations of Her Majesty's Ministers, alien to the best traditions of a freedom-loving country, burdensome to the resources of the nation, and wholly distasteful to the majority of our fellow-subjects in South Africa.

Debate on the Colonial Office Vote.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 26, 1900.)

Mr. S. BUXTON: On the constitutional question, so far as it was disclosed in the Blue-book, he had no criticism or complaint to offer. The rebels and what should be done with them was a question of Imperial as well as colonial interest, and the right hon. gentlemen having been asked by the responsible Ministry of the Cape was perfectly entitled to state his views. But it appeared from a memorandum of one of the members of the Cape Cabinet—such, at least, was the inference to be drawn—that there had been some threat that if they did not adopt the views of the right hon. gentleman the constitution of the Cape would be suspended, and his views would be enforced. * * *

It was an extraordinary thing, and one of the fatal consequences of this war, that we should have to deal at this moment with the cases of something like 10,000 persons, rebels against the British Crown. * * *

It spoke highly for the loyalty of the Dutch colonial population that so few joined the rebels except in districts that were occupied by Boer forces. The fact went far to demonstrate that the alleged conspiracy of the Dutch against the English did not rest on any solid foundation. In a sense, of course, the rebels in the occupied districts, as Sir A. Milner said, joined the enemy willingly, though he was bound to say—from his interesting dispatch—that, especially in the district of Barkly East, those persons who were rebels and must suffer for their rebellion made an appeal for protection from the Orange Free State burghers, in order that they might maintain their loyalty to the English Crown; and that it was only after protection had been taken away that, finding themselves in a difficult position, they were in a sense compelled to throw in their lot with the enemy. Of course they were to blame, but the chief fault, in his judgment, lay not with those discouraged men but with the Government, and with the right hon. gentleman, in not taking care that such a condition of things could not arise. The temptation to join, and the opportunity for their joining, was afforded by the action of Her Majesty's Government. It was absolute want of foresight and want of preparation on the part of the Government which caused the rebellion. * * *

But in considering that punishment it obviously ought to have three qualities. It ought not to be vindictive; it ought to be, obviously, not tainted with any political bias; and it ought to be a punishment which would not be continuous, and would not leave an open sore and a continuous rancour for years to come. * * *

Sir WILFRID LAWSON believed the time had now arrived for the country, so to speak, to take stock, and find out what the real advantage of this war policy had been. In doing that we must look at the origin of the war. As far as he could see, the only reason why we interfered with the Transvaal was because we considered it was badly governed. We alleged that the franchise in that country wanted arranging, that its rulers were corrupt, and that the Outlanders were governed by an oligarchy. The last reason troubled us most tremendously. Mr. Kruger, after all, was only a typical Tory and was carrying out a Tory policy in South Africa. Why the Tory Government of this country could not stand Tory principles in South Africa he never could make out.—(Hear, hear.) It seemed extraordinary to him that we should set ourselves to settle these abuses. We talked about corruption in South Africa, but we seemed to forget that most of our time had been spent in giving public money to private individuals. (Opposition cheers.)

Then as to the complaint of an oligarchy in South Africa, although they professed to be legislators in that House the whole power was in the Upper Chamber. The Boers were attached to all the abuses in the Transvaal just as hon. members opposite were attached to abuses in this country. He believed that if a set of foreigners were to come over here and say they were going to put an end to the House of Lords there would not be a Radical or Democrat or Socialist who would not resist them to the death, however much he might dislike the House of Lords. (Opposition laughter and cheers.) There was a great love of freedom,

and a nation would rather be badly governed by itself than have foreigners to govern it. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Some people in this country held to the view "Our country right or wrong," but he did not, for one, believe in it. The same people believed that this country must be backed up whether it was doing the right thing or not. * * *

This idea which he had illustrated was leading to the crushing out of the independence of the South African Republics. * * *

Mr. ELLIOT (Unionist, Durham) agreed with the hon. baronet that there were few interests that deserved their more strenuous support than the cause of peace, and it was incumbent on them to show patience, forbearance, and long suffering to bring that about. * * *

He had read the Blue-books, and he never in his life went through more painful reading.—(Opposition cheers.) The task before the Imperial Government was a difficult one, but it was one which it behoved them to take. They would have to look on both sides in order to avoid the probability of being led away by local faction. * * *

He said without hesitation that any candidate who thought when he addressed his constituents that he would gain popularity by exciting animosity against the enemy—by, so to speak, beating the war drum—would be acting a part hostile to the highest interests of this country. (Opposition cheers.) He looked with confidence to the right hon. gentleman to indicate, as had been done in some of the despatches, that the Government were not actuated by vindictive motives. (Cheers.) * * *

To say of those who opposed annexation that they were enemies of their country was to talk nonsense. (Opposition cheers.) He did not condemn them as being unpatriotic, but he did say that those who argued in favour of setting up again what had been knocked over and destroyed—a sort of independent or quasi-independent nationalities—were shutting their eyes to the facts. * * *

He should like to point out that in the rebellions of 1715, 1745, and 1780 we had never tried persons otherwise than by the ordinary law—trial by jury. * * *

But he desired to point out that even the loyalists were willing to go lengths which the Government of this country had not gone in the case of the rebellions to which he had referred. He desired to refer to Lord Roberts's despatch of June 1, containing his proclamation warning the inhabitants of the Orange River Colony that after fourteen days those who were found in arms would be liable to be dealt with as rebels. He would like to have a legal explanation, because he could not understand how it was in the power of one of the belligerents by using a proclamation to turn those who were armed enemies into rebels. (Opposition cheers.) Supposing war broke out between France and England, and the island of Jersey fell into the hands of the French, would it be maintained that by issuing a proclamation annexing this British territory the French could thereby turn those who had been enemies into rebels? (Hear, hear.) * * *

Without tact, without judgment, and without the exercise of very considerable patience, what was the result we should bring ourselves to? He did not think there was any harm in mentioning it, for everyone must know that that result would be the suspension of constitutional government in Cape Colony.

Sir R. REID remarked that if the spirit which had characterised the hon. gentleman's speech had

been more apparent in the House and in the country during the last twelve months he believed this wretched war might have been averted, or at all events that the difficulties in which we found ourselves now would have been considerably reduced. As a matter of fact, he did not think anyone could uphold the methods that had been adopted and almost countenanced by those high in authority in regard to public meeting and free speech throughout the country. He was glad to believe that now there was a more sober view in regard to this public calamity and the intense danger of the situation in which we found ourselves placed. This was the first opportunity they had had for a considerable time of considering the policy which had landed them in the present position, and it was the last they would have this session, and it might be during this Parliament.

* * *

Lord James of Hereford the other day asked "Who were the Liberal Imperialists?" and said "he objected to Unionist candidates being opposed by men who had nothing to say but that they thought the Government was right in what they were doing. He wanted to have the fight fairly fought; they did not want to have the white flag hoisted and then to be fired at from under it." (Laughter.) He (Sir R. Reid) was not one of those Liberal Imperialists. (Cheers and laughter.) He had a very imperfect conception of what Liberal Imperialism meant; but it was certainly a curious situation if the chief offence that could be perpetrated against the Government from the Liberal side of the House was to express a sincere belief in the wisdom of its policy. * * *

He desired to look at the actual facts of the situation simply from the point of view of the interests of our own country and of the British Empire. * * *

In killed, in captives, and in those invalided home the effective forces in South Africa had been diminished by 35,000 men, and he believed the number in hospital in South Africa was 20,000, making a total of 55,000 men. * * *

He had not the materials upon which to discuss the complaints in regard to martial law. But there was nothing more liable to abuse, and certain rules and precepts ought to be observed with the greatest possible care. There ought never to be a refusal to allow legal advice. There ought never to be detention for an undue period before trial. There ought never to be a martial court sitting alongside of the civil court, because as soon as the civil power was able to reassert itself martial law, in regard to civil offences, became unlawful, and was in itself one of the greatest crimes that could be perpetrated. It was, of course, for the Cape Parliament primarily to inquire into these complaints. But the fact remained that a population that had been living hitherto in perfect harmony was now divided into hostile camps corresponding with racial differences—a most grave and most dangerous condition of things. (Hear, hear.)

* * *

For some time, no doubt, the Boers would have been so stunned by the terrific blow that had been levelled against them that they would be quiescent and unable to take a hostile part. But there was too much reason to fear, from the lessons of history, from the history of the Dutch races themselves, that they would not long acquiesce. A great army must be maintained there, with great lines of communication through our existing colonies, which were by no means likely to acquiesce in the subjugation of their fellow-countrymen. * * *

If it were true, as admitted by Mr. Chamberlain himself in a passage that had been quoted, that this was to last for generations, what was the prospect before us? (Cheers.) * * *

It is supposed by some that love for the Empire is confined to gentlemen sitting on the other side of the House—(laughter)—but what is the prospect to anyone who takes a pride in the Empire? What is our position to-day in China? What are our duties all over the world? Is it possible this should be overlooked by anyone who seriously reflects on the situation? (Cheers.) Moreover, this great force that will be required will have to be maintained at the cost of the people of this country. Turn to Cape Colony and see the prospect there. That also is larger than France. The population are four to three—perhaps three to two—Dutch as against British. You only need to read Sir A. Milner's despatches to see that they had the keenest sympathy with the Boers—the keenest desire to see that the autonomy of the Boers shall not be wholly obliterated, that you shall not extirpate the last trace of national existence, in which they take a legitimate pride. (Cheers.) * * *

But we have more to consider—the possibility, indicated by the hon. member for Durham, of being called upon to suppress the constitution of the Cape Colony. I should not myself like to even mention this contingency, but here we are relieved by the splendid indiscretion of a member of the Cabinet, Lord James of Hereford. (Laughter.) I regard that contingency with the gravest apprehension. It would be the most final and conclusive condemnation that could be conceived of the policy pursued towards South Africa. (Loud cheers.) * * *

If you are going to try this in the Cape Colony you will require another army, and so you will have a bottomless pit into which you will have to throw the blood and the treasure of the people of this country, which after all it is our primary duty to protect. (Cheers.) The results of this policy are visible to all mankind. They cannot much longer be concealed by complacent newspapers. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) * * *

We see the situation that has been created by the policy of Her Majesty's Government. It is on that ground I am about to vote for the amendment. I hold, and have always held, that the Boer ultimatum and the invasion of our territory were wholly indefensible, but this was the outcome of the quarrelsome, menacing, and exasperating course pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and principally by the Colonial Secretary. (Loud Opposition cheers.)

[Mr. CHAMBERLAIN spoke at some length, and in the course of his remarks said:] As the hon. member for Cockermouth has stated—(renewed laughter)—I did prophesy that the war in South Africa would create racial feuds, but I should like to say now with greater knowledge that I am more hopeful. I do not perceive myself these terrible divisions amongst races and religions which are said to exist at the present time in South Africa, but those who know the country are of the opinion that hitherto those divisions have been based upon a misunderstanding, and that now that it has been removed the probability is that after a short time they will settle their differences, and there will not be anything to complain of.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said the bulk of the right hon. gentleman's speech could be admired only for its audacity. * * *

Four or five years ago he considered that a war in South Africa would be protracted, costly, and

embittered, and that it would be an "immoral proceeding." To-day he recanted that opinion. He had changed his mind; he had fuller knowledge, having seen "men who knew the country." (Laughter from the Opposition.) It was rather curious that the men who knew the country should be the very men who, two or three years ago, thought they could capture Pretoria with 600 amateur soldiers. (Opposition cheers.) It was those men who "knew the country" who informed the Imperial Government that President Kruger would climb down. (Hear, hear.) * * *

The declared policy of this party was "to secure the union of the States of South Africa, leaving the Republics their independence and their republican form of government, but the whole to be under the British flag so far as foreign relations are concerned." What was the position now? The very men who then supported Mr. Rhodes, and who had supported other English Prime Ministers, were indicted for rebellion. Their leaders were expatriated or imprisoned, and it was proposed that all should be deprived of the elementary rights of citizenship. That was the effect of the right hon. gentleman's policy, and the change as regarded the Transvaal was quite as bad. Men who were anxious for a peaceful settlement, and who were doing all they could towards that end, were now united in hostility to this country. The Government took credit to themselves for the fact that there had been no European intervention. Why had there been none? European Governments hated us, and were only too well pleased to see us engaged in an exhausting war.

In China we found ourselves reduced to a third-rate position, although our interests were greater than those of all other Powers combined. Our own forces being engaged in South Africa, we had actually to accept the services of a Buddhist Asiatic Power to rescue our Legation in Peking. Such was the plight to which the Imperial statesman of the hour had brought this Empire. He ventured to say that if the right hon. gentleman could have foreseen twelve months ago the condition into which this war would bring us he would not have rejected the terms offered in August and September by President Kruger. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

If we had only waited—if we had had patience—all that we at first had been fighting for would have been granted in five or ten years, and we should have been saved not only suffering and devastation in South Africa, but the staining of the name of Great Britain abroad. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

There were 250,000 men, picked and trained, who had been sent to crush 35,000 peasants, and how could that fact re-establish British prestige and avenge Majuba? * * *

We went into the war for equal rights, and we were prosecuting it for annexation. (Hear, hear.) We went into the country for philanthropy, and we remained in it for burglary. (Opposition cheers.) The right hon. gentleman had made up his mind that the war would produce electioneering profit to his own side. He was in a hurry to go to the country before the facts were known. (Hear, hear.) He wanted judgment from the people in the very height and excitement of the fever. He wanted a verdict before discovery was made—upon censored news, suppressed despatches, and unpaid bills. The right hon. gentleman might not be a statesman, but he was an expert electioneerer, and in his desire to go to the country *before the country thoroughly realised what the*

war meant he was the one man who pronounced the deepest condemnation upon his own proceedings. (Cheers.)

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, who was received with Opposition cheers, said: The most interesting and remarkable passage in this debate occurred at a time when there were not many members present in the House—when the Secretary for the Colonies made an electioneering speech. (Opposition cheers.) It was no doubt quite foreign to the intention of the right hon. gentleman to do so, but it so happened that his observations, which were strong, took that form. That part of his speech might almost have been made by a member of a Government who thought that the patriotism of the country might be used for party purposes—(Opposition cheers)—if only the necessary stroke was given when the iron was hot, and who, having not obtained his way among his own colleagues, came down to try whether he could do anything to rouse the feeling of the House of Commons. * * *

THE POSITION TWELVE MONTHS AGO.

If hon. gentlemen will cast their minds back to this time last year they will, I think, be rather struck by the difference of the position in which we find ourselves. On that occasion the right hon. gentleman made a most interesting and hopeful speech. He said he hoped that a basis of settlement of the long controversy as to the grievances of the Outlanders was within sight. But how completely the previsions and calculations of that time, and of some months following, have been falsified. There was the expectation of a peaceful arrangement. That failed. Then there was the idea that the Transvaal would not sustain their case to the point of war. That was proved to be an entire delusion. Then there was the idea that a very moderate increase of our forces would be sufficient. That was an entire miscalculation. And lastly, there was the idea that the struggle would soon be over and the submission of our enemies secured. In every one of these cardinal points the Government have been proved to be altogether out in their reading of the probabilities of events in South Africa, and it amounts to a lamentable and discreditable misjudgment of the facts of the case. (Cheers.)

For a time the case of the Government was revived by the revelation of the great armaments of the Boers and the stories of a Dutch conspiracy to drive the British into the sea. But that only lasted a short time, because, although the great armaments of the Boers were unknown to those who had no official means of information, we found out that the Government was acquainted with these great armaments; and, as to the conspiracy, no proof has down to this day been adduced of it, and some of the extremist politicians, even in Cape Colony, have disclaimed belief in it. I will put a plain question, and ask—If the consequences that we have seen had been foreseen at that time, if we had known that all this sacrifice of life, all this suffering and waste of money, not to speak of other evils that may be in the background, were to follow, is there any man here who would not have gone a great deal further than the right hon. gentleman showed a disposition to go in order to prevent an open rupture? Can anyone say that the ostensible object, the remedy of the Transvaal grievances, was worth all that it had cost? (Cheers.) But that is, no doubt, a thing of the past. The war is drawing to a close, slowly, but, I hope, certainly. It has been from the outset a war of disenchant-

ment, two things only standing out of which we may well be proud—the constancy and patriotic spirit and the equanimity under trial of the British people, both in this country and throughout the world, and the bravery of our soldiers on every occasion. (Cheers.)

THE STATE OF THINGS PRODUCED BY THE WAR.

But many of us have never looked on the war itself, terrible as it is, as the principal mischief. The principal mischief was the state of things which the war would bring about. I am not one of those who have ever believed that after a war such as this you could put back things as you found them. At the beginning of the session my right hon. friend (Mr. Asquith) laid down four objects which ought to be kept in view. The first was that there should be vindicated and established beyond controversy the supremacy of the Imperial power in South Africa. The second was that we should make the recurrence of a catastrophe such as we have witnessed for the last year impossible. The third was that there should be equality of civil rights; and the fourth that there should be no ascendancy. Now let us see how we stand, especially in regard to the question of equality of civil rights and no ascendancy. Are we sure that civil rights in Cape Colony are being dealt with in such a way as to pacify the fears of, and give encouragement to, all those, whether Dutch or British, who seek to revert to the quiet, peaceable, and harmonious conditions of life from which they were driven and disturbed by recent events? So far as the subjugated States are concerned, I have already stated that, in my opinion, military occupation and military government must be continued for some time after the war is over. That is not in itself an ideal system, and it will be an extremely costly system for the taxpayers of this country.

Coming to Cape Colony, the right hon. gentleman is mixed up by the appeal that has been made to him in the settlement there. The right hon. gentleman would hold himself altogether aloof from, and irresponsible for, all proceedings that have taken place under martial law. But the proper view of martial law was laid down in 1867 by a circular emanating from the Colonial Office, when Sir M. Hicks-Beach was Minister, which very clearly shows that it is not to be treated as an absolutely military matter. Certain sensible and wholesome regulations are laid down, and it appears to be the governor of the colony who is responsible for seeing that they are enforced. I am not making any assertion that breaches of these regulations have been committed, but there have been reports to that effect. These reports do a great deal of mischief in South Africa, and it would be well that they should be contradicted, if they can be contradicted. What is the reason why we have been kept in ignorance on this subject? It may be partly because of that system of censorship of which we shall hear more on Friday, and which has been applied far beyond the range of military facts and communications, and has in some instances gone to the extent of interfering with the expression of political opinion and the conveyance of public and political facts, just as would be done by the autocratic Government of the Emperor of All the Russias or the Sultan of Turkey. (Cheers.)

THE OPERATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

With regard to those who have been taken up under warrant under martial law, what is alleged is that the man who is merely suspected of having

been favourable to the invaders is apprehended as a rebel, and taken away from his farm and family and put in gaol without trial, and is not allowed to see a legal adviser, or, in many cases, to communicate with his wife, not allowed to take part in any money transactions which may be necessary for his farm, and this apparently goes on indefinitely. I should like to know from the right hon. gentleman whether his attention has been called to these circumstances, and what steps he has taken to prevent so horrible a scandal being committed under the authority of Her Majesty and the free people of this country, who, if they knew that this was being done in their name and in hers, would be, I believe, filled with indignation. As to the punishment proposed to be inflicted, the right hon. gentleman was appealed to by the Cape Government as to his views, but I cannot help saying that in many of the letters that are written on the subject, even while the writers repudiate and disclaim anything like vindictiveness, there breathes a certain vindictive spirit. (Hear, hear.)

It seems to me to be an exceedingly delicate thing for us to encourage this interfering, on any considerable scale, with the civil rights of persons in the Cape Colony, seeing the great value we attach to those civil rights in this country, and seeing the narrow majority that exists in the Cape Parliament. (Hear, hear.) It has been alleged that—the actual majority being, I believe, half a dozen—certain members have been arrested under suspicion, and are not allowed to see a lawyer, and that they cannot go and vote now that Parliament is sitting, so that the majority is reduced or turned into a minority in a Parliament that will have as its first duty the passing of a Bill of disfranchisement. (Hear, hear.) * * *

It is because the mischief is not so much in the things themselves as in the reflex effect on the whole Dutch population. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman actually said that some things the Opposition have done have prolonged the war. I suppose we have prolonged the war by freely granting all the supplies that have been demanded by the Government. (Cheers.) He thinks, however, that we, either by saying things or not saying things, have prolonged the war. But is there anything more likely to prolong the war than proceedings such as those to which I have referred? (Cheers.) Will not the burgher in the Transvaal and in the Free State feel himself in the position of a man with his back to the wall, and inclined to fight to the bitter end?

Mr. COURTNEY said he should vote for the amendment because he regarded the Colonial Secretary as responsible for the great error of this war. (Opposition cheers.) The right hon. gentleman had in his judgment misunderstood the South African problem from the first. Anyone who remembered his attitude before the war, and could recall how the drama had since unfolded itself, could come to no other conclusion. The right hon. gentleman said he had changed his views on some things. No doubt he had, but the want of comprehension of the elements of the problem which prevented him from forming a sound judgment a year ago also prevented him from coming to a sound decision now on the question of the treatment of the colonial rebels. The leader of the House had said that no extenuation could be offered for the fact of open rebellion. Such at least was the effect of his words. But they were not dealing with the case of men who had engaged in open rebellion without any extenuating circumstances. Taking the six classes

of offenders, the last were forced into rebellion by an overpowering coercion; and those who, under constraint from the invading forces, gave them supplies—could those men be spoken of as having engaged in open rebellion without any extenuating circumstances? As applied to the people so situated the language was extremely inappropriate. (Hear, hear.) * * *

He (Mr. Courtney) wished hon. members could understand in some degree what the position of the unfortunate rebels on the borders of the Cape Colony was. They were mainly Dutch who had spread over the border from the Free State. They were convinced before the war broke out that it was an unjust war, and that it was being forced upon the Republics by the action of the home Government. Was it a matter of wonder that they should be overpowered by a sense of brotherhood? Could anyone have been surprised if they had gone the length of joining the insurgents? But the majority did not go that length. They remained quiet, and when the Boer forces entered the country all they did was to obey the *de facto* Government, as in all lawful things they were bound to do. Now, because they gave supplies when in that position they were to be punished as rebels. Such treatment of them as the Colonial Secretary proposed would create a standing sore which would rankle in the minds of the loyal Dutch all over the colony for generations to come. It was because of his failure to understand the conditions of life in the colony that the right hon. gentleman had fallen into these errors. He distinguished the loyal Dutch as those who approved of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Was an Englishman to be classed as disloyal who disapproved of that policy? (Laughter.)

The Dutchmen at the Cape who disapproved of it were to be numbered by tens of thousands, and in alienating them they were alienating the most precious part of the colonial population. The Colonial Secretary had brought upon us a war which had not only won us no glory, but brought us great shame. (Opposition cheers.) But now they passed on to the future. There was to be a military occupation of those States when they were captured, and he agreed with the leader of the Opposition in preferring that that military occupation should be kept up, because it was in the nature of things a provisional arrangement. They could not give those two communities the franchise as long as they were exacting the tribute necessary to pay the war indemnity, because they could not get them to agree to it. The difficulty in the way of a solution of the South African problem was not in that country, but here. The whole question was one of temper—(Opposition cheers)—and that temper was more dangerous here than in South Africa. The colonial policy of this country towards South Africa would not be sanctioned at the next general election, and the approval of that policy would not come from the next House of Commons. What of that? Would the next general election end the history of this country? (Opposition cheers.) Was the colonial policy of this nation towards the states and colonies all over the world to be settled for ever with issue of that election. No, the inevitability of annexation did not arise from annexation being just or right. Those who admitted that annexation was wrong still said that it was inevitable, because the British people were determined upon it.

But it was a patriot's part when he saw a policy *being adopted, which he thought was wrong now and full of injury for the future, to say so—*(hear,

hear)—and to try to alter the temper of the British people. They were not going to settle this South African business by the action they were taking that day. To quote the oft-quoted speech of the Colonial Secretary, it would rest with us in its rankling injuries for years. That story would come home from South Africa, and during the next Parliament the front Opposition bench would be continually educated in that story. They would learn what it meant, they would discover its significance, and their friends in the country and even newspapers after a time would learn some scintilla of the truth of the problem of which at present they were entirely ignorant.—(Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. BRYCE said the amendment did not express any opinion as to the settlement to be made after the war, but it did express a strong disapproval and distrust of the methods which had recently been followed by Her Majesty's Government, and in particular of the attitude of the Colonial Secretary. (Opposition cheers.) He would not argue the merits of the war, but he condemned it because he believed it to have been a needless war that left us worse than it found us.—(Renewed Opposition cheers.) He agreed that the time had not come to talk of the settlement, and he thought his hon. friend would have been well advised if he had refrained from expressing any opinion on the question of annexation. (Opposition cheers.) Passions were far too high in Cape Colony, public opinion was far too uninstructed at home to enable them to deal with that question. But in his opinion the amendment was of urgent importance because of the present attitude and the recent policy of Her Majesty's Government. That policy was animated by a spirit that was utterly wrong and foolish. (Opposition cheers.) There was not a word in the speech of the Colonial Secretary tending to pacify feeling in South Africa. The difficulties of bringing peace and good feeling there would task the wisdom of statesmen for generations, and yet the right hon. gentleman never seemed to say a word without making these difficulties greater.

The Government had proclaimed the annexation of the Free State before it was necessary to do so, and had thus shown the burghers of both States that no terms would be granted, and had thereby encouraged them to fight on to the end. When the right hon. gentleman announced his policy of lifelong disfranchisement he gave another proof that he totally misunderstood the feelings at the Cape, and that he ignored the existence there of a vast preponderance of honest, loyal Dutch opinion which he seemed to do everything in his power to exasperate. It was not a question of inflicting punishment on men who had been ringleaders of the rebels, but of disfranchising men who had not been guilty of a single disloyal act, or shown a disloyal intention, but who had acted under compulsion in districts unprotected by British troops. There must be punishment for rebels, and we could not restore the Republics to the state before the war; but he felt that it was necessary that words of peace should be spoken from England, where they ought to be able to look at these things in a calmer spirit. The policy of the Government appeared to be to stir up perpetual strife between the white races, kindred in blood, one in religion, who were meant by nature to be friends, and that in the presence of a vast black population, who constituted a menace to them both, and would become a more and more formidable element. When they found that, instead of pouring oil on the troubled waters, the Government were only aggravating

difficulties and making it harder to restore peace, they were bound to join in the condemnation which this amendment implied.—(Opposition cheers.)

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On this occasion Mr. Channing and Mr. Scott acted as tellers against the Government, and among those who voted for the reduction were Mr. John Morley, Sir R. Reid, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. John Albert Bright on the War.

(*Manchester Guardian*, September 5th, 1900.)

Mr. John Albert Bright was yesterday unanimously invited to stand as the Liberal candidate for the Montgomery Boroughs, and for the first time addressed the electors of the constituency. In the afternoon the Council of the Liberal Association met at Newtown.

The Chairman, *Sir J. Joicey, M.P.*, in introducing Mr. Bright, said the differences of opinion as to the war in South Africa were not confined to the Liberal party. Many influential Tories were of opinion that the war ought to have been avoided. The question of the war ought not to be allowed to divide the Liberal ranks. * * *

The two Dutch States would have to be annexed and would come under the British Crown. He hoped eventually the result would be beneficial not only to the annexed States themselves but to the whole of South Africa. As regards China, he thought the influence and policy of the Government had in many ways been unsatisfactory. If the foreign policy of the present Government was to be pursued for the future it would involve conscription for this country.

Mr. Bright, who was cordially received on rising, said he felt his warm reception to be due to the fact that his father's name was still revered in Wales. Would that he were here now! He believed that if Bright and Gladstone had been alive now we should have avoided the great calamity into which this country had fallen. It was almost fifteen years since he (the speaker) had taken part in a Liberal meeting. In 1886 circumstances arose which brought about a split in the Liberal party, and he felt conscientiously bound to take another side. But as time went on the differences which separated him from the Liberal party seemed to go more and more into the background, while the points of agreement came more and more forward. That process went on until the question of the present war settled the matter. Seeing that the war was upheld principally by the Tory party, and that the objection to it came principally from the Liberal side, he felt it his duty once more to take his place frankly in the ranks of the Liberal party. (Cheers.) Though he had not inherited his father's power and influence, he had inherited his principles—(cheers)—and was resolved to follow them to the best of his ability. * * *

For a considerable time he had been associated with many gentlemen on the side of the Government. It had been a painful thing for him to oppose them so strongly, but he felt it his duty to do so. They could hardly wonder at it when they remembered his father's attitude towards the Crimean War. His father lost his seat in Manchester because he opposed that war. Yet who defended it now? Would anyone defend the present war in twenty years' time? Though he belonged to a sect which was opposed to all war, he did not argue that it was possible always to avoid

war, but he held that it should only be entered upon as a last resort, when all other means had failed, and that to enter upon it for the purpose of national ambition or aggrandisement was a crime. (Hear, hear.) There was already a heavy bill, and soon it would be larger—probably one hundred millions. That money, which had been expended in the destructive process of war, would have, sooner or later, to be made up by the working people of this country,

Then there were the dead, the crippled, the widows and orphans which the war had caused, and the endless misery produced in British homes. What had we got in return? The prestige of our army lowered, humiliating exposure of incompetence and want of knowledge. What was to follow the war? Already the Transvaal had been annexed. He thought it a pity that the proclamation should have been issued so soon. It looked as if we were in a hurry to make it so, and it could not be recalled. The Boers began the war in the belief that we intended taking their country from them, and the hasty proclamation of annexation would confirm their suspicion, and be taken to convict us of bad faith. We had taken away their flag, of which they thought so much. Considering the amount of idolatry exercised on the Union Jack during the past few months we should be the last people to blame them for fighting so stubbornly for their own flag. If some arrangement could have been made for leaving these people their flag and exercising over them a protectorate which would have guarded us from attack for the future, that would have been much better than taking away their independence and having to maintain a big garrison in South Africa. The Government would probably appeal to the country on the justice and wisdom of the war, but he believed history would judge of it as it had done of the Crimean War. * * *

India ought in this connection to be in everybody's mind. During the awful famine the Government could not afford to give financial assistance to India, though they could find money for the war, and our great obligations to our Indian Empire had been obscured by the troubles in South Africa. * * *

Sir W. Harcourt on Majuba,

AT EBBW VALE, SEPTEMBER 26, 1900.

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

Every day we are taunted with Majuba, we being the party that arranged the conventions which restored to the Transvaal its independence, and two of our colleagues in that Government were the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain, and they are as much responsible as Mr. Gladstone or myself for the conventions. I will tell you another thing, and that is that Mr. Chamberlain was so ardent a supporter of that policy that when it was attacked in the House of Commons he was put forth by our Government as the main defender and chief apologist of that policy, and if you want to see what he said on the subject you will find it in the reports of Parliament. What was the tone of his defence? He did not call it a case of Quixotic magnanimity or of foolish generosity. Oh, no; he said it was a matter of the plainest downright honesty that having taken this territory under misapprehension to give it back, and it was a thing no honourable Government could have refused. Thus spake Mr. Chamberlain, and this is the man who is to-day denouncing the subject.

A Notable Speech by Mr. Merriman.

(The Speaker, October 27, 1900.)

The important debate in the Cape Assembly on Mr. Sauer's motion for preserving the independence of the Republics has not attracted the attention in England which it deserves. We give below some extracts from a speech made by Mr. Merriman, the Treasurer in the late Cape Ministry. For the benefit of those Englishmen who are not familiar with the personality of prominent Africaner politicians we preface our quotations by mentioning that Mr. Merriman is not a Dutchman. He is English of the English, the son of perhaps the most respected Bishop who ever lived in South Africa. He belongs to a well-known Wiltshire family. For upwards of a quarter of a century he has been in the Cape Parliament, and for a great part of that time a Cabinet Minister. * * *

In the following striking passage he pointed out what the recent policy of Mr. Chamberlain has done for our national fame:—

"But I look at this matter chiefly from the English point of view. Sir, England was regarded two years ago by every little Power, every Liberal on the Continent of Europe, as a mother, a firm and true friend of liberty, justice and freedom—when I think that every small Power looked to England in the last resort as its sympathetic protector and friend, and when I contrast that with the feeling now, the universal detestation and hatred in which England is held, not only by powerful rivals, but by small countries like Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and every small Power of the world,—when I think that these people now regard England's professions as so much organised hypocrisy—I say it is enough to make any Englishmen feel silent and sad.

"England stands stripped to-day of her military *prestige*. Sir, that is something that perhaps will come back, but I have lived to see my country—that country which stood two years ago horrified at the doings of the infamous General Weyler in Cuba, applauding that same General, and saying through the mouth of one of its influential London newspapers that those are the ways which must be followed in the Free State and Transvaal—that is degradation indeed. England has indeed fallen from her high estate when such things can be written and said. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

"I say 'never again' will England hold the title she did as the friend of small peoples and the unwavering champion of liberty. She will regain her military *prestige*, I have no doubt, but I do not think she will regain her position on the Continent. How can she? When it is a question of tyranny towards some small Powers, how can she say anything? The Transvaal and the Free State will be flung in her teeth. If Russia is trying to oppress Finland, England can say nothing; she will be reminded of the existence of the Transvaal and the Free State. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

He then drew a forcible contrast between the conciliatory policy of the late Lord Rosmead and the latter-day "new Imperialism":—

"Sir, ten years ago the military establishment of South Africa consisted of 3,500 men. What is it to-day? That marks a fair contrast between the two policies. Sir Hercules Robinson came here in 1880 and found 22,000 men under arms. When he left South Africa in 1889 he left it with a good understanding between the races; he left it with 3,500 troops.

We have torn up his policy—we have pursued a contrary policy—and to-day you have 250,000 armed men in this country. (Opposition cheers.) Let us think over these things, and I think we shall see which is the better policy for the future of South Africa. (Loud Opposition cheers.) I don't want to say too much about the Raid, because it is mentioned in practically every speech made in South Africa. But we cannot get away from the fact that there has been no peace since the Raid." * * *

He went on to show how the provocative conduct of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir A. Milner had made war unavoidable:—

"I believe, Sir, that if General Butler had been left here it would have been easy to create a settlement; indeed, I know it as a fact. General Butler was not an intellectual prig; he was a man of the world. You would not find him taking sweet counsel with Mr. Hull and Mr. Forster and persons of that kind. General Butler was not the sort of man who stuffed Blue Books full of private letters. He was a man of the world.

"Mr. SAUER—He happened to be a gentleman. (Opposition cheers.)

"Mr. MERRIMAN—I say that any man with a spark of true sympathy and understanding could have got all he wanted out of the Republics. Mr. Fischer, almost with tears in his eyes, told me if we could only get General Butler here at Government House for a fortnight he would undertake to bring down Mr. Kruger to Cape Town and to settle all points in dispute. That is what we mean when we say that the diplomacy was hopeless. (Loud Opposition cheers.)"

* * *

Next came a brief allusion to the barbarous methods by which the war is being conducted against men driven to desperation by being refused all terms:—

"One of the most remarkable things about this war is that it is a war *à l'outrance*; no terms are to be given, and I am surprised to hear members talking about the Boers' fruitless resistance. I wish some opportunity was given to these people to stop this miserable bloodshed by offering them some reasonable terms. But no terms are offered; they are pursued hither and thither; they are to be utterly wiped out. The war is carried on as no war has been carried on, I suppose, since the days of Tilly and Wallenstein, except by the infamous General Weyler." * * *

The speech closed with a splendid peroration, showing the dangers to the Empire of suppressing the nationalities of the Boer States. We need only add that Mr. Schreiner spoke and voted in support of the motion:—

"I warn Great Britain against the policy of annexation. Some people talk light-heartedly about the solemn act of taking away the life of a nation, but I look upon it as something like murder upon the individual. I tell you what you are going to do by annexation; you are going to make England lose South Africa; that is the plain English of it, Mr. Speaker, and it is better for us to speak out. Annex these people to-day, and as sure as you do England is going to lose South Africa, and something much worse is going to happen—South Africa is going to lose England. England could afford to lose South Africa, but South Africa could not afford to lose England and all that England means to us. (Opposition cheers.) These people are not sentimental people, but they have one senti-

ment to the extreme, and that is the sentiment of freedom. (Loud Opposition cheers.) We are going to fight against the thing which is the most difficult in the world to fight against—sentiment. England is going to take a wolf by the ears, and as sure as she does that she is going to lose South Africa.

"They are no true friends of England who say there will be peace in South Africa if these Republics are annexed. I fully agree that it is not reasonable to ask for a full measure of independence. It is no good to want to go back to 1881. I agree with Mr. Schreiner as to that, but I do not read that Mr. Sauer's motion means anything of the sort. (Mr. Sauer: Hear, hear.) We must put down these foreign legations, these enormous armaments, and must stop the process of making the Transvaal a burlesque first-class Power; but I believe there is a bright future for the Transvaal and the Free State if you adopted the principle of the protected State, which is, I think, what Mr. Sauer means, and which is stated in detail by Mr. Schreiner. (Opposition cheers.) That would give the Republics individual national existence, which is all they want, and it would be of enormous advantage to South Africa and the Empire.

"It is no advantage to us to swamp out these little civilisations; it is all the better to have such civilisations, perhaps to show us things we can copy with advantage. Annexation will turn the energies of these people away from peaceful pursuits to preparation for the next revolt, and whenever England is in a tight place—mark my words, Sir—these people will get ready and will fly at her throat. (Opposition cheers.) Is that a wise policy? Is that a policy which any man who loves his Mother Country would support? If annexation is applied, I can only say that the people will regret this thing when we have passed away from the scene, and when it doesn't matter whether Sprigg or Merriman or anyone else is sitting on these benches. It does matter a great deal whether in South Africa we are to progress along the lines of English civilisation, doing our work by subduing and civilising and helping the coloured races of this country, or whether we are to be torn with racial discord, torn with revolt, with more burnings of homes, more murders, and the whole miserable story of Ireland repeated. (Opposition cheers.)"

"The Struggle of the Dutch Republics."

(The two following extracts are from the above-named work.)

At the Conference of clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church, held in Cape Town the other day, the presiding clergyman said:—

"I was always loyal * * * At the time of Her Majesty's Jubilee I spoke of our loyalty and devotion to her throne and person, and we carried resolutions to that effect. To-day I am only loyal because I have to be, and I don't care who knows it."

This clergyman had been all the time in Cape Town, but what he had heard of the horrors the British troops committed has turned him and all the men of Dutch descent against the English.

By their treatment of the Dutch in Cape Colony the English statesmen and generals have started a movement, which we may call the birth of a new nationalism.

Mr. H. W. Massingham, who during this war has been an honour to journalism by strength of character, moral courage and enthusiastic disinterestedness, wrote in the *Morning Leader* of November 5:—

"From what cause do these horrors proceed? From the fact that we are making war not upon Governments but upon a people. The Governments of the Boer States have been crushed out. The warfare continues. No terms are offered to the military leaders of the people, any more than they were offered to their duly constituted civil representatives.

"It is for this reason that we are engaged in the dreadful work of tearing up a community by its roots; of harrying women and children to their death or their ruin; of deporting a whole population to foreign lands; of burning their houses and crops; of making groups of women prisoners, conveying them hundreds of miles from their homes, and leaving them (as in one case that has been brought to my knowledge) penniless and shelterless in strange English towns.

"Without one shadow of reason—for the resistance to our arms is as keen as ever, and as ably and thoroughly organised—we have worked a military hocus-pocus, by which, in a phrase, we have changed enemies into rebels, an unconquered foreign country into a British Colony. Why have we done this? In order to justify the appalling barbarity of our military methods."

Too Late—The Lost Opportunity.

(*The Investors' Review*, Nov. 24, 1900.)

Last week's *Speaker* contained a temperate letter by Mr. J. A. Farrer urging Liberals to be up and doing in protests, by public meeting and otherwise, against the war upon women and children now in full swing in South Africa. He winds up with these words:—

"It was the fatal insistence on unconditional surrender by the same party which is now in power that lost us our American colonies, and it is the same fatuous policy at the hands of the same party which bids fair, unless checked, to lose us in time our colonies in Africa, and to start on its independent political career the United States of South Africa.

"History should be able to show that some of us foresaw this and tried to prevent it."

And history will: but it will likewise show that those who tried to prevent it were unheeded in the later instance as in the earlier, that they were maligned and despised, until, all too late, sorrow brought a repentant nation to its senses.

The opening sentences in a leader published by *The Times* last Monday run thus:—

"* * * Nothing they do or attempt to do can shake for a moment our grasp upon the new colonies or affect in any degree the issue of the war." This is a cheap suzer and a vain boast, but the words aptly illustrate our temper and the blindness to our own best interest as a nation, as custodians of world-wide Imperial dominions, in which we pursue this adventure. * * *

Lord Roberts "Weyerised" the weak and the aged, the women and children, into the towns; Lord Kitchener is credited with the determination to either disperse them again over the barren veldt or to sweep them out of the country to pine and die at our charges either in coast prisons or in foreign lands. As he wills it, so will it be done if our army holds out and holds together, for the

day of conciliation as a possible way to peace has gone for ever between Britisher and Burgher. And time will soon now show whether those who foretold the true nature of this great war and pled with despair at their hearts that it might not be begun were most the friends of the British or the Boer. * * *

Has England ever kept any treaty or engagement with the white people of South Africa in the past a day longer than suited her? Did she respect the bond with the Transvaal—a bond which Mr. Chamberlain himself said gave us no right whatever to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic? With what hope that they would believe us could we now go to these fighting and dying freemen and say, "Lay down your arms, and we shall respect your local liberties?" * * *

And what will victory bring us? As Mr. Morley said, we are destroying the assets of the estate we undertook to liquidate. When the reaping time comes, what, think you, will the harvest be? Love tokens and cargoes of gold and precious stones, or adders of hate, desolation at home, and impotence abroad, a wasted army and an empty Treasury? It is for you to say, good reader; it will be for us all to suffer.

An Appeal and a Warning.

(From "The South African Crisis," by Professor A. Kuyper, D.D., LL.D.)

* * * The fall of Mr. Chamberlain would give the signal of salvation. And if a Cabinet of more discretion, abandoning all idea of vengeance, and caring nothing for military susceptibilities, offered to confederated South Africa its full independence, reserving only the Eastern part of Cape Colony proper and some indispensable points on the coast, perhaps England might still change a formidable enemy into an unequalled ally. But let there be no delay. Now is the supreme moment. England must come to herself again, and renounce her dream of Imperialism; otherwise, Imperialism will eventually destroy her, as it destroyed ancient Rome.

There must be no mistake, however: the fear that England will not draw back from the fatal descent is far from being chimerical. The danger lies in the indifference to moral principles and in the insufficiency of the Christian movement. Mr. Fairfield put it well: "Without being a moralist, I nevertheless maintain that morality and Imperialism cannot go together." * * *

More and more are people in the habit of identifying the British Empire with the Kingdom of God, and of Anglicanising even Christ himself. "God has raised up and so widely extended the British Empire, and always with it British Christianity. Real Imperialism sees in every fresh territory an expansion of the glorious opportunities of spreading the gospel of England's Christ." And even, at a recent Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, the audience did not refrain from warmly applauding a minister of the Gospel who exclaimed: "What Africa needs is a Christian civilisation. The present war is a part of the price that must be paid for the attainment of this end. Such, then, is the light in which this war must be regarded, so as to have neither regrets nor any doubts as to its necessity and justice." This is how a church that has strayed from the path lulls the consciences of men, and how a Methodism in its one-sided passion for salvation ends by sanctifying, in view

of the sacred end, the most censurable means. Such language turns your stomach, and rouses you to anger against those ministers of the Gospel who betray the God of justice. * * *

Above all, consider well the brotherly faithfulness of the men of the Free State, under their eminent President, Mr. Steyn. They could have stood apart. The English quarrel with the Transvaal had nothing to do with them. From the point of view of the world, their non-intervention could have been justified. * * *

Even the boldest tacticians avow that there are distances and elementary forces which defy all human strength. Napoleon has experienced this in Russia, and even after the capture of Pretoria, the Vaal could become for Lord Roberts what the Beresina was for the victorious Emperor. * * *

But suppose England surmounts all these difficulties, that her cool temper succeeds in avoiding all these rocks, that her moral conscience does not awake, and that the taxpayer does not become tired of throwing every time a more considerable part of his savings into the insatiable gulf of South Africa, even then England would not be at the end of her troubles. Behind her in Africa she would have sown the seeds of a deep rancour, of an unspeakable repugnance, of an indestructible race-hatred, and these seeds would shoot up. The determination of the Boers is unshakable. Never will they be voluntary subjects of England. Subdued by brutal force, every morning and every evening their prayers would rise to the God of their fathers to implore deliverance from the yoke which they would persist in cursing in their hearts. On the first opportunity that should offer they would resume the struggle. In the first war that should burst on England they would be the devoted allies of the enemy. Read and re-read their manifesto, "A Century of Injustice," and each line will convince you that their tenacity will never be overcome. * * *

The wife of General Joubert, who accompanied him into the thick of battle, is the perfect type of this Boer woman, whose fecundity passes all forecast, and who will be able to inspire into all her children the national spirit. So long as the lioness of the Transvaal, surrounded by her young lions, shall roar against England from the heights of Drakenberg, never will the Boer be definitively subdued.

The Patriotism of the Boers.

(Westminster Gazette, Dec. 4, 1900.)

Dr. R. Spence Watson, speaking at a meeting convened to hear Mr. J. C. Molteno in Newcastle last night, said they should recognise that the Boers were doing exactly what we would have done in their place, if what our historians told us of the English spirit was true. We should admire these men who were acting in defence of their own country, even though they were fighting against us. He was inclined to believe that the people of this country do not thoroughly understand the case and what is going on in the later stage of this war. Putting all questions of humanity on one side, and looking at this question—the question of the present devastation of the country—purely as a question of policy, let them carry their minds back to the Franco-German war. In the time of that war they had a great district round Metz which was fought for, bitterly fought for. There was not a single house or farm destroyed there, if he might use the expression, needlessly. Where houses were destroyed it was by shells, &c., in the

fighting. Yet what has happened? The country was annexed, and if one went there now, thirty years after the war, he would find that the people had not forgotten it. The French and the Germans were no nearer to-day than they were at the time that the annexation took place.

A terrible amount of burning is now going on in South Africa. In every country, wherever people are fighting, they must destroy, by every means in their power, the communication. It is the first thing to do; it is an act of war. Lord Roberts said that acts of war should not be punished. But afterwards orders were given that wherever acts of this kind were committed farm houses for ten miles round were to be destroyed. It was a terrible, an iniquitous sentence, and one for which there was no justification—(applause)—a terrible sentence to inflict on the country, where many of the people have nothing whatever to do with it. (Applause.)

The Boers' View of the War.

(Extracts from the concluding chapter of "A Century of Wrong," by Mr. F. W. Reitz, State Secretary of the South African Republic.)

* * * In this awful turning point in the history of South Africa, on the eve of the conflict which threatens to exterminate our people, it behoves us to speak the truth in what may be, perchance, our last message to the world. Even if we are exterminated the truth will triumph through us over our conquerors, and will sterilise and paralyse all their efforts until they too disappear in the night of oblivion.

Up to the present our people have remained silent; we have been spat upon by the enemy, slandered, harried, and treated with every possible mark of disdain and contempt. But our people, with a dignity which reminds the world of a greater and more painful example of suffering, have borne in silence the taunts and derision of their opponents; indeed, they elected out of a sense of duty to remedy the faults and abuses which had crept into their public administration during moments of relaxed vigilance. But even this was ascribed to weakness and cowardice.

Latterly our people have been represented by influential statesmen and on hundreds of platforms in England as incompetent, uncivilised, dishonourable, untrustworthy, corrupt, blood-thirsty, treacherous, etc., etc., so that not only the British public, but nearly the whole world, began to believe that we stood on the same level as the wild beasts. In the face of these taunts and this provocation our people still remained silent. We were forced to learn from formal blue books issued by Her Majesty's Government and from despatches of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa that our unscrupulous State Government, and our unjust, unprincipled, and disorderly administration, was a continual festering sore, which, like a pestilential vapour, defiled the moral and political atmosphere of South Africa. We remained silent. * * *

The practical effect has been that our case has been lost by default before the tribunal of public opinion. That is why I feel compelled to state the facts which have characterised the attitude of the British towards us during the Nineteenth Century. * * *

I shall now proceed to draw my conclusions, which I submit must appeal irresistibly to every impartial and right-minded person.

During this century there have been three periods which have been characterised by different

attitudes of the British Government towards us. The first began in 1806, and lasted until the middle of the century. During this period the chief feature of British policy was one of utter contempt, and the general trend of British feeling in regard to our unfortunate people can be summarised by the phrase, "The stupid and dirty Dutch." But the hypocritical ingenuity of British policy was perfectly competent to express this contempt in accents which harmonised with the loftiest sentiments then prevailing. The wave of sentimental philanthropy then passing over the civilised world was utilised by the British Government in order to represent the Boers to the world as oppressors of poor peace-loving natives, who were also men and brethren eminently capable of receiving religion and civilization. * * *

The second period lasted until the year 1881. The fundamental principle then underlying British policy was no longer one of unqualified hatred. Results had already proved that hatred was powerless to subdue the Afrikaner; it had, on the other hand, contributed largely to the consolidation of Afrikanerdom and to the fact that they spread over the whole of South Africa, thus forming the predominant nationality almost everywhere. In a moment of disinterestedness or absent-minded dejection England had concluded treaties with the Boers in 1852 and 1854, by which they were guaranteed in the undisturbed possession of certain wild and apparently worthless tracts of territory. * * *

The third period of our history is characterised by the amalgamation of the old and well-known policy of fraud and violence with the new forces of Capitalism, which had developed so powerfully, owing to the mineral riches of the South African Republic. Our existence as a people and as a State is now threatened by an unparalleled combination of forces. Arrayed against us we find numerical strength, the public opinion of the United Kingdom thirsting and shouting for blood and revenge, the world-wide and cosmopolitan power of Capitalism, and all the forces which underlie the lust of robbery and the spirit of plunder. Our lot has of late become more and more perilous. The cordon of beasts of plunder and birds of prey has been narrowed and drawn closer and closer around this poor doomed people during the last ten years. As the wounded antelope awaits the coming of the lion, the jackal, and the vulture, so do our poor people all over South Africa contemplate the approach of the foe, encircled as they are by the forces of hatred and revenge, and by the stratagems and covetousness of their enemies. Every sea in the world is being furrowed by the ships which are conveying British troops from every corner of the globe in order to smash this little handful of people. Even Xerxes, with his millions against little Greece, does not afford a stranger spectacle to the wonder and astonishment of mankind than this gentle and kind-hearted Mother of Nations, as, wrapped in all the panoply of her might, riches, and exalted traditions, she approaches the little child grovelling in the dust with a sharpened knife in her hand. This is no War—it is an attempt at Infanticide. * * *

But the sky which stretches its banner over South Africa remains blue. The justice to which Piet Retief appeals when our fathers said farewell to the Cape Colony, and to which Joachim Prinsloo called aloud in the Volksraad of Natal when it was annexed by England; the justice to which the burghers of the Transvaal entrusted their case at Paarde Kraal in 1880, remains im-

mutable, and is like a rock against which the yeasty billows of British diplomacy dissolve in foam.

It proceeds according to eternal laws, unmoved by human pride and ambition. As the Greek poet of old said, it permits the tyrant, in his boundless self-esteem, to climb higher and higher and to gain greater honour and might until he arrives at the appointed height, and then falls down into the infinite depths.

Debate in Parliament.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 8, 1900.)

On the Opposition Amendment urging conciliation as a keystone of a settlement in South Africa.—H.J.O.

Mr. T. M. HEALY said he took it that both sides of the House were practically agreed that the amendment was a sham amendment, that there was no reality in the debate so far as the Liberal Opposition was concerned, and that the Opposition had divested themselves of all right of criticism. * * *

He (Mr. Healy) did not regard it as a just war, and he did not believe that there was the remotest hope of success for the policy which the Colonial Secretary had sketched out. Irishmen at least believed that its effect would be to plunge the country into deeper trouble. He could not help seeing all through this business the same fallacies and faults of policy which the British Government had exhibited elsewhere. The Boers might expect to find, if they surrendered, that every man who would be put over them would be an enemy. If they came to a dispute with their neighbours—with any of the English settlers—their cause would be judged by judges inimical to them, and if they were accused of any crime, especially the crime of sedition, they would be tried by a packed jury. With regard to education, Sir A. Milner would establish schools in which teaching of the Dutch language would be prohibited, and in which every incident connected with the late war would be taught in the school books from the British side, and every incident discreditable to the Dutch would be held up to their detriment. There would have to be laws against newspapers, and freedom of speech could not be allowed, neither could party processions or seditious emblems. * * * He declared that his sympathies were with the Boers. * * * The leaders of the Opposition stood like petty Pontius Pilates washing their hands of the guilt of innocent blood. If the Opposition had been worthy of the leadership of the great man who was now no more they would have raised their voices against the iniquity of this war. But those of them who entertained the superstition that there was a judgment of the Almighty for the deeds of nations as well as of individuals might be content to wait for God's own good time and for the vengeance which was His. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN BURNS said he won his election—the hardest he had ever fought—on the question of the necessity and justice of this war, and 6,000 London workmen had sent him to the House of Commons to demand that the war should be settled on the basis of equal rights, to the extent of giving the two Republics the self-government and the independence for which they fought. (Cheers below the Opposition gangway.) This view, which was at first treated with contempt and ridicule, was now gaining ground, and the inherent sense of justice and fair play in the

British people was beginning to prevail. (Cheers.) He disagreed with the amendment before the House. * * *

It whispered settlement to the ear but broke it to the hope of those who had been so sturdily fighting us. At the end of fourteen months of warfare the Colonial Secretary was disposed to do this, that, and the other, but it took two to make a bargain and two to make a war. We had got to hear what the Boers would say to this scheme. If he were not much mistaken—he would like to be mistaken—this settlement would provoke instead of conciliating, and cause confusion where a more generous suggestion would meet with acceptance. It left the personnel in South Africa which was largely responsible for this war unchanged and untouched—(hear, hear),—and that was one of the reasons why he predicted the failure of the scheme. * * *

It ignored the tragic situation that had been created. It meant an intermediate stage of military rule and a Crown Colony, and then there was to be a gradual devolution of municipal government over certain selected areas, with delegates nominated probably by some Dublin Castle at Pretoria or Johannesburg. It would offend the best of those who hitherto in South Africa had been on our side, and an economic situation would be brought about in which the last state of the white population would be worse than the first.

* * * Before they would accept it and abandon the independence for which they had fought so gallantly the Boers would prolong the struggle for years to come. Our losses were nothing compared to what they would be unless peace was established upon an honourable basis, such basis being a recognition of the independence of the Republics. * * *

The proposed settlement ran counter to all our promises. It conflicted with what our statesmen represented a year ago as our purpose in entering upon the war, and he believed that if the voice of the English people could be taken, upon the broad basis of manhood suffrage, the verdict given at the late general election would be reversed. (Opposition cheers.) Another difficulty in the way of a satisfactory settlement was the presence in South Africa of Sir A. Milner, who under the new scheme was to be a kind of governor-general. Not until that difficulty was eliminated and a man more acceptable to the Boer population appointed in his place would the problem of South African government be solved. (Opposition cheers.) The Colonial Secretary appeared to rely for the acceptance of his scheme upon the exhaustion of the enemy, but in his (Mr. Burns's) judgment they would fight to the bitter end. He wanted to see a settlement of this war and a better scheme than that suggested by the Colonial Secretary. The British people should recognise the fact that anything short of independence would dissatisfy the Boers, would be unacceptable to the Orange Free State, and would lead to permanent chaos and ruin in and the ultimate loss to Great Britain of South Africa.

Mr. C. P. SCOTT said he did not think the House was greatly concerned that night either with the character of Mr. Rhodes or with the conduct of the Outlanders. His opinion of Mr. Rhodes was that we owed this war to him. If it had not been for the Raid we should not have had the war, and therefore on him rested as heavy a responsibility as was ever borne by any human being. As for the Outlanders no doubt, like other people, they had good and bad among them, and he agreed with the hon. member for Battersea

that the best of them came home and refused to fight. * * *

How was it proposed that this country, with all its resources, should permanently hold in subjection a people as brave as ourselves, as stubborn in their love of freedom and as true in their patriotism as ourselves? That was the problem. It ought to have been thought of before we entered on the war; it ought to have been in the minds of our statesmen at every stage of the war. He rejoiced at the marked and auspicious change of tone on the part of the Colonial Secretary. The right hon. gentleman was necessarily a potent influence in the councils of the Government, and he hoped they might regard this change—though they saw little to correspond with it in the utterances of his nominal chief—as pointing to what was to be the tone and temper of the Cabinet. He hoped still more that it was the reflection of a change which had come over the councils of even a more potent influence in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) That change of tone was more important than any change of measures. They could not expect a man, after the infinite calamities he had inflicted on his country, to turn round and say that he had been wrong. * * *

Anything short of a generous and a complete amnesty for all those now in the field, provided they laid down their arms, would have no effect whatever. The repatriation of the Boers would be a very costly matter. We had swept the country nearly bare of cattle and provisions, and it would not be a small matter to restore not only the houses, but the stock necessary to enable the people to live. * * *

Take the Free State. It was a poor colony, and it would be years before it had enough money to pay its own way. It had no gold mines, and we had already robbed it of its diamond mines. (Hear, hear.) It was a purely agricultural country, and what prosperity it enjoyed was the result of its trade with the Transvaal. The Transvaal itself was ruined. * * *

This country must pay, and it would be the cheapest money we had ever spent if it sent the people back and produced any degree of tranquility and contentment in that devastated land. * * *

But we were bound to do what we could, and so far from approaching the task in the spirit of those who thought they were conferring some great favour on these people, because we restored to them some little portion of what we had taken away, we ought to be grateful for anything we could do to bring back any approach to prosperity, any degree of contentment and appeasement to a people to whom we owed infinite reparation. (Ministerial cries of "Oh.") He was aware that that was not the opinion of hon. gentlemen opposite. If they believed, as he did, that they had inflicted by this war the direst blow upon the Empire of which they professed to be proud, that they had struck at every principle of freedom and of the rights of nationalities for which this country had been famous through history as the champion, if they believed that, by the expenditure of a hundred millions of money and thousands of precious lives, they had only created a political problem infinitely harder than that which they had to solve before the war began, it would be more than human nature could bear. That was why they shut their eyes to truths as palpable as daylight. If they would only feel the facts there would be at least some little possibility that they might evolve a degree of order out of the chaos they had created. (Cheers, and Ministerial cries of "Oh.")

It was possible that the problem was insoluble, but in trying to solve it we must have a little courage. Courage in the field had never been lacking on the part of Englishmen, but we now needed something rarer; we needed political courage. * * *

He said without hesitation that the only course which was consonant with the honour of this people, and was at the same time the safest, though not free from danger, was to grant at once a large measure of self-government—(cheers)—to run the risk of giving these people at least a foretaste of what we said we had in store for them. What were they to think when the Prime Minister said it might be generations before they received self-government? * * *

The power and the resources of this country were almost unlimited, and the spirit of our people was so great that we were prepared to go through any calamities almost rather than surrender in a cause we believed to be just and necessary. (Ministerial cheers.) Yes, he gave credit to hon. members opposite for that feeling, and all he asked of them was that they should endeavour to look at facts fairly and squarely. Every day that passed disproved some prophecy to which they had given utterance. (Opposition cheers.) Every day showed that they had utterly miscalculated every material, every military, and every moral and political force with which they had to deal. It was high time, therefore, that they endeavoured to realise things as they were, so that the country should not be plunged deeper and deeper into an abyss of disaster and disgrace. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. K. HARDIE held that, in order to bring the war to an end, we should proclaim an armistice, and give the Boers an opportunity of discussing our terms in all their bearings.

Faults which must be Atoned For.

(*"How Not to Make Peace."*)

"If Lord Roberts," said Mr. Wessels, the Boer peace delegate, "had not burned our farms, if he had not deported our countrymen, we should not have had so many men under arms." * * *

"Don't you remember," said Mr. J. B. Robinson, "when Buller flashed to the Boers the command 'Surrender!' they flashed back, 'Will we be sent over sea?' The English answer was 'Yes'; whereupon the Boers replied, 'Then no surrender.' There never was a more stupid proceeding than that reply of the English."

But it has been our reply all through. It was more convenient, also, to ship the Boers off to the island prison of Napoleon. And, above all, it was safer. For the High Commissioner, although he reigned almost as a despot over a territory in Cape Colony larger than the area of France, could not in all that vast expanse discover one solitary site where it would be safe to intern the Boers. "Sympathies of Dutch colonists," &c., &c. Was there ever a more abject confession of timidity and of helplessness on the part of a great Imperial Power?

The result of this policy, born of laziness, cowardice, and vindictiveness, was immediately and continuously to increase the difficulties of our generals. * * *

De Wet, we know, has on two occasions offered to lay down his arms, but his conditions were refused, and he continues fighting to this day. To add to his determination to fight to the bitter end, his house was burned down, his cattle killed, his orchards hewn down. * * *

The case of De Wet is the case of thousands. The destruction of his homestead was one of those acts of vindictive savagery which go far to justify President Kruger's declaration that we are waging war like barbarians. What would have been said of the Germans if in their march on Paris they had burnt the country house of Marshal MacMahon, or of General Trochu, merely because it was the private property of a general in the French army? * * *

If Lord Roberts had obeyed the Hague Rules instead of trampling them under foot under the plea of military necessity, he would not have had to abandon the country with his task half done. * * *

British Policy in South Africa.

House of Commons.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 13, 1900.)

Upon the report of the vote of £16,000,000 for war purposes,

Sir R. REID said: * * * It would not be in order, and it was not his intention, to enter at all into the question of the policy which had led to this most unhappy conflict. He thought himself that the fatal policy of the Colonial Secretary was the original fountain from which all these waters of bitterness had flowed—(Opposition cheers),—but it would be quite irrelevant at the present time to enter upon any considerations of that character. * * *

GIVEN ANNEXATION, WHAT THEN?

The question which now arose was, given that annexation was the necessary sequel of all that had passed, what policy should now be adopted for the purpose of ending the war other than the course recommended by the Government? (Hear, hear.) * * *

THE PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

After all our outlay, after 14 months of fighting, our soldiers held the ground practically within the range of their guns. (Hear, hear.) The suburbs of Pretoria and Bloemfontein—not the actual suburbs, but the territory coming up to them—were almost in a state of anarchy. * * *

Dacoity was in full play, and they were asked also to contemplate the probability of famine. If famine came it would first of all attack the natives, and the consequence of that might be apprehended in a native rising. The native population exceeded by five or six times that of the whites, and the latter being engaged in deadly conflict, we might look for massacres, accompanied by all the horrors which had been witnessed on similar occasions in all the unprotected regions of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. (Hear, hear.) But the future was still more ominous. The feeling of the Boers unquestionably was being embittered more and more every day. (Hear, hear.) The feeling among the Dutch in Cape Colony was rising very rapidly. He trusted and believed that there was amongst the Dutch population there, arising from a recollection of the justice administered for so many years with such impartiality, a feeling of loyalty and a desire to assist this country in the great difficulty in which it was placed.

He remembered on one occasion a friend of his, one of the most distinguished men in the United States—President Harrison—in the course of the discussions last year on the Venezuela arbitration, saying that the great position held by Great Britain throughout the world was not due to her

mighty armaments or even to her uncontrolled sway over the sea, but to the purity of her justice. (Cheers.) He believed the recollection of that—that British justice was pure justice—would do more than anything else to retain in their loyalty the sorely-trying Dutch population of the Cape. (Hear, hear.) * * *

There had been danger, as stated by a Cabinet Minister two or three months ago—and there might be again—that it might be necessary to deprive the Cape of its present constitution or in some degree to modify it, and unless by some method of conciliation we could succeed in attracting the good-will of the Dutch population, in encouraging forgetfulness and forgiveness on both sides in regard to what had happened in this terrible war, we might find ourselves in this position—that the whole territory of the Cape colony and the other dependencies of the Crown in South Africa would have to be governed by force, and force alone. (Hear, hear.) If such a duty ever fell upon this country—not that it would be an impossible duty to discharge—it would be by far the most onerous business that even this country had ever undertaken, and notwithstanding our almost limitless resources in treasure and the bravery of our men we should find it a task that would imperil the very existence of the British Empire. Hitherto there had been very few attempts to put an end to this war except by means of force. There had been, he thought, a somewhat changed temper—(hear, hear)—not merely in the Government, but visible on the benches opposite, and still more visible in the country at large—a feeling that after all what John Bright once said was true, that force was no remedy. (Opposition cheers.)

THE MILITARY POLICY OF LENIENCY: WHY IT FAILED.

The second reason for our failure seemed to be this—that while we demanded unconditional surrender we were avowedly unable to extend to those who did surrender the protection to which they were absolutely entitled. (Hear, hear.) The position of the men was this. They were offered, and most wisely offered, the right to go back to their own homes. If the district to which they returned could have been, or was, protected by our troops that would have been a merciful course worthy the traditions of this country in the past, and would have had far more chances of success; but any gentleman who studied the facts must know that we were quite unable to extend that protection—(hear, hear)—and after our troops had succeeded in forcing upon these men unconditional surrender, they found themselves exposed to visits from their own countrymen, who refused to recognise the oath of neutrality which they had taken. If they did not join the Boer commandos they were liable to be shot. On the other hand, if they did join them they were liable to be treated—and discrimination was not always easy in such cases—as men who had violated the oath, and on whose heads, as well as on their property, the consequences were liable to fall. These were the reasons why that policy—that merciful policy—failed. Then came the usual cry for increased severity. * * *

THE POLICY OF SEVERITY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

They had seen newspaper paragraphs—but if there had been one thing more conspicuous than another in the course of this war it had been the unreliability of newspaper information. (Hear, hear.) He did not, therefore, for one moment

desire to lay undue stress on the measures of severity that had been actually taken. He did not know what they were, but of this he was perfectly certain—he for one would not believe, until it was proved by conclusive authority, that either our officers or our men had willingly been the instruments of a cruel policy. (Cheers.) If these proclamations had entailed cruelty, Her Majesty's Ministers alone were responsible. (Loud Opposition cheers.) Upon them, and not upon the officers—(renewed cheers),—must fall the responsibility for whatever had happened, if there had been anything contrary to the traditions of civilised warfare and contrary to the honour of this country. (Cheers.) Before Parliament met there was in the organs of the press, which had inflamed this controversy from beginning to end, and upon which no small share of the responsibility rested for bringing on a war, a clamour for still further severity. The only result of severity in the past had been to make more enemies, and to make them more bitter—(hear, hear),—and now if such a course was pursued it could only tend to a further prolongation of the war, and the embitterment of any relations which might subsist after the war was over. He believed that the idea of proceeding by such methods would be as great a miscalculation of human affairs as any that had preceded it in the course of this conflict.

THE TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

The time had arrived for offering terms—(cheers, and a cry of "No" from the Ministerial benches),—not terms inconsistent with British dominion, for the new territories must remain a part of the British dominion—(hear, hear)—inasmuch as the people of this country would not listen to proposals for undoing the annexation. (Hear, hear.) But they must discard the idea of an unconditional surrender. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

The Government ought to inform the men now in arms against us that they were willing to give an amnesty to begin with if they would lay down their arms; in the second place, that they were willing to assist them with money to restock their farms and rebuild their homesteads, without which it was impossible to expect any restoration of industry in what was now our own territory, and which no one had any desire to see left a desert. (Opposition cheers.) They should offer them terms of government and free institutions—("Oh," from the Government side)—free institutions at as early a date as possible—(Opposition cheers)—not generations hence, as the Prime Minister had told them, but as early as possible, with all necessary precautions, and, as he had before stated, under the British flag, so that there could be no danger, or the least possible danger, of any military rising again. (Cheers.) The difficulties of this course, he did not at all doubt, were enormous. But he asked hon. gentlemen to try and put aside all partial or party feeling, and consider what were the difficulties and dangers of the position we were in at the present moment if any other course were taken. We were in danger of a continuance of this war for a long time and at enormous cost, and of progressively alienating whatever remnant—and he hoped it was a large one—of goodwill and loyalty there might be in our own Cape Colony among the Dutch. (Hear, hear.) * * *

NEGOTIATIONS IMPOSSIBLE WITH PRESENT INSTRUMENTS.

It was the duty of the Government to send out—not as superseding any official at all—(hear,

hear)—but for the purpose of negotiating, if possible, a peace—the ablest man they could find for the purpose in this country. (Opposition cheers.) A crisis had arrived, and if that fact was not recognised now it would be before long—(hear, hear)—the gravest crisis with which this country had been confronted for a long time. We ought to use the very best talent we possessed. We should send out a man of great authority, a man of high talent and experienced judgment, for the purpose of seeing whether by means of negotiation some happy conclusion of this war might be now arrived at. * * *

JUSTICE TO BRAVE ADVERSARIES.

What he said was that whilst we claimed for ourselves that we were a humane and a merciful people—and he only hoped we should continue to be so, notwithstanding all that had happened,—we ought also to recognise the truth with regard to our enemies, as had always been the case among brave combatants. (Hear, hear.) These men, on the whole, had admirably conducted themselves. There had been instances to the contrary, no doubt, as there always were in war. And if they had those qualities, they were worthy to be treated with all the consideration that could be shown them consistently with the maintenance of the policy which the Government had laid down, and he believed, though it was late in the day, that if an attempt was made to treat the Boers as brave and honourable adversaries, to negotiate with them on terms which they must have the greatest possible interest in accepting, we might still have a chance of laying the foundation of a peaceable and harmonious empire at the Cape. But if we adhered to a policy of severity, and refused, even now that we were victors, to offer terms, he believed that although the Government had won a general election they would have lost South Africa. (Loud Opposition cheers.)

Mr. BRYCE said: * * * Many in that House, remembering the great war of 1870 between Germany and France, would recollect that from the beginning to the end of the war there was scarcely a single thing which happened which the German Government had not calculated upon. It was the want of foresight which had been their bane during these negotiations and throughout the war during the last fifteen months.

NOT GUERRILLA WARFARE.

He did not deny that this war had to be conducted under the greatest difficulty. It was a very difficult thing to fight a nation in arms. (Hear, hear.) The armies of the two Republics were entitled to be treated as combatants to the same extent and degree as the armies of France and Germany. A certain fallacy underlies the expression "guerilla" warfare. * * *

It was more important to dwell on that point because Great Britain at the Hague Conference made itself the exponent of the view that every possible facility ought to be given to the population of an invaded territory to defend itself by arms. (Hear, hear.) * * *

LORD ROBERTS'S PROCLAMATIONS.

As regarded farm burning, he would say nothing about that except that he was glad to have perceived by the statement published yesterday that a proclamation was issued on the 18th November directly that no more farms should be burned except under the special orders of the General commanding. He thought, however, he ought to call attention to the correspondence which passed

between Lord Roberts and General Botha, because it was said that Lord Roberts's proclamation was never intended to be a general proclamation for burning farms. Lord Roberts's letter to General Botha was written in September last. This House had never had that proclamation, and he did not think that the Government were acting in consonance with usage or propriety when they gave the House no information that such an important interchange of communication had taken place between our Commander-in-Chief and the Commander-in-Chief of the enemy, but had allowed us, after the lapse of some months, to learn the fact from a Dutch newspaper. Lord Roberts said that he had issued instructions that Boer farmhouses near the spot where an effort had been made to destroy a railroad should be burned. There was nothing in those words to indicate that there must be proof that the farmhouses had been used for the purpose of attacking the railroad, and he did not think that General Botha had—or that anyone could have—interpreted the communication in that sense. Surely that was going far beyond what military necessities or the usages of war justified. (Hear, hear.)

THE DEMAND FOR UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.

At that time Her Majesty's Government were under the impression that the war would be ended by the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria. They did not foresee the enormous difficulties to which they would be exposed when the war would become a scattered war. It was a great advantage to have a regular Government with which to treat, and it would have been far better for us to have endeavoured to keep a regular Government in power with whom we could treat. If we had been able to treat with such a Government, and had obtained a surrender from them, we should then have been entitled to turn round and call the inhabitants of the States rebels if they did not accept the terms which their Governments had conceded. (Hear, hear.) But the Government, in a somewhat haughty spirit, absolutely refused to consider anything but unconditional surrender.

THE TERMS TO BE OFFERED.

What were the steps which ought to be taken in order to accelerate the termination of the war? In the first place, they ought to stop farm-burning as far as possible. (Hear, hear.) Nothing but absolute military necessity could justify it, and there was much more than mere military necessity to look to in the matter. We were ruining what was to be our own. We were exasperating people who had to live with our colonists, and it was very doubtful whether any military force would compensate for the certain and tremendous political loss which would be incurred by this policy. Then we ought to offer terms. We ought not to be content with merely issuing fresh proclamations, but ought to address communications to the Governments of these States—so far as they had Governments. (Ministerial laughter.) If they had no Governments, who was it that made it difficult for us to negotiate? It was a mistake to destroy the Governments, because we should have had somebody to negotiate with. But he believed there was still a part of the Transvaal in which the Vice-president continued to maintain a Government, and that General Botha continued to obey the orders which he received from that Government. But whether our Government had to communicate with a Govern-

ment or with a commander-in-chief, they ought to open negotiations and offer terms. (Hear, hear.) These terms ought to include, in the first place, a general amnesty. (Ministerial cries of "Oh, oh.") * * *

It was also great folly to except the generals of the Boer army from the amnesty. They were brave men who had been fighting for their country. If we were in their place we should have done the same. (Cheers.) There was one fact which made it particularly important that the generals should not be excepted from the amnesty. They were elected by their own men. The field cornets elected the commandants, and the commandants elected the commandant-general. It was therefore by the votes of their men that General Botha and the other generals had been put into positions of responsibility and danger, and their men had an exceptional feeling, greater than might exist in other armies, for they had put those generals into this position—that they ought to stand by them. (Loud cheers.) * * *

Another direction in which terms might be offered was by making provision for re-establishing persons who had been exiled or made prisoners, or who had surrendered, and whose property had been destroyed. We would have upon our hands a very large impoverished population. Men would go back to desolated homes and to farms from which every head of stock had gone, and if prosperity was to be restored to the country it would be absolutely necessary to make some provision for resettling them. * * *

THE POSITION OF SIR ALFRED MILNER.

He did not desire to criticise the conduct of Her Majesty's representative in South Africa, whose personal character stood as high as any man's—(Ministerial cheers)—and who, he had no doubt, had been animated by good intentions. But, making allowances for Sir Alfred Milner's good intentions, was it the best policy to entrust the negotiations for the settlement of these territories to one who, whether rightly or wrongly—a question into which he would not enter,—had become an object of universal distrust—(loud Ministerial cries of "No, no") to one half of Her Majesty's subjects in Cape Colony. (Cheers and cries of "No.") He hoped he might be wrong, but the information which reached him from South Africa led him to believe that what was said on that subject by Sir R. Reid did not go beyond the facts. He believed that the situation in Cape Colony had never been graver. Eminent persons, clerical and lay, had said that the war was in all probability a blessing in disguise, that things were worse before, that it was necessary to have the war, and that good would come out of it. He had no doubt there were people in 1798, when the Irish Rebellion was being quenched in blood, who said it was a very fortunate thing that Lord Fitzwilliam had been recalled and that the insurrection had broken out, and that once Englishmen and Irishmen had had a fair fight they would shake hands and live in peace for ever afterwards. If that was a blessing in disguise, it was a blessing which was well disguised at the time, and the disguise had been well sustained ever since. (Cheers.) * * *

THE DUTCH IN CAPE COLONY.

He did not believe our troops had been guilty of the outrages which had been attributed to them by the Dutch in Cape Colony. (Cheers.) He had too much confidence not only in the humanity but in the kindness and good nature of our soldiers to believe that these stories could be true. (Cheers.)

But no one who reads the reports—and they were confirmed by private correspondents in no way connected with politics—could deny that there existed in Cape Colony a state of exasperation and irritation which was without parallel. These things made them very sad and very apprehensive. There was only one thing which had survived, and it was the affection and reverence which was still felt by the Cape Dutch for the person of the Queen. (Cheers.) * * *

Mr. PIRIE regretted that the moderate tone of the two speakers from the front Opposition bench had not been followed in the speech of the Secretary of State. He could only say that a large body of opinion in the country would regret that men who felt it to be a patriotic duty to tell unpalatable truths must needs be called friends of the country's enemies. It was a continuation of the policy pursued during the general election of describing as a traitor everyone who did not agree with the policy of the Colonial Secretary. They had had enough of that in the past, and he regretted that Mr. Brodrick had brought it into the House of Commons. The cry of "wolf" could be overdone, and he did not think the country would stand much more of it. (Cheers.) Sir R. Reid and Mr. Bryce had completely voiced his sentiments, and he only intervened because he considered that at this grave crisis in the country's history it was the duty of everyone, more especially those who were in the minority, to make their voice heard, for he believed the time would come when the voice of the minority would be the voice of the majority on this matter. (Cheers.) * * *

THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR A. MILNER.

Now, rightly or wrongly—he left the House to judge—Sir Alfred Milner was distrusted—(Ministerial cries of "No")—by the enormous majority of those whose feelings we had to win over—(No, no)—and his appointment would be looked upon as a continuation of the policy of appointing men thoroughly identified with the faction of which Mr. Rhodes was the head. (Cheers.) That fact more than anything else would still further estrange the very feeling we were anxious to conciliate. (Hear, hear.) It was a continuation of the policy which was pursued when, after the occupation of Johannesburg and Pretoria, it became necessary to appoint commissions to settle claims arising from the changes which had taken place in the economic conditions of these towns during the war. The charge made against these commissions, which was so true that it had eventually to be recognised, was that the men appointed were already interested on the side of the capitalists and the financiers. (Hear, hear.) * * *

We were in great danger, if we did not change our policy, of losing South Africa, not perhaps, in the immediate future, but eventually; and if our boast had been, as it was in this country, that we never knew when we were beaten, we ought to make allowance for an enemy who, like ourselves, had that characteristic. (Cheers.)

Mr. BROADHURST said: * * * It was a thousand pities the Secretary for War should have come down to the House to-day and made the statement that everyone who differed from the High Commissioner was an enemy of the Queen. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

In his opinion, the country had never been in such a position of danger during the past century as we were in at this moment through events in South Africa, and those who warned their countrymen of that danger, who mistrusted the policy that had led us into this difficulty, were not, he

maintained, the enemies of the Queen, and they were not to be railed at by the Secretary for War. (Cheers.)

Sir A. ROLLIT wished, consistently with giving a general support to the policy of the Government, to take exception to certain expressions in the speech of the Secretary for War, and his want of reciprocation of the temperate tone of the speech of the hon. and learned member for Dumfries. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

Mr. CHANNING said: * * * He was strongly of opinion that the policy we were at present pursuing with the object of bringing the war to an end was most unwise, and that the looting, the burning of farms, and the hardships inflicted on women and children would for many a year to come be a stain on the history of this country. As Dr. Conan Doyle had told us in his striking book, the co-operation of our brave enemy would be worth to us more than all the mines of the Transvaal, but we were adopting a policy of stamping out their very life-blood. * * *

Sir J. LENG regretted that the Secretary for War should have imported into the discussion such a gust of passion—a tone and feeling altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. (Cheers.) * * *

There was no man, however great his position, however great his ability, too high to be sent out on a mission of peace. It would be noble of Sir A. Milner, and still nobler of the Colonial Secretary, were they for a time to stand aside—(Ministerial laughter and Opposition cheers)—and permit a man of the character he had indicated to intervene, to visit South Africa, to hear what was said there, and give confidentially his suggestions to the Government as to how peace might be most easily and effectually accomplished. (Cheers.) * * *

Mr. HARWOOD said that all he was concerned to point out was that in making terms we should bear in mind the character of our foes, and the nature of the contest in which they were engaged. They were noble foes, and deserving of noble terms of peace, and our object should be to find such a settlement as would enable them to live with us on terms of amity, besides giving them compensation for the burning of farms, except where there was distinct evidence of treachery. * * *

The resolution was put and agreed to.

Liberals and the War.

Speech by Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P.

(*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 17, 1900.)

The St. Paul's Ward Liberal Club, Westleigh which has undergone some alteration and extension was formally reopened on Saturday afternoon by Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P. for the Leigh division. * * *

Mr. Miles Burrows, president of the Liberal Association, was in the chair, and he was supported on the platform by Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P., Mr. Alderman H. Cowburn, Mr. T. Boydell, Mr. S. Boydell, Mr. J. Wood, Mr. J. Corner, Mr. H. Isherwood, and others.

The Chairman said: * * * He believed we were going to have before very long another general election, and he wished the Liberals of the Leigh division to give Mr. Scott such a sweeping majority as would convince the Conservatives of the futility of contesting the representation. (Applause.)

Mr. Scott, who was received with applause, described the provision of Liberal clubs such as that

in Westleigh as a necessary step in the local organisation of the party. * * *

He did not think the Liberal party had been altogether exempt from blame in regard to the present war. He thought that if the Liberal party had fully done its duty, if it had made its strength felt as it might have done, if Liberals had opposed the very beginnings of wrongdoing in South Africa, if they had fought the war spirit point by point, strenuously upheld their principles from the beginning, and not given way one inch to their opponents, we should have had no war and no possibility of war. (Applause.) But what of the future—of the future of our country and the future of the Liberal party? Never, perhaps, in our history had the teaching of experience come so quickly, never had events so crowded upon us and brought with them so tremendous and unmistakable a lesson as during this war. (Hear, hear.) Was this Government, which had miscalculated every force with which it had had to deal, likely to bring any sort of satisfactory settlement out of the great difficulties in which the nation now found itself? He confessed that he was hopeless of it, and he believed the time was not very far distant when the country would turn to the Liberal party and call upon it to remedy the shortcomings of the Government and to produce order out of chaos. (Applause.) * * *

Mr. Lloyd-George on Mr. Chamberlain and the War.

(Daily Telegraph, December 29, 1900.)

Mr. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., speaking at Conway, last night, said though Mr. Chamberlain refused to answer questions of substance on the contracts questions, though he was supported by a clique in the House of Commons, he (Mr. Lloyd-George) and his friends intended to stop this favouritism to firms which were related to powerful men in the Government. They would insist upon perfect commercial fair play as between these concerns.

As to the war, was it not time we considered whither we were drifting? Was it not possible by some means which would be honourable to both parties to put an end to the terrible waste of treasure and of human blood? A hundred deaths were recorded in that day's paper, not caused in a big battle, but a man killed here, another there, some dying in this hospital, some in that, all men in the prime and flower of their strength. * * *

The Boers were beaten, and knew we could conquer them ultimately, but instead of that we started upon a second war, ghastlier, more expensive, degrading, and dishonourable for Britain. (Shame.) He made no charges against the British troops, who were carrying out orders, and he was not sure that if we were engaged upon a war of this character, what they were doing was not the only way to bring an end to the business. He did not criticise it from a military point of view, but he did blame the statesmen at home who made it absolutely necessary that the troops should engage in this work which they loathed. He had seen letters from British officers who said they were disgusted with the work imposed upon them by the necessities of the case. We had never yet occupied more than half of the Transvaal, and three-fourths of the territory we had penetrated we had simply swept with fire and sword. The time had really come for men of all opinions on the war to say: "Cannot something be done to stop this horrible business?"

Memorial from the Peace Society.

(Manchester Guardian, January 3, 1901.)

The following memorial has been forwarded to Lord Salisbury by Sir Joseph W. Pease, M.P., as president of the Peace Society, on behalf of the Executive:—

"The Committee of the Peace Society beg respectfully to express to your Lordship the regret they have felt, in company with a large number of their fellow-citizens, that the Government did not during the recent sitting of Parliament relieve the popular apprehension by a more definite and pronounced assurance in regard to the policy now adopted in the continued hostilities between this country and the Boers in South Africa. They have followed with anxiety the measures of severity which have been introduced, and have observed that the tendency has been to set aside the rules of warfare which have been agreed upon at various times, and were recognised and confirmed by the recent Peace Conference at the Hague, to which this country was a party. * * *

"And they earnestly plead with the Government to put an end to the policy in South Africa, which entails the destruction of homesteads and other private property, and the infliction of destitution and misery upon women and children—a policy which is not only condemned by the best sentiment of the civilised world, but is becoming more and more repugnant to the public conscience of the nation, and to consider whether, without delay, such terms cannot be offered to the Boers as shall induce them to discontinue the hopeless conflict, and so put an end to this useless and wasteful slaughter."

Government by Consent.

Afrikaner Congress in Cape Colony.

(The Speaker, January 5, 1901.)

Dr. Kolbe, who spoke in English at the Congress, replying to the charge that the Afrikaners were sulky and hysterical, said:—

"We will tell them what the 'sulks' and the 'hysterics' mean. They mean a deep-rooted indignation against a national wrong, and a dogged determination to blazon forth that indignation to the whole world, and a persistent resolve to use every constitutional means to bring the consciousness of that injustice to the heart of the English people, and a persistent resolve, within the limits of the Constitution, to make South Africa the most uncomfortable corner in the Empire until that injustice is recognised and rectified."

These are strong words, but they are no *brutum fulmen*. Without the co-operation of the Dutch in Cape Colony it is quite impossible to run our Empire in South Africa—we will not say, on Liberal lines—but on any lines at all; the sooner the Government recognise that uncomfortable truth the less desperate is the chance of averting disaster and shame when we come to take the step that justice and prudence demand.

Sir Edward Clarke on the Settlement

(Daily News, Feb. 8, 1901.)

Sir Edward Clarke, addressing the annual general meeting of the Holborn Conservative Association last evening, referred to the South African War. This was a subject upon which, he remarked, he had said nothing whatever for

more than twelve months. Hostilities had now lasted for close upon sixteen months, and we found ourselves again resisting an invasion of those Colonies which were unquestionably part of the dominions of the Crown. That task must, of course, be performed at any cost. However it might strain the resources of the Empire in money or in men, the invasion must be repelled and driven back. When that indispensable condition had been fulfilled, we should have a second opportunity of endeavouring to bring this war to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion. This would never be done by the sword alone, however great the numbers of our troops, and the skill and bravery of general and soldier alike.

There was no satisfaction in asserting sovereignty over a desert. We wished to rule, not a ravaged and desolate waste, but an industrious and orderly people. There would be dignity and honour, not weakness, in offering to our enemies fair and just terms of peace; an amnesty immediate and complete to those, without distinction of person or rank, who had borne arms against us; an assurance of absolute equality of civil rights and fiscal burdens among the dwellers in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal; the securing to those areas a continued administration on the system of law to which they were accustomed, and which, in fact, prevails in our old South African Colonies, and the continuance, so far as practicable, of the powers of local self-government which had hitherto been in operation.

Sir Edward concluded: I believe that such an offer would secure to us a prompt submission and surrender of the forces now in arms against us, and that we could obtain a definite acknowledgment of the sovereignty of this country over the whole area of the two States, whose annexation we have proclaimed, and the establishment of a civil and military authority throughout that area, which, with the effective control, by the Government, of every railway in these new Colonies, would make it absolutely impossible that any organised resistance should hereafter be made to the authority of the Crown. I believe that the offer of such terms as these would bring us a

speedy, a safe, and an honourable peace. At all events, they should be offered, lest we share the guilt as well as the suffering of a needless prolongation of this horrible war.

Unconditional Surrender Policy.

Official Dispatches, Published Feb. 8, 1901.

Sir R. Buller and General C. Botha conclude an Armistice, with the object of trying to arrange Terms of Surrender.

(Manchester Guardian, Feb. 9, 1901.)

General Buller reports as follows;—

I told him that my terms were that his men should surrender all guns and return to their farms, and if they did that they could take their rifles with them, subject to the understanding that Lord Roberts will later probably order their disarmament.

I thought this would not be wrong, as they can at this moment, if they wish, run away and take both guns and rifles with them.

I said that to talk about independence was nonsense. If hereafter they behave themselves they might become an independent colony. That was the only chance they had.

I think they are inclined to give in, and that I have in front of me about half the Transvaal forces now in the field.

If you think it worth while, please let me know if I may mention any terms of peace to them. I think that even if assisted from the Orange Free State it will cost me about 500 men killed and wounded to get out of Natal.

LORD ROBERTS'S REPLY: UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.

Lord Roberts replied on the following day:—

Your telegram of yesterday. My terms with the Transvaal Government are unconditional surrender.

The armistice ceased on June 5, when Assistant-Commandant General Christian Botha declined the terms which General Buller had offered.

Soldier Settlers for the Republics.

To the Editor of "The Times."

Sir,—From the reports briefly summarised in the Natal press from English papers I gather that there is a feeling in England that, on the completion of the annexation, the British Government should grant farms in South Africa to time-expired soldiers and others. As practically the first Gold Commissioner in the Transvaal, and a colonial, having perhaps a wider and longer experience of that country and its capacities than most men, I hasten to utter a warning against the unpractical character of any project for putting men without capital or experience of South African farming on to the soil. * * *

Unless the new settler be prepared to lead the life of a Robinson Crusoe, producing with toil and difficulty a tithe of the things necessary and eventually joining the already large army of poor whites who will prove one of the most difficult problems for the new Government, he must have Government support to the extent indicated. In that case he may cultivate maize, forage, and perhaps potatoes and onions. Even then he will have to serve such an apprenticeship to South African farming methods—so different to those of

England—that for a season or two his farming must be of a purely experimental character. * * *

Unless this grouping of settlers be carried out the fate of the new-comer will not be a pleasant one. He will be surrounded by hostile Boers, whose language and manners are strange to him, while they will not only deny him those little neighbourly acts without which life in the veldt is impossible, but they can and may combine to isolate him by shutting up the roads. It may not be known in England that there are few public roads in the Transvaal, and even they pass over private property, where the water and grass essential to the support of horses and oxen in transit are as much private property, and will be as rigorously conserved, as if they were in the stable of the owner. * * *

I would conclude with two items of advice. To the farmer I say, do not take up land recommended by an Afrikaner; to the man in quest of an industrial property, treat with caution any advice or overtures from a professional Johannesburg mining company promoter.—Yours, &c.,

DAVID MACKAY WILSON,

Late Gold Commissioner De Kaap Gold Fields, Mount Edgecombe, Natal.

(Leading article, *Manchester Guardian*,
July 25, 1900.)

The war correspondents are beginning to come back from South Africa, and what they are, on the whole, saying about the war will in all probability be repeated, on the whole, by some 200,000 British and Colonial soldiers a little later. In the *Westminster Gazette* Mr. H. C. Shelley gives his impressions, and dismal they are. "I have reached England again," he says, "with only one desire about South Africa, and that is that I may never see it again." Ninety per cent. of our soldiers, he believes, will leave South Africa "with such a loathing for the country as would almost make the bribery of them into silence a desirable speculation on the part of any who may be interested in attracting British settlers there. 'If I owned hell and South Africa,' said one private to another, 'I'd live in hell and rent South Africa.'" To the question whether we are getting anything like a reasonable equivalent for the blood and money poured out during the last nine months, Mr. Shelley's answer is:—

"Frankly, I believe we have thrown bread upon waters from which there will be no return. I do not regard South Africa as a valuable addition to the Empire; I feel that we have hung one more old man of the seas around our shoulders. * * *

"Not being enamoured of the value to a new country of diamond mines and gold fields, I cannot feel any flush of pride or satisfaction in contemplating this fresh addition to our Empire. Only the day before I left Capetown I aired my pessimism in the presence of Sir Alfred Milner, and even he could not adduce reasons to destroy it. I see little hope that in the future South Africa will become any less a source of anxiety and perplexity to British statesmen than it has been in the past.

From Our Military Correspondent.
(*Daily Telegraph*, August 11, 1900.)

I cannot think that very many of our Reservists and others from our ranks will elect to remain here, to throw in their luck among a new community and wholly new surroundings and conditions. If their thoughts incline them towards agriculture, I should certainly proffer, to all with whom I come in contact, "Punch's" old advice to those about to marry—Don't. I have looked for a farming country—as we understand it on other Continents—from Table Mountain to Bloemfontein and, with the exception of a few favoured fruit farms in the South of Cape Colony, have failed to realise the humblest ideal. Nature is very complete in her works; and, as far as farming goes, I believe she made Dutchmen to be South African farmers. And already there are too many of them. * * *

To put it plainly, there is at present but little opening in South Africa for a farmer without capital; and it would be rash indeed to recommend those who have capital to embark it in a country so undeveloped and unproven. Again, it is very doubtful if any Englishman possessing capital would care to lead as frugal an existence as that of even a wealthy Boer. The expenditure of the latter is limited in the extreme—a few clothes and a few groceries. * * *

* The railways will demand skilled workmen. Already they have been almost entirely dependent on English hands; but, to repeat, a white man without a trade will never be anything but a pauper in South Africa; and all of this sort that our Government leave out here will eventually have to be brought home again at the country's expense. * * *

London Correspondent, Manchester Guardian, Sept. 3, 1900.

It will be recalled that Mr. Rider Haggard contested one of the East Anglian constituencies as a Tory at the last election. I have just seen a letter from him which seems to make it impossible for him to reappear in that capacity. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in this letter—which is evidently intended as a declaration of faith—is his pronouncement against Imperialism of, to use his own phrase, "the spread-eagle variety." He avers that we should press on Governments the fact that it will profit them nothing if they gain the whole world and lose their own country. He demands in regard to agrarian legislation a policy which should secure the ownership of the many rather than of the few, and asks that definite steps should be taken to recall the old yeoman class. As a means to this end he suggests State aid for selected tillers of the land. A small man would, he says, make a living where a farmer nowadays will starve. A hundred millions would, he estimates, cover the cost.

"If," he says, "the Government can find money to settle soldiers in Orange River Colony, why cannot they find it to settle them upon the unpeopled fields? Our interests," proceeds Mr. Haggard, "in the Orange River Colony, with which we do a large trade in precious stones and other things, are great, but are not our interests in the English counties greater? A man is more precious than the gold of Ophir, said Isaiah long ago, and the remark still applies—even to the diamonds of Kimberley." The letter would make an admirable Liberal leaflet.

Extracts from

"Liberalism and The Empire."

By F. W. HIRST, G. MURRAY, and J. L. HAMMOND
(from Preface).

Our colonies, like most other colonies, owe their original existence, in one sense or another, to mere adventure or the power of the sword. They owe their vitality and strength, and most of the finer characteristics which make them almost unique in the history of colonization, to very different causes: to the policy of non-interference, to the studied avoidance of aggression, to toleration and generous amity between conflicting creeds and diverse races, to Liberal principals and Liberal ideas. * * *

Conspirators, backed by a Prime Minister, invaded the Transvaal in time of peace, and tried to assassinate the Boers in their sleep. The Boers chanced to awake, and the plot failed. The invaders were beaten, made prisoners, spared by President Kruger, and handed over for trial to the British Government. The Prime Minister of the Cape was proved to be the chief criminal: he was not punished, not even removed from the list of Her Majesty's secret counsellors. The chief organ of the Government, when found in the thick of the plot, and detected—as by other Royal Commissions—in publishing false documents, escaped scot free. The guilty complicity of the Colonial Secretary was, and is gravely suspected even in England and Scotland, generally believed in Ireland, and accepted as obvious in the two Dutch States and in most of the Foreign Offices of Europe. * * *

The South African War is, from the military point of view, unsatisfactory; from the political point of view, disastrous. In a year or two, no doubt, ordinary politicians will be anxious to condemn the South African War. But true Liberals will reject all responsibility for the successful wars as well as for the unsuccessful, not because they were wars—some wars have been necessary and even glorious—but because they were unjust and uncalled for wars, the products of crude, boyish ambitions and unworthy policy. * * *

We hold empire over India, over the Soudan; we do not hold empire over Canada or Australia. Free Canada and free Australia are grander evidences of England's greatness and solidier elements in her strength than all those tropical provinces which she has won as a conqueror and holds as a foreign despot. * * *

The present writers believe that for many years past the aggressive and vainglorious instincts of Great Britain have been unduly stimulated; that adventure, conquest, mastery, and race-pride, strangely wedded with speculative finance and culminating in the fatal lust of Empire, have been so long held up to the worship of the populace by men whose position and antecedents should have rendered them capable of higher, or at least of saner, ideals, that the reason of the country is in abeyance and its imagination intoxicated, and possibilities are brought near to us which may involve in vital danger even a commonwealth so massively stable as our own. In this belief they have ventured to raise their voices. * * *

Extracts from

"Liberalism and the Empire:"

"Imperialism and Finance."

(By F. W. HIRST.)

(Taken from pages 73-4.)

In the quinquennial period 1855-59 the average annual trade with foreign countries was £209,000,000, that with British possessions was £76,000,000. In the period of 1890-94 the figures were £477,000,000 and £166,000,000 respectively. Thus the foreign trade had risen in the second to 74·2, while the percentage which the trade with British possessions had borne to the total had altered from 26·7 to 25·8. Yet in the interval great stretches of territory had been annexed to the British Empire at enormous cost. A comparison of the two periods shows that in the second British exports to China, Russia, and Holland trebled. Our exports to France rose from £3,000,000 in 1854 to £16,000,000 in 1890. The vast expenditure of British blood and British treasure upon Egypt has been singularly unproductive in those commercial harvests which Lord Salisbury's imagination painted in glowing colours. The average annual value of British exports to Egypt, which was £3,000,000 in 1880-84, had risen by painfully slow degrees to £3,500,000 in 1890-94. It is calculated that the British taxpayer has spent about £40,000,000 on Egypt and the Soudan. Never have desert lands been more thoroughly manured by more competent hands. But Lord Cromer sees no present prospect of the Soudan ceasing to be a drain upon the Egyptian Treasury. * * *

The Uganda railway, which was to have been completed for £3,000,000, is already estimated to cost £5,000,000. Our surpluses are thrown away upon the most worthless parts of the Empire. * * *

Extracts from

"The War in South Africa:"

Its Causes and Effects."

(By J. A. HOBSON.)

(From pages 296-305, 306 to end.)

FEDERATION OF STATES.

If Great Britain succeeds in breaking the military power of the Boer Republics, two related questions will arise, one having reference to the treatment of the conquered territories, the other to the federation of States in South Africa. Upon the latter and larger matter history has something to say, for "federation" is no new term in South African affairs. * * *

Sir George Grey, though both an imperialist and a federationist, was far too wise to attempt to bring about federation by imperial pressure. Home Rule, not Imperialism, was to be the directing force in the affairs of South Africa. This was likewise the view of Lord Rosmead, so vigorously expressed in the speech in which he took leave of South Africa in 1889: "There are three competing influences at work in South Africa. They are Colonialism, Republicanism, and Imperialism. As to the last, it is a diminishing quantity, there being now no longer any permanent place in the future of South Africa for direct imperial rule on any large scale. With responsible government in the Cape, with Natal soon likely to attain that status, with the independent Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and with Germany on the west coast and Portugal on the east, the idea of the permanent presence of the imperial factor in the interior—of a South African India in the Kalahari—is simply an absurdity." * * *

Two courses were open to Lord Carnarvon: one was to adopt the conciliatory course urged by Mr. Froude, and to use the unrivalled gifts and experience of Sir George Grey to get it carried out; the other to take personal charge, to appoint a Governor and other officers imbued with a strong coercive spirit, and to force confederation at all hazards upon the States of South Africa. Unfortunately, native perversity and ill-advice impelled him to choose the latter course. Sir Bartle Frere was sent out in 1877 to school the Cape Colonists into submission, while Mr. Shepstone had been despatched in the previous year with a Special Commission, giving him power and authority to annex any territories adjoining the British Colonies, provided he were "satisfied that a sufficient number of the inhabitants desired to become our subjects." The extraordinary character of this Commission has never been fully realised. It meant simply this, that not only the Transvaal, but the Free State, the Portuguese territory, and any neighbouring native territories might be annexed at the absolute discretion of Mr. Shepstone. Add to this that the Commission was a secret one, and the climax of impolicy is reached. * * *

But the collapse of the Federation design was chiefly and directly due to the treacherous annexation of the Transvaal, which was intended as a signal step in the consummation of the policy. The visible injustice and oppression of this act destroyed altogether the amicable basis upon which Sir George Grey relied, and substituted one of naked force. * * *

As a plank in the platform of the new Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield's Government it was swept away in the flood of unpopularity

which overwhelmed the Conservative party in the elections of 1880. * * *

Outside the community of interests represented by a Customs Union, a federal system of railways, and a common postal and telegraphic system, there are doubtless many other forces making for federation of States in South Africa. Too much, perhaps, is made of the uniformity of physical conditions and the absence of strongly-marked natural boundaries of States. So, also, the present identity of economic interests, as indicated by the common dependency of all the States upon the resources and the requirements of the Rand, cannot be regarded as a factor of such permanent importance as to control an Imperial policy of Federation. But the community of race and language, the fluidity not merely of the industrial, but of the agricultural, population in South Africa, their wide severance from other civilised white communities, and their common liability to certain contingencies of internal disturbances or external attacks, certainly supply a basis of effective political co-operation. * * *

That the community of real interests will in the long run prove adequate to furnish a federal constitution in South Africa seems certain: that the time is yet ripe is far from certain. What has hitherto impeded this natural growth? Chiefly political jealousies and suspicions between States and races. Has the current of recent events served to increase or to abate these jealousies and suspicions? There can, unfortunately, be no hesitation in answering this question. The tenour of events from 1895 to the present moment has been a constant stream of separatist influence among States and races. * * *

As a sequel of successful war a scheme of formal Federation may be forced upon South Africa, but the forcing process in itself must nullify all possibility of successful operation. I do not merely allude to the feelings of the population of the conquered provinces. * * *

"Will the Cape Colonists, with the last twenty years' experience in mind, and goaded almost to frenzy by the injury and insults of this strife, consent in 1900 to adopt a scheme of Federation which they refused in 1880?" Such a scheme can only be forced upon South Africa by some signal abrogation of the rights of free self-government in Cape Colony, an abrogation which would be received with present applause by the party defeated at the polls last year, but which would, by loosening the very foundation of confidence in British rule, introduce as a permanent factor in colonial politics that racial disloyalty which, in spite of false accusations, has never existed in the past, and which would by its disintegrating influence destroy the reality of any Federation.

Federation of States in South Africa, as elsewhere, must be of spontaneous internal origin, and must be based upon the clear recognition of a community of interests and feelings—what is called a "union of hearts." Where and when this condition is lacking, no real federation is possible. A scheme of federation imposed as the result of military conquest cannot endure; coming into being by the sword, it will either perish by the sword or collapse from internal impotence. * * *

I would remind the reader that this book was completed just after the commencement of the war, nearly eighteen months ago. It will be seen in the following extracts what an accurate judgment the writer formed of

the evils that would result from the present lamentable contest. This is one of the reasons why I estimate the work so highly.—H. J. O.

THE TRUE LINE OF BRITISH POLICY.

The large space given in this volume to the causes and antecedent circumstances of the war is due to the necessity of breaking down a most dangerous fallacy which has obsessed the public mind, that once embarked upon the struggle it is idle to consider causes, and that even when the time comes for settlement, justice and expediency can be projected upon a future policy which need not closely scrutinise the past. The intellectual anarchy implied in this catastrophic view is one of the most signally injurious results of popular passion blinding a nation. * * *

The easy, amiable talk about the Boers taking their beating gracefully, and settling down quietly under an Outlanders' rule supported by British force, or even under a directly British rule, is contradicted by the entire tenour of the history of the Republics as well as by the common knowledge of human nature. The crude psychology of the pugnacious schoolboys, who hammer respect and affection into one another by a bout of fisticuffs, is void of truth; it is, in fact, nothing but a paradoxical extension of the mischievous maxim, *Si pacem velis para bellum*. Boys who have fought generally hate one another, nations always do. As for respect, it is possible that individual Boers may have some increased respect for the courage of individual Britons, but that will not mitigate their hatred and abhorrence of the British power, which has used its superior weight and numbers to crush a smaller people. Why should it? * * *

The Boers to a man believe, with a long-settled passionate conviction, that theirs is a holy war, fought to preserve the independence of their country from the assaults of greedy foreigners in their midst who have cajoled the British Government to take part in a conspiracy for territorial plunder. * * *

Will all the disillusionments we have sustained serve to teach us nothing? Shall we still fondly cling to the belief that the Boers will recognise themselves beaten, and lie down beneath the heel of a conqueror? * * *

The attempt to enforce British rule upon the Republics is likely to turn out a longer and a costlier process than we reck—costlier in blood and money, and futile in the end. It is doubtful if we can spare the strength which will be needed for keeping the Boers of the Republics as a subject race. * * *

Either the Outlanders will be dominant as a political party, in which case the mining magnates, who have organised this attack, will rule the Transvaal as De Beers rules Kimberley, controlling the Outlander vote by economic force; or, if the old burgher party should remain more numerous, or should detach enough of the non-British Outlanders, then the British, whose flag floats at Pretoria, will find themselves outvoted at the polls, and subjected to the practical control of their enemies, embittered by the memories of the war, and bent on every sort of constitutional reprisal. * * *

To say that there exists one goal of civilisation for all the races of the world, one road along which progress lies equally for all, and that the Anglo-Saxon peoples are the possessors of this goal, and therefore the sole judges of the progress

of other peoples, is at least a gratuitous assumption. * * *

Turning from the region of nebulous theory to the concrete facts of life, and to the case most in evidence, it is at any rate open to serious question whether the civilisation of Johannesburg, the typical British product in South Africa, is higher, better, or more desirable than the simpler, ruder civilisation of the burgher population of the land. An impartial student of human societies, making a thorough investigation of social life in South Africa, would surely hesitate to pronounce the life of the towns—Johannesburg, Kimberley, Capetown, Durban—and the characters and ideals of their inhabitants, to be intrinsically finer and worthier than the life, character, and ideals of the Dutch farming population. * * *

The really practical question, which I will ask but will not attempt to answer, is, "What issue of the war will least disturb the moral and social elements in South African life which were making towards amicable co-operation and fusion in the past?" The *status quo ante*, we are told, is impossible. That may be so, but a calm view of the situation, with a true understanding of the origin and nature of this war, suggests that the best "settlement" will be that which approaches nearest to the *status quo ante*. * * *

The Cape Ministry, chosen by the majority of the people, and the experienced leaders of that

part of the population which recognises South Africa as "home," and has lived in it for generations, must no longer be set aside, ignored, and openly flouted in favour of a clique of councillors, mostly new-comers, and all with interests opposed to the interests of the people at large. * * *

The nation has been told that it is seeking neither gold nor territory by this war: let it be clearly seen that she gets neither; and let us equally make sure, if we can, that those who are responsible as direct causes of this evil business make no personal gain. The wages of sin is death, and, hard as it may seem, it is in the long run best this should be so. To seek to dodge the Nemesis of misconduct is as idle for a nation as for an individual. If the facts recorded here are substantially true, and the judgments substantially sound, the British people have been led into a crime, and no juggling with territorial boundaries or political institutions will enable her wholly to escape the penalty. Pay in the present she must, in reputation, blood, and material resources; her best lovers, the truest patriots, will desire that, as she comes to a gradual recognition of her error, she may have the courage to proclaim her fault; and if, as is unhappily the case, full reparation is impossible, she may at least renounce the ill-gotten fruits of such a victory as she may win.

Effects of the War on Finance and Domestic Legislation.

However we may differ in our opinions as to the cause and conduct of the war, the result, as it affects our pockets, must be interesting to all, whether we support or condemn the war.

It is not the object of this work to treat of the whole course of finance as practised by the Government, otherwise much might be said about the "*doles*" given to the agricultural interest, the denominational schools, and to the clerical tithe payers, amounting in all to £3,227,000 a year. They were distinct "jobs," and will create increasing dissatisfaction when the coming heavy taxation caused by the war is thoroughly felt. We have little reason to be surprised, as Lord George Hamilton told us on the 17th November, 1897:—

It is to safeguard and protect the interests of OUR FRIENDS, not only while we are in office, but even in the contingency of our being out, that we have acted throughout.

His candour, at least, can be admired and appreciated. The workers and dwellers in towns are already beginning to rebel against such unfair distribution of public funds. A good idea of the incidence of the Agricultural Rates Acts on the urban population is obtained from the following extract, taken from an article by F. W. H. in "*The Speaker*" of February 23rd, 1901:—

* * * I calculated some time ago in these columns that the loss to London was not less than £375,000. The statistical officer of the London County Council elaborates and supplements my figures. He thinks that London taxpayers probably pay more than £450,000 a year to the "relief of agriculture." On this basis, which I am quite willing to accept, Manchester and Salford pay annually about £50,000, Birmingham pays about £28,000, Liverpool £50,000, Hull £12,000, Leeds and Bristol nearly £20,000. Generally speaking, an urban taxpayer suffers as much in his pocket from the Agricultural Rates Act as from an additional twopence in the pound on tea or an additional penny on the Income Tax. The Tory Press of London knows all this and carefully avoids alluding to the subject. * * *

It is currently reported that members of the Cabinet will benefit to the extent of £60,000 per annum. Even if these figures are correct, I should attribute the Government's action more to the policy so frankly admitted by the Secretary for India than to personal greed.

Imperialism, and what it leads to.

Mr. Chamberlain said that if his opponents insisted upon crediting him with bringing on the war he should be content, and would consider it as a "feather in his cap." Lord Cranborne said that "the war had been an almost unmixed blessing." One concludes that these gentlemen represent *real* Imperialism. But in the Liberal ranks we have some Imperialists, who describe themselves as "*sane*," and they must necessarily consider the thorough-going type, such as the Secretary for the Colonies and Lord Salisbury's son, as "*insane*." However that may be, I will leave them to allot the adjectives amicably, if possible, and proceed to show what even "*sane*," or *moderate*, Imperialism costs.

Notwithstanding the Hague Conference, the Great Powers seem unlikely to adopt arbitration as the method of settling disputed points, and so we must go on perfecting our army and navy, maintaining a certain relative superiority to those of other Powers. But what is this proportion to be? In an able speech in the House of Commons on the 21st of March, 1901, Mr. Edmund Robertson showed that we have long since abandoned the old principle of making our navy as strong as those of any two other countries when combined, and are well on the way to equal those of any four Powers. At the same time we are invited to build up a "strong" army and, if necessary, to adopt conscription. Sir Robert Giffen, the much-esteemed statistician, in a recent contribution to the "*Economic Journal*," urges us to double the army, although we fondly hoped that the enormous strength of our navy would save us from fear of any serious attack on our shipping or from possibility of invasion.

Our Future Policy wants Defining.

If we are so foolish as to continue striving to paint more of the map of the world red, or, to employ Lord Salisbury's words, "wish to go everywhere and take everything," we must prepare ourselves to carry the burden such policy entails. It is outside the main object, and passing the limits of this work, to discuss these points, except in so far as they are affected by the present war.

The following may be cited as a few of the causes which have mainly contributed to the alarm and partly well-grounded fears for our safety. Some three years ago most of our leading newspapers adopted a bullying and offensive attitude towards our French neighbours over the Fashoda incident, and rendered the retirement of Captain Marchand much more difficult than it need have been. The French owe us a grudge for that indignity. Last year Mr. Chamberlain threatened them with coming trouble unless they "mended their manners." His diplomatic tact was displayed, when dealing with Russia, in the "long spoon" speech, which is now bearing fruit in the slights we are subjected to and the commercial advantages we are likely to lose in the Far East. The climax was reached in the stoppage of German and American vessels making for Delagoa Bay during the early part of the war. Although we have apologized and paid an indemnity of £29,563 for these last mistakes, the results do not end there. The above three European nations, painfully recognizing their inferiority to ourselves as Naval Powers, have set themselves the task of equalizing matters somewhat, so that we are forced to go on augmenting the navy.)

The South African war has gained us "the hatred of the civilized world," as we are only too frequently reminded; therefore we must arm to the teeth, so as to be able to defend ourselves, or change our present policy for one of a higher moral character, and thereby regain the confidence and friendship of other peoples, both great and small.

Food for Reflection.

The figures given later on, as far as they were antecedent to the Estimates of 1900-1901, were not framed to meet war expenses, which began in the autumn of 1899, and are interesting only as showing the errors and cost of Imperialism in times of peace. The Budget of 1900 dealt, for the first time, with the war charges.

As a serious addition to the *National Debt* seems inevitable, the following notes from the "*Statesman's Year Book*," showing its commencement and growth, may be useful:—

National Debt (or the Unpaid Balance of the Cost of Wars).

Periods.	Principal. £	Annual Charge. £
National Debt at the Revolution in 1688.....	664,263	39,855
At the commencement of the American War, 1775 ..	126,842,811	4,708,519
At the end of the American War, 1784.....	248,063,145	9,541,256
At the commencement of the French War, 1792.....	289,663,421	9,482,179
At the Peace of Paris, 1815.....	861,039,049	32,645,618
Increase during the Crimean War, 1854-7	82,918,243	742,642
Decrease since the Crimean War	209,582,012	5,898,651
Debt on the 31st March, 1899.....	627,562,585	23,000,000

Foreign Trade (from the same source).—The declared value of the imports and exports of merchandise of the United Kingdom ranging over a period of ten years:—

Year.	Total Imports. £	Exports of British Produce. £	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Produce. £	Total Imports and Exports. £
1890	420,691,997	263,530,585	64,721,538	748,944,115
1893	404,688,178	218,259,718	58,878,552	681,826,448
1896	441,808,904	240,145,551	56,233,663	738,118,118
1899	485,075,514	264,660,647	65,019,549	814,755,710

From the above table it will be seen that our export trade does not appear to make any advance; indeed, it rather shows a retrograde movement, prices being higher now than 11 years ago, and consequently, measured by bulk, the sum total must be less. Our Home Trade has, no doubt, been very active. It is well to keep these features in view in considering national finance.

The Growth of Expenditure.

On May 16th, 1900, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered a speech at Bristol, and from the *Standard's* report I extract the following quotations:—

The expenditure of this country, and the desire of the people at large for expenditure, was growing at an enormous and dangerous rate. In the year 1895-6 the Navy Estimates were £18,500,000, this year they were £27,500,000, an increase of 50 per cent. * * * Turning to the Army Estimates, they had increased—his figures were quite irrespective of the cost of the war—from £18,000,000 in 1895-6 to £23,500,000 this year. * * *

Then there was the increase in the Civil Service Estimates, and taking the three classes of Estimates during the past five years, he found that, whereas all of them together were £69,000,000 in 1895, they were now £90,000,000, or £21,000,000 more than they were five years ago. That was an enormous increase—£4,000,000 a year. He regarded it, if continued, as a real danger to the country. * * *

The country was rich and prosperous; but there were signs in the immense prices asked for coal, which in former years portended bad times, that our prosperity might not endure for so very long. If we went on as we were going now there might be very bad times in store for the people of the country, and particularly for the *working classes*. In this question of economy was wrapped up much of the future *prosperity of the country*.

On March 16th "*The Speaker*" showed, in a concise form, the growth of expenditure for the Army and Navy, including the new Estimates for this year, as under :—

	1894-1895. £		1896-1897. £		1900-1901. £		1901-1902. £
Army	17,900,000	....	18,270,000	....	24,262,700	....	29,685,000
Navy	17,545,000	....	22,170,000	....	28,791,900	....	30,875,500
	<u>35,445,000</u>		<u>40,440,000</u>		<u>53,054,600</u>		<u>60,560,500</u>

From "*Whitaker's Almanack*" one learns that in the year 1889-90 the Army and Navy—under Lord Salisbury—cost £31,178,050, *i.e.*, only £897,800 more than *half* of what they cost to-day. And now, to put a fitting crown on the edifice, it is decided to increase by £2,000,000 the Army Estimates of starving, famine-stricken, over-taxed India as her share of misfortune in having, as rulers for the time being, certain persons posing as statesmen and diplomatists.

(*The Liberal Publication Department*, under the direction of Mr. Augustine Birrell, supplies returns which show that the taxation for the last completed Tory year, 1899-1900 (not including any levy for war purposes) exceeded by £28,059,000 that of the last complete Liberal year, 1894-1895 :—

Year ending March 31.	Paid into Imperial Exchequer. £		Paid into Local Taxation Ac. £		Total. £		Difference :
1895	94,684,000	....	7,014,000	....	101,698,000	}	£28,059,000.
1900	119,840,000	....	9,917,000	....	129,757,000		

New Taxation towards defraying the expenses of the South African War—
Budget 1900-1901 :—

	£
Income Tax, 4d. (making 1s. in the £).....	6,500,000
Tea, 2d. per lb.	1,800,000
Beer, 1s. per barrel	1,752,000
Spirits, 6d. per gallon	1,015,000
Tobacco, 4d., and Cigars, 6d. per lb.	1,100,000
	<u>£12,167,000</u>

As it is frequently asserted by the Press and by certain public speakers that these rapid increases in our expenditure are not felt because they are paid for out of the *increased returns on the previously existing basis of taxation*, it becomes necessary to point out the fallacy of such doctrine.

(a) Sir Stafford Northcote, to his honour, instituted the principle of putting aside yearly the sum of £28,000,000 to pay interest on, and in reduction of the National Debt. Mr. Goschen reduced the amount to £25,000,000, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach pulls it down to £23,000,000. Since the war began the Sinking Fund has been suspended, which makes a further reduction of £4,640,000 per annum, but which I purposely omit from these calculations.

(b) When Mr. Gladstone was thrown out in 1874 the Income Tax stood at 3d. in the £, and he promised, if returned to power, to abolish it entirely. Mr. Disraeli came in, and his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir S. Northcote, with a surplus of about £6,000,000, provided by his predecessor, reduced the tax to 2d., but only for a brief period, and the average during the last 20 years has nearly approached 7d.

(c) Six years ago Sir William Harcourt's Death Duties came into force. Now they realise upwards of £7,000,000 per annum more than the old system did. Therefore we have the following results, in round figures, and as affecting us during the last six extravagant Tory years, compared with the time of Sir Stafford Northcote, which I take as a basis for the calculation :—

(a) Six years lessened payment towards reduction of National Debt...	£21,000,000
(b) Six years increase of Income Tax at an average of 5d. in the £ ...	60,000,000
During this period each penny has yielded an average return exceeding £2,000,000, and at the present time it produces about £2,400,000.	
(c) Six years increase of Death Duties	22,500,000
	£103,500,000

An average exceeding £17,000,000 a year in these three items, and quite unaffected by War Expenditure.

The "*Financial Reform Almanack*" divides each £ of Expenditure under three heads, thus :—

Period.	Army and Navy.			National Debt.			Civil Services.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1896 — 1901 omitting } South African and } China Wars }	0	8	7	..	0	4	10	..	0	6	7	..
	1	0	0									

Sir W. Harcourt on the Budget, House of Commons, March 19, 1900 :—

You may depend upon it, whatever you may say, whatever you may argue, and whatever may be the basis of your taxation, that this increase of expenditure, not by hundreds of thousands, but by **tens of millions**, year after year, does, and must mean increased taxation. I do not know whether we may be reduced to a taxation which is unsound in its principles, by extending it to all commodities. Most gentlemen will remember the catalogue of Sir Sydney Smith of the commodities that used to be taxed until it reached the nails in the coffin of the pauper. You may be reduced to that at the rate you are running into expenditure. I hope I may not see that day, but as long as I have the honour of a seat in this House I shall continue to raise a warning voice against the inordinate increase of the expenditure of this country.

We shall go from Bad to Worse.

There is, unfortunately, no reason to believe that the enormous estimates for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, recently presented, will not, even during the next twelve months, be supplemented; on the contrary, there will probably be large additions. The construction of war vessels is much in arrear; but as there seems to be every prospect of a slackened demand in the ship-building trade, the Government will have greater facilities for carrying out their program of adding to the Fleet. The Belleville boiler is practically condemned, and scores of vessels will want re-boiling. Mr. Brodric, to keep his own estimates down, has induced the Navy to undertake the work of, and set at liberty, some 5,000 soldiers; but, unless the Marine force is in excess of its requirements, (and it is more probably undermanned,) these 5,000 men will want replacing. If they do not, then some one ought to be called to account.

On the 15th of November last Lord Roberts wrote that the army was "All too small for the duties it had to perform," and the Secretary for War wishes us to conclude *that he is filling this void by the addition of 11,500 new troops, and releasing 5,000 at the expense of the Navy.* Let us suppose that in course of time we partially succeed in

subjugating the Boers, we shall then require, to hold their countries, a force far in excess of the small number allowed for by Mr. Brodrick, and whatever such force may be, its equivalent must be enlisted to the army here, if our new scheme of having 120,000 men ready for service abroad is to be effective. That the Government and its advisers are still ignorant of the troubles that await us in South Africa may well be believed, when we recall the series of miscalculations which began with an estimate of £10,000,000 to pay for the war, and the equally erroneous opinion as to its conclusion, to which Lord Roberts committed himself some months ago.

If even 30,000 to 40,000 troops should suffice to hold the Transvaal and Orange Free State, we should have a larger force locked up there than we employ in all our Colonies and Dependencies with the exception of India.

The future Pay of the Army.

The number of men willing to "take the shilling" as a permanent occupation—I exclude the Volunteers of twelve months ago—is a limited quantity, as our recruiting officers know. Every thousand men enrolled adds to the difficulty of procuring the next thousand. Extra pay and other advantages have been given in recent times, and notwithstanding the tempting wages of 5s. per day, a patriotic procession and "send off," and a bait held out of "going to the mines," or "settling on a Boer farm," and such like, it has proved far from a simple matter to obtain the 35,000 men Lord Kitchener found to be indispensable. Anyone who has watched the *queue* at the recruiting office, and scrutinised the "accepted" parading in their "khaki," and read the letters of indignant parents, is able to judge of the complacency of the examining officers, surgeons, and riding masters in passing some of the new "material."

Is it reasonable to suppose that the "regular" will be content in the future with 1s. to 1s. 2d. per day? We may depend upon it that we have entered upon new standards of pay, and many other matters in connection with military affairs. Personally I do not regret it, as I am a believer in highly-paid service; but it will necessarily raise the estimates both of the Army and Navy. "Civis" very pertinently says, "When the man who knows a trade receives less than one-fourth the wage of the apprentice, it must be admitted that the conditions of that trade are not healthy."

Another correspondent—"Thomas Atkins"—writing to the "*Daily News*," March 12, 1901, gives the professional's view of the subject:—

* * * Many officers have been reduced to abject despair by the departure (transfers into Baden-Powell's Police) of the most promising soldiers. To such a pitch had the withdrawals affected the Guards, that orders were recently issued from headquarters cancelling all the transfers into the South African Police, after the men had been accepted for service, with the reluctant consent of their own commanding officers. * * *

In conclusion, it is certainly necessary to point out that unless the War Office authorities intend to include in the scheme of Army Reform some practical proposals for raising the social status of the soldier, that they will appeal in vain for recruits.
* * *

The invidious distinctions of pay betwixt Regulars and Colonials has caused intense irritation. The last straw was the augmentation granted to the Imperial Yeomanry, and the sight of a brand new member of that force in all the glory of unauthorised feathers and bandolier (worn contrary to regulations) is like a red rag to a bull, as far as Tommy Atkins is concerned. * * *

Taxation.—What we may look forward to.

In drawing the reader's attention to the following figures, I may as well say that I fully believe that time will prove them to have been under-estimated, unless the suffering arising from severe depression of trade or other unforeseen cause should create an unmistakable demand for economy. A few weeks hence the new Budget will be unfolded, and this subject will, at least for a time, command general attention.

If, in the coming stages of the war, we succeed somewhat better than has been the case recently, and the enemy finds it prudent or absolutely necessary to give up the regular contest, we may be fortunate enough to escape with an expenditure of £200,000,000. For the time being it will probably be necessary to borrow about seven-eighths of this sum, the difference having been found out of the surplus of the 1899-1900 Budget (omitting war charges), and the expected surplus of 1900-1901 (again avoiding war estimates) added to the new taxation of £12,167,000 previously mentioned.

The interest of some £175,000,000 will probably amount to £4,743,750, decreasing yearly by one-fifteenth in the event of the Chancellor of the Exchequer acting up to my anticipations, which are stated later on.

On October 23, 1899, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach said :—

I should hope that no member of the Committee would suggest that our expenditure, though it be about to be incurred in a war which unquestionably is of greater magnitude than any in which we have been engaged for some time past, yet I hope that no one will suggest that this is a case in which it should be provided for by a permanent addition to the National Debt. To my mind no such permanent addition would be justifiable except in the event of a war with a first-class Power.

£10,000,000 only had been asked for at that time, and even later, when the war as a serious undertaking was partially admitted, the impression was created that the cost was to be defrayed within ten years.

On reference to the National Debt table, page 246, it will be seen how small a proportion of the cost of the Crimean War Mr. Gladstone carried to the debit of the Funded Debt; but Mr. Gladstone was an exceptionally courageous man and set a great example. On November 13, 1900, Sir Michael said :—

They might hope that before the date of the next Budget, at any rate, the South African war would *really* have been brought to a close, &c.

On December 14, 1900 (see page 263), he again intimates his intention of paying off the principal within ten years. I respect Sir Michael and believe he wishes to gain a niche amongst the resolute, conscientious Chancellors of the Exchequer whom history will hold up as examples for imitation, but it will be a hard struggle for him to resist the other nineteen members of the Cabinet begging him to postpone payment and ward off, until a possible termination of the war, the impending storm which even now threatens them, and which will ultimately overwhelm them.

I want to be on the safe side, and will suppose that 15 years are allotted to the extinction of the debt created by the war; that gives us, with the average yearly interest, a sum of £14,038,000 constituting the *first* addition to the normal expenditure of the Budget of 1902-1903, by which time I am supposing—merely as a basis for a *calculation*, and not as representing my opinion by any means—that the war will *really* be over.

We will put the force necessary to garrison, patrol, and hold down the two Republics, and protect our Colonies, at 50,000 men—30,000 mounted and 20,000 foot soldiers. Personally, I have no faith in their doing it satisfactorily. The Government admit that a cavalryman in South Africa costs £250 a year. But we are just finding out that if he is to keep up with, let alone catch, De Wet and other Boer Generals, he must be provided with spare horses, so that these forces will entail a new annual charge of at least £11,300,000. The “*mailed fist*” is not a low-priced tool.

To return to home affairs. I find the normal increase in the yearly expenditure on the Army and the Navy between the years 1896 and 1899 was £5,949,000. I have already shown that the cost of these two services has been nearly doubled in the course of twelve years. Is any man prepared to submit reasons why the yearly augmentation should cease? Under the “powers that be” it is impossible; the Imperialists pride themselves on these additions. But I have endeavoured to point out that the old rate of increase will not answer in the future, and that we must calculate upon a serious advance; therefore I should be disposed to double the past average amount as the increase which is likely to take place during the coming three years; but my anxiety to be safe induces me to reduce the addition by one-third, and fix £10,000,000 only as the advance the 1905 Budget will show on that of next month (April, 1901).

We now come to the Civil Service, to the growth of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has often drawn attention, and there find an increase, over the same period as before given, viz., three years, of £2,603,000. It only remains to add the increase of Imperial taxation for local purposes—£2,155,000—the difference between 1896 and 1899—and the total will give the gross addition to the Budget of 1905—not reckoning any *new war* expenditure beyond that we are at present anticipating.

The War Legacies and Three Years' Growth of Normal Expenditure, 1902-5.

Annual Repayment and interest on debt created by the War (averaged)	£14,088,000
„ Expenditure on troops employed on garrison duty in South Africa.....	11,800,000
„ Increased outlay on the Army and Navy	10,000,000
„ „ „ „ Civil Services	2,603,000
„ „ „ „ for Local Taxation	2,155,000
	<u>£40,096,000</u>

On whom *ought* this Increased Taxation to fall?

One would naturally answer—“On those who supported the policy which created it.” Such a course is impracticable: it will fall on us all, war-mongers and anti-war party alike. The Government’s difficulty will be to decide in which quarter it can be placed with the result of weakening them the least, and to throw as much as possible on posterity. Will anyone benefit by the war? If so, let them pay. This is easier said than brought about. The only people who seem likely to benefit are the millionaire mine-owners, and if they can be got at, I for one shall be quite content.

As this question will agitate the country for some time to come, it is well to give here a few suggestions on the subject. Of course the poor, stricken Boer farmers cannot pay anything, however we might wish to make them do so; but I believe that some three or four millions per annum might be got from the mines, if the French and German shareholders failed to arouse their Governments to successful protests against the oppressive taxation of their subjects with interests in the Transvaal. This

hope may be disappointed, as the correspondence on the subject between Sir W. Harcourt and Mr. Robinson (see page 75) is not encouraging. Similar misleading statements, that we should be able to recoup ourselves at the expense of the new colonies in some form, were made in connection with America before the War of Independence, and caused Burke to use these words :—

Country gentlemen, the great patrons of economy and the great resisters of a standing armed force, would not have entered with much alacrity into the vote for so large and so expensive an army if they had been very sure that they were to continue to pay for it. But hopes of another kind were held out to them; and in particular, I well remember that Mr. Townshend, in a brilliant harangue on this subject, did dazzle them by playing before their eyes the image of a revenue to be raised in America.

Mr. A. J. Wilson, in "The Investors' Review," Dec. 22, 1900, says :—

* * * Such being the outlook, why does our immaculate Government abstain from looking to De Beers and its millionaires direct? If it had a little historical culture, it would know that the De Beers property was filched from the Orange Free State in a manner perfectly unscrupulous and scandalous, perfectly in accord also with the whole character of the group that, by controlling the diamond-mining industry, has created the whole of our South African trouble. De Beers conquered Rhodesia. De Beers organised the Raid, De Beers forced Chamberlain and the Cabinet at his heels into this calamitous war. Why should not De Beers pay, why not re-annex it to the Orange Free State and compel it to surrender 50 or 75 per cent. of its profits, or, say, £2,000,000 to £3,000,000 per annum, until such time as the debt of £150,000,000 or £200,000,000 likely to be ultimately laid upon us on account of the South African conflict is paid off, assuming the diamonds to hold out so long?

* * *

The Morning Leader of November 15, 1900, draws Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's attention to the following table of mining returns :—

Twenty Representative Witwatersrand Mines.	Nominal Capital. £	Aggregate Dividends paid 1897, 1898, 1899.				Amount distributed in dividends in 3 years, 1897-8-9. £
Bonanza	200,000	75	100	55	460,000	
City and Suburban (£4 shares)	1,300,000	15	15	10	544,000	
Crown Reef	120,000	140	190	280	732,000	
Durban-Roodepoort....	135,000	70	80	75	303,750	
Ferreira	90,000	300	300	300	810,000	
Geldenhuis Estate	200,000	45	147½	50	485,000	
Geldenhuis Deep	350,000	30	75	40	507,500	
Henry Nourse	125,000	125	125	50	375,000	
Heriot.....	115,000	100	75	50	258,750	
Jubilee	50,000	80	100	50	115,000	
Jumpers	100,000	25	65	75	165,000	
Langlaagte Estate	470,000	30	30	15	352,500	
May Consolidated	290,000	10	15	30	159,500	
Meyer and Charlton ..	100,000	50	60	40	150,000	
New Primrose	300,000	50	55	30	405,000	
Robinson (£5 shares) ..	2,750,000	15	16	8	1,072,500	
Rose Deep	425,000	—	40	40	340,000	
Treasury	540,000	10	5	17½	175,500	
Village Main Reef	400,000	—	20	80	400,000	
Wemmer	80,000	100	150	75	260,000	
	£8,200,000				£8,071,000	

RESULT: Average Yearly Dividend, 33 per cent.

From *The Liberal Magazine* I take the following four short extracts :—

Sir W. Harcourt on the Budget. (House of Commons, March 5, 1900.)

I do not ask him to reveal his secrets to-night; but when we are taxing the people of this country, and adding many millions to the National Debt, and raising the expectation of those gentlemen who are going to put millions into their pockets as the result of the war, I hope the right hon. gentleman may find a means by which they will contribute their share to that expenditure. * * * Before we impose all these burdens, whether by borrowing or by taxation, we should take some security for getting a charge on these funds which would relieve the taxpayers of Great Britain.

Sir W. Harcourt on Public Expenditure. (House of Commons, March 6, 1900.)

I see nothing, at all events, in the temper of these times that points to diminished expenditure. On the contrary, the result of all wars, wars here and on the Continent, has been a large increase of the military establishment, and certainly all the demands of the present day are in that direction. No, sir, economy such as was spoken of by Mr. Disraeli does not belong to the temper of the times in which we live. * * *

Sir W. Harcourt on Beer. (House of Commons, March 27 1900.)

* * * There were only two commodities now which really paid. One was the manufacture of beer, and the other was the manufacture of Maxim guns. According to his observation he thought that they both stood about 500 per cent. premium; if the House took the quotations of Guinness and Vickers, they stood about the same point of profit.

Sir W. Harcourt on the Tea Duty, (House of Commons, March 25, 1900.)

Although he was going to support this clause, it was of all the Budget proposals the one that he supported the most unwillingly. But this was a war tax, and it seemed to him essential that all classes of the community should contribute towards it. It would be a very great encouragement to war if they exempted a large class of the community from any of the burden of the war. It was quite plain that there would be a very large class in this country who would not pay income tax, who would not pay beer and spirit duty, and who would not pay tobacco duty.

(Tea Duty raised from 4d. to 6d. lb.—H.J.O.)

F. W. H. in *The Speaker*, March 9, 1901, says :—

* * * In the latter half of the Napoleonic wars the tax upon income was 10 per cent. During two-thirds of the Crimean war it stood at one shilling and fourpence. The nation was much poorer in both those periods—the annual expenditure on war was much lower than now. Our soldiers are as brave as ever; but the poor parsons and gentlemen who preach and shout for war at home are crying out like children against a shilling income-tax.

Mr. Labouchere, when in a humorous mood, said :—

He had not the slightest objection to getting the money to pay for the war from the millionaires who had got us into it. He should like to be sent on commando into Park-lane. If he got amongst the millionaires' palaces in that thoroughfare, he believed there would be a good deal of loot reaching the pockets of the Treasury.

On whom *will* the Increased Taxation Fall?

This question will be answered very soon, so that it is useless to extend this already long section with anticipations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's intentions, beyond pointing out that some twelve months ago, I think it was—I cannot put my hand on a report of the speech—he said that “it would be wrong for the masses of the people to suppose that war was cheap,” or words to that effect, and so “everyone should feel the burden in some form.” Many careless writers are recommending 1d. per lb. on sugar, which they say would yield £13,000,000. That is probably correct, if the present consumption be maintained; but such an impost must destroy the preserving, confectionery, and allied trades, and would certainly bring home to all people in receipt of small wages, in an unreasonable degree, the lesson Sir Michael very properly advocates.

The agriculturists suggest a tax on imported wheat and exported coal—a return to Protection—and each one is fighting for his own hand. I have a strong belief that people with small incomes, particularly families whose aggregate is under £2 per week, are already contributing, in proportion to their means, through Indirect Taxation, far too large a percentage of the nation's requirements; and I look forward

with some satisfaction to the interest in this question which the distribution and the pressure of the coming heavy taxation will be sure to create. My ideas and theory will, I hope, ere long, assume a comprehensible form, and I trust, by means of certain tables, to prove my case; anyhow, whatever the result may be, the attempt to aid in correcting a supposed injustice is, in itself, an agreeable occupation.

Taxation becomes Heavier if Trade becomes Dull.

No one will contest the fact that trade for some years past has been brisk and profitable. It would be against all previous experience if such a happy state of things were not soon followed by a reaction; indeed, many signs indicate that the reaction has already set in, and the extracts given below will be sufficient to justify my remarks. An artificial activity has been created by the tremendous demand for shipping occasioned by the South Africa and China wars, and by the pressing need for guns, ammunition, clothes, and general supplies, besides the consumption of similar commodities for the late campaign in the Soudan and expeditions to Ashanti and elsewhere. All this gives a false impetus to business.

If, next year, we find that a decided slackness in trade has set in, and that our much-reduced commercial operations yield a smaller percentage of profit than is the case now; that a large amount of shipping is laid by; that great numbers of workpeople are out of work, or only working short time; that in consequence of all this the nation's revenue in both direct and indirect taxation has fallen off materially, what will the Chancellor of the Exchequer be obliged to do? Money must be forthcoming from some one! He cannot increase the National Debt to pay current expenses, nor will it be easy to reduce the expenditure. It is difficult enough in private life, and is a test of nerve and moral courage, when we are compelled to dismiss servants, sell horses, and not give orders for renewals or repairs.

Sir Michael's hand will be heavy on those who have means, and they will make up the shortage. We hear grumbling now, although our feeds are plentiful, and we are as yet only carrying the lightest of pack-saddles. But when the period of half-feeds is entered upon, the girths are tightened, and the load is hoisted up, we shall, I fancy, emit some unmistakable sounds of dissatisfaction and disgust. Perhaps to say, "It's hard to be rich in these days," may become a common remark of the opulent.

Prospects for Future Trade.

Daily Telegraph.—Leading Article, March 4, 1901:—

We shall be faced inevitably at no distant date by the problem of shrinking revenue and colossal expenditure.

Manchester Guardian.—Summary, February 7, 1901:—

At the annual meeting yesterday of the Williams Deacon and Manchester and Salford Bank, Mr. C. M. Royds, M.P., said there were signs that we had reached the height of our prosperity for a time. He feared that a certain insular confidence and satisfaction with past prosperity were blinding us to the extent to which the United States and Germany were competing for a portion of our foreign trade.

Idem.—Summary, January 17, 1901:—

Lord Rosebery was the chief speaker at the annual dinner, held yesterday, of the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce. * * *

What he regarded with apprehension was the war of trade which was unmistakably upon us. The new century promised to be one of the acutest international conflict in point of trade, and when we looked at the equipment of America and Germany, it behoved us to gird up our loins in preparation for what was before us.

* * *

Daily Telegraph.—Leading Article, December 31, 1900 :—

* * * It will be part of Great Britain's immediate task to make good the defects which the present war has disclosed, and to render her national defences impregnable. She will have to face, therefore, increased expenditure, and, rich as she is, she may feel the pinch when the present burst of prosperity, which has endured uninterruptedly for the last four years, dies away for a season, and is followed by a period of depression. * * *

And so long as the mills, factories, and workshops which keep employed the vast industrial population of these islands are busy, the people will be able to bear their burden of taxation without feeling its weight to be oppressive.

Morning Leader.—February 16, 1901 :—

At the half-yearly meeting of the Midland Railway Company, at Derby, yesterday, the chairman, Sir Ernest Paget, alluded to the falling-off in the volume of the country's trade, and mentioned that 16 out of 76 blast furnaces on the Midland line had been damped down during the half-year.

The Bishop of Manchester.—*Manchester Guardian*, February 7, 1901 :—

* * * England in the new century might have to undertake a trade conflict more intense and more continuous than any in which she had been hitherto engaged. * * *

Daily Telegraph.—Leading Article, January 18, 1901 :—

"Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen"—that is, in plain words, the alarming adjuration which is addressed to the country by every competent critic of its commercial prospects; and if we are still a practical nation, we shall ask ourselves when we intend to decide upon the concrete issues of the argument. * * *

But now America and Germany are quicker than ourselves to apply the very suggestions of which we can claim the original credit. * * *

They are superior to us as well in the researches of the laboratory as in the practice of the workshop. We must be their equals in both. * * *

If it needed for the task an addition to the National Debt of the hundred millions sterling that would increase the annual charge by twopence upon the income tax or a preferable equivalent, the money would be well spent. * * *

A Bad Outlook for the Working Classes.

DECLINE IN EMPLOYMENT.

(*Daily News*, February 18, 1901.)

The following memorandum (based on 2,473 returns, viz., 1,774 from employers, 576 from trade unions, and 123 from other sources) has been prepared by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade for the *Labour Gazette* :—

"Employment in many important groups of trades continued to decline during January, and was considerably worse than a year ago. * * *

"In the 144 trade unions making returns, with an aggregate membership of 545,539, 21,682 (or 4·0 per cent.) were reported as unemployed at the end of January, compared with the same percentage in December, and with 2·7 per cent. in the 136 unions, with a membership of 521,833, from which returns were received for January, 1900.

EMPLOYMENT IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES.

"**Iron Mining.**—Employment shows a decline as compared with a year ago.

"**Pig Iron Industry.**—Employment shows a further decline, and is much worse than a year ago. * * *

"**Iron and Steel Manufacture.**—Employment is considerably worse than a year ago; as compared with December, 1900, the number employed shows an increase, but the average number of shifts worked has declined.

"**Tinplate Trade.**—Employment shows a further marked decline compared with December, and is much worse than a year ago.

"**In the Engineering and Metal Trades** the percentage of unemployed union members at the end of January, 1901, was 4·1, as in December. The percentage January, 1900, was 2·3.

"In the Shipbuilding Trades employment has remained fairly good.

"Employment in all branches of the **Building Trades** has continued to decline.

"In the Furnishing Trades employment has still further fallen off, and is now bad.

"Employment in some branches of the **Printing and Bookbinding Trades** has somewhat improved."

Old age pensions, better houses for workpeople, and other very desirable projects are not spoken of now as subjects on which we are anxious to lay out our spare (?) millions. Besides, it is often said that Englishmen can only do one thing at a time, and so we devote ourselves to prosecuting the war. Much as one sympathises with the old, worn-out workman, the workhouse would appear to be his only prospect for some time to come.

It is undeniable that the working man has played a large part in creating this result. His predominance enables him, in most constituencies, to decide who the representative and what the policy shall be; and although he was misled and betrayed last October into giving Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain a blank cheque, he must, for a while at least, bear the consequences. Experience is a hard school, but its lessons are valuable.

PRESENT COST OF LIVING.

(*Daily Telegraph*, November 27, 1900.)

The purchasing value of a sovereign, it is generally known, has decreased in the past year, but it will probably surprise many, not intimately concerned in procuring the necessaries of life, to learn that the upward tendency in the cost of ordinary articles has been as marked as some actual figures given in the *Bakers' Times* represents:—

Coal has become a heavy item in the weekly bill, and gas has been advanced 6d. per 1,000 feet at Cardiff, Swansea, and most other provincial towns. The price of meat is 2d. to 2½d. per lb. dearer than it was a year ago. Bread has advanced, and nearly all necessaries are higher. One of the employes of the paper, who keeps a strict record of his household expenses, has supplied the following table, from which it will be seen that what he now has to pay £1. 0s. 0½d. a week for could have been obtained twelve months ago for 16s. 7½d.

	This year.			Last year.		
Coal, 2 cwt	£0	4	0	£0	2	4
Bread, 10 lb.	0	2	8½	0	2	1
Sugar, 2 lb.	0	0	3½	0	0	3
Gas	0	1	8	0	1	5
Wood	0	0	3½	0	0	3
Tea, ½ lb.	0	1	0	0	0	11
Rates	0	0	10½	0	0	9
Butter, 1 lb.	0	1	3	0	1	2
Cheese, ½ lb.	0	0	4	0	0	3½
Flour, 5 lb.	0	0	8½	0	0	7½
Lard, ½ lb.	0	0	2½	0	0	2
Oil, quart.	0	0	2½	0	0	2
Meat, 8 lb.	0	6	8	0	6	0
Potatoes, 5 lb.	0	0	8	0	0	2½
				0	16	7½
Difference				0	3	5
	£1	0	0½	1	0	0½

The difference, it is remarked, is a serious one to a very large proportion of the population. Fortunately for them, there are prospects of a reduction in some of the items. The price of coal is declining, and gas will, of course, follow, but provisions and other commodities which appear in the above list are likely to remain at a high figure.

Imperialism and Its Consequences

War Loan Bill.

House of Commons.

(Manchester Guardian, August 2, 1900)

Sir M. HICKS-BEACH having formally moved the second reading of the Supplemental War Loan Bill,

Sir W. HARCOURT said the present session would be one of the most memorable financially—whether for good or evil—of this Parliament, and he thought it would be considered a proper opportunity for taking some note of what had been the incidents of its financial history.

THE COST OF THE WAR :

THREE FRAGMENTARY BUDGETS.

There had been three financial statements—three fragmentary Budgets—presented to the House, and he had endeavoured over and over again to make what theologians called a “harmony of doctrine” of the right hon. gentleman's figures, with, he was sorry to say, imperfect success. (Laughter.) He had endeavoured to understand what had been the actual cost of the war, what was its estimated cost, and what was the financial provision that had been made for it, and on not one of these heads had he been able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

In the first Budget speech, in March, the estimated cost of the war was put at 60 millions. That was repeated in April, but on the previous night the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he cost up to date had been 42 millions. He hoped the right hon. gentleman would give some explanation of these figures. In introducing the Bill he said that he should require out of the 13 millions asked for £8,500,000 for—he thought he said—South African purposes connected directly or indirectly with the unhappy prolongation of the war. It therefore seemed that whatever provision had been made, it was insufficient to the extent of £8,500,000, and what he (Sir W. Harcourt) wanted to know was—Was that to be added to the 60 millions which upon repeated occasions had been stated as the estimated cost of the war? He had tried hard to understand from these statements what the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was. (Hear, hear.)

The right hon. gentleman said, “We have got six millions in hand,” but he had six millions in hand for a particular purpose. He did not want £8,500,000 in addition. (Hear, hear.) They would suppose that what he wanted was £2,500,000 in addition to the six millions in hand. (Hear, hear.) Adding together the different items—money employed and in hand—provided for the war, the total would amount to not 60 millions but 71 millions, as he understood it, and now on the top of that the right hon. gentleman came and asked, in terms, for £8,500,000 more. Unless there was—and he fully expected it to be so—some confusion in the figures, the total provision for the war would be about 80 millions. * * *

HOW IT WAS TO BE MET: THE POLICY OF “BORROW.”

* * * The right hon. gentleman proposed by way of meeting the necessity of the case to resort to borrowing. He (Sir William) knew he would. (Hear, hear.) Borrowing was the easiest transaction possible. It was said to be as easy as lying—(laughter)—and though an abomination it was “a very present help in time of trouble.” (Renewed laughter.) The valour of our soldiers, they were all happy to know, was as great as ever, but the courage of our financiers was not exactly of the same character. The estimate of the cost of this war was as nearly as possible the same as when we fought against the Empire of Russia, and when we incurred a debt of between 60 and 70 millions. The Government of that day, however, had some financial conscience and financial courage, for out of the 70 millions required they provided 35 millions out of taxation. Now we, who claimed to be much wiser and braver, provided 14 millions only out of taxation. After the Crimean War the Government provided one half. We provided less than a quarter. (Hear, hear.) But different times, different manners. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Did he expect to recover 40 millions from the Boers? No doubt the right hon. gentleman would like to do so, but there was an old proverb that you cannot get more out of a cat than its skin, and if he thought that in the present condition of the Boers he was going to recover from them the money he had borrowed he would be disappointed. (Hear, hear.) Did he expect to get it from his friends the Outlanders? (Cheers.) If so, the Outlanders would probably be more satisfied with their late than with the new Administration. (Cheers.) Then he thought that because the mines were uninjured this money was to be paid by the mine-owners. If he believed that, he (Sir William Harcourt) must be excused for veiling his opinion on the subject in learned language, *Credat Judæus Apella*. (Laughter.) * * *

CONSOLS AND THE WAR LOAN.

A year or two ago everyone was in a panic about the high price of Consols. Alarmists said they would rise to 150, but he could never see that high public credit was a public injury. The panic even affected his friends at the Treasury, but he consoled them by saying “Do not be too timid. You enjoy an Administration which will very soon bring Consols below par.” (Laughter and cheers.) The right hon. gentleman had been equal to the occasion. He had got Consols down to 97, and no doubt in time he would rival the First Lord of the Admiralty, who succeeded in getting them down to 95. (Laughter and cheers.) The right hon. gentleman was quite right not to touch Consols. No man could tell at what price Consols would be if he issued thirteen millions to-morrow. * * *

It was very remarkable how the financial aspect of the war began. When the Government entered on the war in October they estimated the cost at

ten millions. In February it was twelve millions more. In March they wanted 31½ millions more, and now they asked for a further sum of 7½ millions. These figures showed that the Government entered on the war with a light heart and a lighter purse. (Hear, hear.) They did not spell prescience as to the character of the war upon which the Government had entered.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR; THE INEVITABLE IN STATESMANSHIP.

He did not think it necessary or expedient to discuss the origin of the war. He doubted very much whether at this time, or even in this generation, a just judgment would be formed upon the war. It would be judged by those who lived to see its results. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) The Government thought it was going to be judged by a snatch dissolution. (Cheers.) That was not the final judgment of a nation that had a future. (Cheers.) He had lived to see another great war. He remembered the time when in the streets and in the music-halls the Crimean war was as popular as this war. No man could be heard to speak against it. But half a century had elapsed, and the Prime Minister of England had declared that at that time we put an equal sum of money upon the wrong horse. (Loud cheers.)

This war would in the end be judged by its results—(cheers)—and the results would depend upon the policy which attended its conclusion. (Cheers.) That was all they could say to-day, and all they could do was to contribute, as far as possible, to that policy being a wise policy. They were told that the war was inevitable. That discovery, oddly enough, was made after the event, and an inevitable Government had been the sport of inevitable circumstances. (Laughter.) He was not himself a disciple of the inevitable in statesmanship. He was old-fashioned enough to believe in the theory of causation. (Laughter.) He was not satisfied with a defence which rested upon a purblind fatalism. If a great enterprise was undertaken with means ludicrously inadequate, if there was a lamentable breakdown in the hospital system, or if military disasters were repeated in the presence of an inferior foe, he was not satisfied to be told that it was inevitable. (Cheers.) He held with the great Roman satirist that it was prudence and not fortune that was the deity that guided the destinies of mankind. (Cheers.)

However, he admitted that it was of no use to attempt to argue with a set of predestinarians. (Laughter.) And the figures of their estimates only showed how predestination had affected them. They expected to dispose of the war for ten millions when they began. One might have said that they did not know anything about their antagonists. But they themselves said they knew all about the Boer armaments, about the Mausers and the Krupp guns, and, in point of fact, that they were armed to the teeth; and in a war for which ten millions were asked the losses from all causes were as near as possible equal to the whole number of our foes. (Hear, hear.) It was a favourite argument of the Colonial Secretary that they must either approve the origin of the war and its prosecution, or oppose it altogether and refuse them the means of carrying it on. That was absolutely irrational. When your house was on fire it was not at all immaterial who set it on fire, it was true; but what you had to do was to put it out; and to say you must approve the person who set it on fire or object to its being put out did not seem to him a sensible proposition. * * *

The Colonial Secretary had charged the Opposition with having been willing to sacrifice the interests of the country, not now but when they were responsible for the government of the country. He brought a charge against the leader of the Opposition, a charge he had found it necessary to retract—(cheers)—but for which he had not thought fit to apologise. (Cheers.) That was the right hon. gentleman's way. (Laughter.) * * *

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT AND POPULAR BUDGETS.

He was perfectly content with the somewhat belated acknowledgment of the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues that the Budgets of the late Administration were popular. (Hear, hear.) Those popular Budgets the right hon. gentleman and his friends employed every artifice to defeat. (Opposition cheers.) But they were popular Budgets. They were not Budgets of borrowing. (Opposition cheers.) They added nothing to the permanent debt. * * *

If they wanted an example of the sacrifice of public interest to popular Budgets, they must go to Governments who in time of great surpluses cut down the sinking fund for the reduction of the debt—(Opposition cheers)—and who appropriated that which might go to the national defence to the favoured classes whom they were willing to subsidise. (Opposition cheers.) That was not the conduct of the short Liberal Administration with its feeble majority. They met the difficulties in which they found themselves; they called upon the nation for great sacrifices: and they carried in that House—and it was not rejected in the House of Lords—a popular Budget, upon the surpluses of which the right hon. gentleman and his friends had lived for five years. (Loud Opposition cheers.) * * *

That was part of the new diplomacy, but he was not an admirer of the new diplomacy. It was more satisfactory to turn to the courage, the devotion, and the self-sacrifice which every class in the country had shown in the trials to which they had been subjected by the war. Those people who believed that a long period of prosperity weakened the fibre of the nation had seen that theory belied by the events of last year.

TWELVE MONTHS AGO AND NOW.

Looking at this final estimate, he could not fail to look back to where they stood twelve months ago. If the estimates of the finance of the war, and, still more, the sad record of it, had been before the House in August last, he for one would never part with the belief that there would have been a different temper and tone in dealing with the difficulties of that period—(Opposition cheers)—and that the result might have been very different from what it had been. (Hear, hear.) He was not one of the disciples of the doctrine of the inevitable. The condition of the country last August was one in which every man could rejoice. They had unexampled public credit, high condition of the people, wages good, and the necessities and comforts of life cheap. They had a revenue overflowing beyond the dreams of avarice of even a Chancellor of the Exchequer. They had an accruing surplus of ten millions, from which they had the expectation of great relief to the people. They might have granted them relief from taxation. They might have granted old-age pensions. (Opposition cheers and laughter.)

Such was the progress of the people of this nation as the result of fifty years' practically unbroken peace. In his experience, war had never

been the foster-mother of trade. They had heard from the President of the Board of Trade that he anticipated a decline in the trade of the country, and that was borne out by the state of things at present in Lancashire. Nothing strengthened public credit so much as the knowledge that they were making constant provision for the reduction of the debt. In the last six months the Government had cut off 14 millions of money which would naturally have gone to the reduction of the debt. That had to be added to the achievements of the two Tory Governments—he begged pardon, two Unionist Governments; they were the same thing. (Applause and laughter.)

"FINAL" ESTIMATES.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said these were final estimates, but if any man believed that they were final he must be very little versed in the precedents of the past or the probabilities of the future. The right hon. gentleman said he was going to leave 45,000 men in South Africa, of whom 30,000 were to be a permanent garrison; but if they were going to shut up 30,000 men permanently in South Africa, they must raise 30,000 more men in England to take their place. There was no estimate for that. (Hear, hear.) If they were going to add to disfranchisement in South Africa a policy of confiscation, then 30,000 men would be a very inadequate number. If, on the top of that, they were to attempt to levy £40,000,000 in South Africa to meet the money borrowed, then the tax collectors would have to be more than 30,000. (Hear, hear.)

They were also told that they were going to pay claims for compensation. Who was going to pay those claims? (Hear, hear.) He would also like to hear an explanation as to the 15,000 men who were to become settlers in South Africa. What was the authority for the belief that there were 15,000 men who had had experience of South Africa, and desired to stay there? (Opposition cheers.) He had read the letters of many, and the one chorus was, "Thank God, we have done our duty to our country, but we hope we will never see this country again." (Opposition cheers.) Another thing not provided for in this final estimate was the military consolidation and reorganisation of which they had been told. Would that cost anything? He could not accept the estimates of the bill now before them as closing the capital account of the war in South Africa. (Hear, hear.)

THE CLOUD IN THE EAST.

There was a cloud—he could not call it a small cloud—rising in the East, for which a provision of three millions was made in this bill. * * *

We had interests in China greater than any we had in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) Never was there a time when it was more desirable or necessary for the good of this Empire that we should have our hands free—that we should be able to make the influence of England felt in those regions as it ought to be felt. Never were we in a position more difficult to make that influence felt than at present. Our arms were tied behind our back; our resources were in a very great degree restricted. We already had had recourse in South Africa to Indian troops, and we had been obliged to have recourse to them in China—in his opinion a most mischievous practice for the interests of the Empire.

It placed before the Indian people this dilemma. Either we were keeping an unnecessary body of troops in India at the expense of that people, who

could not afford it, or we were not keeping an unnecessary force, and then by removing that force from India we were exposing India to perils to which she ought not to be exposed. (Hear, hear.)

Well, this question of China had to be solved by the Concert of Europe, and they knew something of that Concert. (Opposition laughter.) Up to this time at Pekin the representatives of the Concert of Europe had been occupied in nothing but competitive rivalry to see which of them could obtain the largest portion of the Chinese Empire. Then they were surprised when that was resented by the Chinese people. The Great Powers assumed that China was a corpse, and round that corpse the eagles were gathering together. That corpse had proved most dangerously alive. (Hear, hear.) It was idle to speculate where one knew so little, but it was clear that the ultimate questions which might arise in China might be more formidable than any we had had to meet in South Africa, and that the three millions provided for dealing with China might be as inadequate as the ten millions provided to deal with South Africa—(hear, hear),—and might be followed by estimates equally great.

"A SYNDICATE OF HATRED IN EUROPE."

But behind and beyond all these things (continued the right hon. gentleman) there is a matter of greater gravity than any of them. Statesmen of the highest authority and character have been impressing over and over again upon our minds this fact—that we are the best hated people in the world. Not the Governments, but by the people of foreign states, which is a much more serious thing. In the speech of the Prime Minister to the Primrose League he represented to them that so great and so combined was this hatred that we might be at any time exposed to an ugly rush from the nations of Europe. Such a statement as that had never in the history of this country been made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

I do not say whether that statement is true or not, but it is rather an unpleasant consequence of the régime of Imperialism. (Opposition cheers.) We have had five years of it. * * *

What is Lord Salisbury's remedy? It is to be brought about by the Primrose League—(Opposition laughter),—who are to arm with rifles the peasantry of this country. That does not entirely reassure me against this syndicate of hatred in Europe. That is all that is offered for this terror of the Prime Minister. Could anything be more childish or puerile? If this danger really exists, we must quadruple our army and navy. (Hear, hear.) The remarkable thing is that while the Prime Minister has made that declaration he could not understand the reason of the hatred. But he ought to understand it. (Cheers.) It has grown up under his auspices. (Loud Opposition cheers.) But there is another authority—an authority greatly versed in foreign affairs—who holds the same opinion as to the danger and the universality of the hatred. It was at least realised by Lord Rosebery when, four years ago, he said; "The British Empire needs peace. For the last twenty years, and still more for the last twelve, you have been laying your hands with almost frantic eagerness on every tract of territory adjacent to your own. * * * That has had two results. You have excited to an almost intolerable degree the envy of other colonising nations, and in consequence of your colonising policy, right or wrong, you can reckon not on their active benevolence, but on their active malevolence."

That is the reason of the hatred given by Lord Rosebery, who calculated that as the result of this "frantic eagerness" to seize on every tract of territory adjacent to our own we had in the last twelve years added "a vast mass of undigested empire equal in fact to twenty-two areas as large as that of the United Kingdom itself." "Undigested empire"—a good phrase. This, as he pointed out, marks out for many years a policy from which you cannot depart if you would. * * *

THE SUPREME NECESSITY OF PEACE.

Is it not strange that these great empires should be possessed of such a lust of extended dominions, and that the greater they are the more hungry they seem to be for more? Loud and prolonged Opposition cheers.) What Lord Rosebery called this frantic eagerness of acquisition, and what Lord Salisbury described as a desire "to fight everybody and to take everything" which, he said, was the ruin of great empires—(cheers)—seems to be growing on the nations of Europe. What is the consequence? Their resources are strained to the uttermost. They leave no margin for dealing with the duties which belong to their dominions. (Cheers.) The great possessions they already have are starved and mortgaged for these future acquisitions. The necessities of what after all is a small and distant fraction of our vast Empire have absorbed all our resources in men, have increased our taxation, and have accumulated our debt. (Cheers.) The result is they have left us with a very narrow margin for the great possibilities of danger in China, and have compelled us to refuse assistance to our Indian fellow-subjects. (Cheers.)

Is it not well to-day, in reviewing this grave situation, that those who are responsible for the fortunes of this nation, instead of inflaming popular passion, and stimulating a spirit of wild and grasping ambition, should impress on the public mind the great truth that of all the interests of this vast and glorious Empire, the greatest interest is peace. (Prolonged cheers.)

The Supplementary Army Estimate.

House of Commons.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1900.)

Sir W. HARCOURT congratulated the right hon. gentleman on the frankness and honesty of his statement. It was the first time we had had a confession of the errors of the past and of the prospects of the future. (Cheers.) They on that side were sometimes accused of being pessimists, but a more discouraging statement of that which lay before us he had never heard. * * *

From the very first the Government had utterly misunderstood and misapprehended the resources and the spirit of the people against whom they were waging war. They believed at first that there would be no war. * * *

By the strategy of our generals and the bravery of our troops we defeated the main force of the enemy, and then the Government thought the war was over. Indeed, the last estimate of eleven millions was to wind up the war and bring back the troops. Mr. Wyndham four or five months ago stated that 135,000 men were to be brought home and that 45,000 were to remain—30,000 as a permanent garrison and 15,000 as settlers. We had broken down the main force of the enemy and broken down the Governments of both Republics, and no one was left with whom we could make peace. * * *

The Government ought to have known—they were told by people who knew and who had no interest in deluding the public—that from the first this had been a racial war. (Cheers.) That was the secret of their miscalculation. * * *

He had met a good many people who had come back from South Africa, but he had never encountered the man who desired to settle there. (Cheers.) From a return which had been presented, he found that the garrison at the Cape prior to the outbreak of the war was 9,000, and this was brought up to 21,000 in October. Between that date and August the number was increased to 267,000. Eleven thousand men had been sent home, but on the other hand 13,000 had gone out as drafts. Yet at the present time there were only 210,000 men in South Africa. The balance of 60,000 or 70,000 men comprise those killed, wounded, and disabled in this war. (Hear, hear.) What was to be the cost of this guerilla warfare? * * *

What prospect was there—what reasonable man believed—that this fifth estimate presented by the Secretary of State for War was the last that would be submitted to the House? (Opposition cheers.) * * *

When they addressed themselves to this question with a view to the reconciliation of races, they might expect to do something to put an end to guerilla warfare. They might hope that this expenditure of blood and treasure, this devastation of what was once—ay, within a very few months—a happy and a prosperous country would cease, and something would be done to relieve Parliament of the terrible responsibility which rested upon it. As to the expenditure, he might have something more to say on a later occasion. That, however, was a less important matter. On their future treatment of the peoples they had conquered would depend their reputation before the civilised world. (Hear, hear.) * * *

Sir C. DILKE said the only word of comfort the Secretary for War had vouchsafed to the House was that guerilla warfare, though prolonged and terrible, was not successful, but he had omitted from his catalogue the one case in which such a war—that was, when the French army in Mexico was destroyed by guerillas—did prove successful, and the disaster which the French army then suffered was felt by it for years afterwards. The right hon. gentleman had put a worse face on the military side of the present war in his speech that evening than had ever before been put upon it, and if he had not over-painted the picture in black—if he had given the House an accurate forecast—the state of things was worse, and the information in possession of the Government must be more deplorable than anything which had yet reached the country. (Hear, hear.) Miscalculation pervaded the estimates from first to last. * * *

At the very commencement of the war a distinguished foreign Ambassador said in the hearing of many members of that House that the British army would reach Bloemfontein and Pretoria, and they would succeed in the long run, but that they would have three years of guerilla war. (Hear, hear.) These miscalculations of the Government ran through all the estimates placed before the House. * * *

Mr. KEIR HARDIE called attention to the way in which our soldiers were treated, not merely in the field, where hardships were necessarily to be expected, but on board ship, where better provision should be made. * * *

He was pleased to learn that the policy of farm

burning was to be modified, but hoped that, save in the most urgent cases, the practice would be abolished altogether. He could conceive of nothing which so embittered the strife in which we were engaged as this policy of burning without excuse or justification. ("Oh," and "Hear, hear.") The present ghastly business was not fit for our soldiers to do, and our men felt the degradation and humiliation of it. In fact this was one of the reasons, he believed, that Baden-Powell's Police experienced a difficulty in finding recruits.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN remarked that the difficulty of getting at the truth with regard to anything in South Africa was illustrated by the fact that two of the most distinguished authorities on the matter—Sir H. Vincent and Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett—had taken to quarrelling with each other in the face of the House of Commons. (Laughter.) * * *

He had listened with sympathy to Sir H. Vincent's observations on the subject, because there was a strong feeling of uneasiness—he did not say discontent—on behalf of those more irregular elements in the force—the Imperial Yeomanry and volunteers—at finding they were detained much longer than they had expected. Of course they were manly fellows and would do their duty, but we ought to bear in mind the peculiar circumstances in which they went out.

* * *
Mr. HEALY thought they were indebted to the right hon. gentleman for the frankness and candour with which he had spoken. What a biting reflection it was on his predecessor. (Cheers.) It was true that the election was over, and that the Government could afford to be frank. (Hear, hear.) Every member of the Government who had spoken since Parliament met had told a different tale. The Colonial Secretary said that by February next he would have established three great municipalities, and the House would even see the Lord Mayor of Potchefstroom. (Laughter.) But now the right hon. gentleman told them he could name no date for the return of the troops, and the only soldiers brought home belonged to the Guards—the heavy military swells who could dance and would be useful at society functions. (Laughter.) The Yeomanry were to remain in the Transvaal, while the Guards were to enjoy the plaudits of the multitudes and the kisses of the duchesses. (Laughter.)

Commenting on the scale of pay, he remarked that if Ireland had had a separate Parliament her contingent to the Imperial forces would have been paid at the rate of 5s. per man per day, but being a portion of the British Empire, Irish soldiers only got fourteenpence. (Laughter.)

It would be pleasant reading to the British citizens to know from the right hon. gentleman, whose speech might become a manual for De Wet's Horse, that the war, which had already cost 100 millions, might be continued for some two or three years more.

This country had gone to war to give the franchise to a number of German Jews. It had cost the bones of 50,000 soldiers to give this privilege to a set of the most undeserving foreigners that ever cursed any portion of the world's surface. Was it any wonder they were as much inclined as a year ago to distrust the Government?

Take the case of Sir William Butler. This time last year no man was more execrated. He (Mr. Healey) hoped some day there would be an inquiry into that business. (Opposition cheers.) The advice Sir William gave was trampled on by Sir

Alfred Milner. ("No" and Opposition cheers.) That brave soldier was practically told by Sir Alfred Milner that he was a traitor to his country. (Opposition cheers.)

Every despatch published by the Government was published as an electoral manoeuvre. (Hear, hear.) The strategists had learned their lesson not from the distinguished men of former times, but from the Birmingham caucus. (Laughter.)

* * *

Had hon. members seen a despatch in that morning's papers? It was very significant "that women are bitterer than ever." (Hear, hear.) We were told a year ago that they were sick of the war, but to-day it had to be acknowledged that it was these women, with all their home affections, who were keeping the men up to the bitter business of fighting. What man would dare return to his home conscious that the women of his household would hail him as a coward? (Cheers.) * * *

Now the English Government had entrusted the command to a man (Lord Kitchener) whose boast was that in Egypt, after Omdurman, he excluded every pressman from the country. And he would exclude them from South Africa if he could. They boasted of their intention to establish peace, but there would not be a Boer in the country who would not hear the story of burnt farms and ruined homesteads. Nothing else would be talked about. Depend upon it the first thing in ruling a people was to get hold of their point of view. (Opposition cheers.) But here they deliberately intercepted an opaque medium between their eyes and those of the South African people, either because they dared not look upon the deeds done, or their friends dared not permit them to see them. The Bible spoke of those whose deeds were evil loving darkness rather than light. * * *

The right hon. gentleman told them plainly that they need not expect Boer surrenders or the acceptance of the offers held out by the Colonial Secretary. It was to be regretted that these tardy confessions should have reached the House in the month of December instead of before the poll in October. (Opposition cheers.) He pretended to no gift of prophecy, but felt sure that this war, begun in braggadocio—(hear, hear)—without preparation—(hear, hear)—and, as he believed, for the sake of greed, had placed the English people before the tribunal of mankind in a more humiliating light than they had ever occupied in any period of their history. * * *

Major RASCH, referring to what he called the extraordinary speech of the Secretary for War that night, wished to allude to one matter which he thought was a fallacy. The Secretary for War congratulated himself and the War Office on the fact that they had carried so many thousands of soldiers across the sea. They had taken credit for what they did not do, but for what was done by the mercantile marine and the navy. * * *

Mr. CREMER, in opposing the vote, denied that the war policy of the Government had received the endorsement of the country.

Mr. H. J. WILSON held that apart from reports from other sources, Lord Roberts' own despatches proved that the war was being conducted in an unnecessarily cruel manner, and said he intended to record his vote against money being employed for such an evil purpose.

The Committee divided—

For the vote 284

Against 8

Majority 276

The War Loan Bill. House of Commons.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 14, 1900.)

On the second reading of the Supplemental War Loan (No. 2) Bill.

Sir W. HARCOURT said he did not rise to oppose the motion. Bills of this kind had now become a matter of course. (Laughter.) It was to be assumed that from time to time, at intervals of a few weeks, or of a few months, there would be a Supplementary Estimate, and that money would have to be borrowed. To vary an old saying, "Needs must when war drives." (Hear, hear.) If we once let loose the dogs of war we had no control over the matter. The statements that had been made this session had caused great discouragement and a good deal of disappointment in the public mind. * * *

A CARRYING-OVER ESTIMATE.

The proper title of this estimate would be a vote on account of a war that was not concluded, though we were going to have a thanksgiving for its conclusion. (Hear, hear.) The present state of things, as he had said, had caused disappointment. Thousands of families had expected this Christmas the return of the yeomanry and the volunteers, but they certainly would not return before March, and their return even then was uncertain. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would present a paper showing the real cost of the war up to the end of the present financial year, the present estimate being, in fact, a "carrying-over" and not a winding up estimate. At one of those annually recurring banquets at Bristol the Chancellor of the Exchequer had warned us against expecting any diminution of taxation, and the Government were to be congratulated that these declarations were made after and not before the election. (Hear, hear.) * * *

THE RESOURCES OF THE TRANSVAAL.

The right hon. gentleman, as they knew, was a man of firm character. He had assured them that he did not propose to ask for any permanent borrowing powers—that we should, as far as possible, earmark our borrowing for the year as temporary borrowing, and at the earliest possible moment the right hon. gentleman would have to make provision for the redemption of the loan. In this connection he proposed to call attention to the expectation that a considerable portion of the cost of the war was to be obtained from the wealth of the Transvaal. What were the resources of the Transvaal from which the burden laid on the English taxpayer was to be relieved? This proposal was founded on the notion that there was to be a surplus under British administration of the new colonies. He had always been sceptical on this point, not because the thing should not be done, but because he did not see how the thing would be done, and he invited the right hon. gentleman to give us a little more light on the subject. Where was the revenue to come from in these new English colonies?

The Secretary for the Colonies the other night uttered the terrible word "famine," and war succeeded by famine was not a favourable condition for the collection of revenue. Ultimately we must either feed these people or exterminate them. There remained only the people called the *Outlanders*—the sole taxable source of wealth in the district. There had indeed been a proposal

to tax the natives. If we were to add to the war with the Boers an insurrection of the natives the situation would be even worse. He referred now, however, to the right hon. gentleman's expectation that he was going to derive his revenue from the wealth of the Transvaal, and he asked what assistance the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likely to receive from the proprietors of that wealth. He need not say that these men who had amassed incredible fortunes under the tyranny of Mr. Kruger were loyalists of the first water, patriots beyond suspicion, Imperialists of the highest class. (Laughter.) One would suppose they would be ready to pour their gifts, their gold and diamonds into the public exchequer. (Laughter.)

What was the attitude taken by these persons? He recalled the utterances of Mr. Robinson, chairman of the South African Bank, who, reminding one of his namesake in the "Biglow Papers," might be said to know everything about the "Judee" of the Rand, and also the utterances of the chairman of the Consolidated Goldfields Company, and of Mr. Rudd, especially as regarded the taxation of the natives. The men who would be supreme in the Government of the new colonies were those who had damaged our reputation all over the world, and it was therefore of the utmost importance to know what were their intentions and their policy. If the Government wanted, in fulfilment of their pledge, to obtain anything for the British taxpayer, they must be prepared to face the Kaffir circus both here and in South Africa, and it would require all the courage possessed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Colonial Secretary and all the integrity of Parliament to deal with the matter.

THE TAXATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The demand made was that the taxation in South Africa should not be greater than it was under the Boer Government. Then what was the hope of the revenue? The country was so impoverished that it had not the means of providing the revenue that was raised before. On the other hand, was the expenditure going to be less? The British Government was very good, but it had never been cheap and never would be. Charges would have to be borne which never came upon the late Government of the Transvaal. The expenditure in the Transvaal was £4,000,000, and in the Free State about £1,000,000. We were going to enter upon a hostile country, and would require, what was unnecessary before, an army of occupation, which had to be contemplated not only with reference to the new colonies but with reference to the disaffected Cape Colony. Then there was the new police, the most expensive force that had ever been raised. They had always reckoned that the British army cost about £100 per man, but this force was to cost £250 per man. It had been expected that the yeomanry and volunteers would have taken this job, but they wanted to come home, and while there had been 10,000 applicants in England, where men did not know the country, in South Africa, where the conditions were known, only 500 had applied.

It was all nonsense to talk about policing the country with 10,000 men; if they took it at 15,000 the cost would be £4,000,000, so that this single item would amount to the whole cost of President Kruger's Government. He hazarded the guess that, so far from being less, the cost of administration would be nearly double that of the late government. If that was so, where was the

Chancellor to get the money that was to go to the relief of the British taxpayer?

A POLICY OF CONCILIATION WANTED.

He hoped the Government had entered on a policy of conciliation, and that they were going to instal a Government of conciliation. Upon the character of that Government would depend the disposition of the Dutch race, not in the new colonies alone, but in the whole of South Africa. He was the other day reading a book by Sir John Robinson, first Premier of Natal, who knew the whole subject better than any man in the House. He said that if the whole population of South Africa were counted together, the Dutch race was numerically preponderant, and this was the advice he gave: "We must give to the Afriander a Government that he not only fears and obeys but loves, trusts, cherishes, and is proud of, a Government which represents to him no sense of grievance or deprivation, a Government large enough and free enough to satisfy his national and patriotic aspirations, and yet strong enough to make its authority felt and respected."

Were we going to establish such a Government? If so we might have a peace which deserved the name, but if our administration in its personality and in its character represented to the Dutch nothing but the right of conquest and the hateful memories of the past, the insatiate greed of the gamblers for gold, the poisonous spirit of race ascendancy, then the war might be over, but we had achieved a victory without honour, one of those wars of which the Roman poet said that "Imperial Rome awarded no triumphs." Then, though we might have conquered this country, we would have a peace that was no peace. (Cheers.)

Mr. T. M. HEALY said * * * He would only say that he thought the promise the Chancellor had made—he was sure against the wish of many of his colleagues—that this burden would be thrown upon the Transvaal had been received with a deep sense of gratitude and relief in every part of the three kingdoms. (Opposition cheers.) It would have been monstrous had it been otherwise, because, when the Chancellor did not hesitate to throw on the starving ryots of India the burden of the frontier wars, why should he hesitate to tax the gold bugs of the Transvaal for the cost of the Boer war? (Laughter and Opposition cheers.) The hon. member for Mansfield (Mr. Markham) had not told the House by what process that flea-bite—it would be no more than that to the millionaires of South Africa—was to be extracted from them, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do well to make a clean breast of it, so that those who contemplated buying properties in the Transvaal must know what they had to face. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman should say at once that the taxpayers of England, Ireland, and Scotland would be relieved absolutely of every part of this burden. They had given the lives of 50,000 men, and that should be considered enough for them. (Opposition cheers.) At least a hundred millions of the cost should be imposed upon the Transvaal, and if there was to be any change in names, as they had already converted the Orange Free State into the Orange River Colony, that of the Transvaal might be changed to the New Jerusalem. (Great laughter.) * * *

One further point—Kimberley ought to be re-associated with the Orange State for purposes of taxation. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. JOHN WILSON also urged that the Transvaal bear a very large share of the burden

of the war, which on account of its great mineral wealth, it was well able to do.

Mr. CHANNING also agreed that the resources of the Transvaal should be drawn upon to the fullest amount which could reasonably be claimed. He rose, however, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state his view with regard to an undoubted asset of the former Transvaal State—namely, the admitted liability of the South Africa Company in respect of damages for the Jameson Raid. (Opposition cheers.) That asset, he presumed, would be transferred to Her Majesty's Government—(hear, hear)—and he hoped to hear that they were prepared to enforce it. (Cheers.)

Mr. BECKETT congratulated the House that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, amidst the changes which had taken place, retained the position he had so long and so ably filled—(cheers)—and that the task of dealing with the delicate financial situation which had arisen would be in his hands. (Hear, hear.) As to the cost of the war, our position was undoubtedly a serious one. The right hon. gentleman had foreshadowed an increase of taxation next year. He trusted that in framing his Budget he would consider the advisability of drawing the fresh revenue from new sources. (Hear, hear.) The extra taxation to be laid on this country on account of the war would probably be some ten millions a year, besides interest on the debt and the cost of our increased army. It was therefore not reasonable that any portion of the burden of the war should fall upon Great Britain which could be fairly laid upon the Transvaal. (Hear, hear.)

Sir M. HICKS-BEACH: * * * It may very well be that for a year or two after the close of this war it will be impossible to obtain from the Transvaal a contribution towards this cost, and I would point out that in the part of my financial policy which has been fortunate enough to meet with the assent of the right hon. gentleman I have carefully borne that in mind. I have said throughout that I would not make this borrowing for the war a permanent burden on this country. I have obtained on those three occasions power from Parliament to borrow for the cost of this war, I have borrowed partly on Treasury bills, partly on Exchequer bonds for three years, partly on Exchequer bonds for five years, partly on a war loan for ten years, and therefore I think the House will see that I have made the falling in, so to speak, of these loans at such periods as would enable us to have before us the condition of the Transvaal at that time with the view of seeing what we could impose upon that country. * * *

The Bill was read a second time, and the Committee was fixed for to-morrow.

The Appropriation Bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1900.)

On the motion for the second reading of the Appropriation Bill,

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS desired to explain why he had consistently opposed the granting of supplies for the war. A great many of his political friends were of opinion that once the war was commenced they must see it through. But he maintained that any person believing the war to be unjust and iniquitous was in duty bound to vote against it on every opportunity. The position of Liberals who continue to support the Government was more inconsistent now than at

the commencement of the war. Then they loudly proclaimed that they were only actuated by a desire to repel invasion, and that once accomplished they would raise their voices in favour of a just and honourable settlement. That, he had always felt, was a ridiculous and puerile qualification, and when the Boer offered terms not one of these gentlemen raised his voice in favour of their acceptance. At the outset we declared that we sought no goldfields and no territory, and it was humiliating for honest subjects to have to confess that the assurances we had given were openly broken. It was such actions that had brought disgrace on the country had made its policy a by-word for perfidy.

ANNEXATION THE WORST POLICY.

He did not believe that annexation would secure us from future outbreaks in South Africa. On the contrary it was certain to lead to a repetition of these unhappy events. Indeed, the fact that we must keep a large military force in South Africa for an indefinite period was an unmistakable admission that annexation would not release us from anxiety and danger in the future. He believed that even from our own selfish and sordid point of view annexation was the very worst policy, and would eventually lose us the whole of South Africa. Based as it would be on a gross and fraudulent breach of faith, it would cause undying hatred against this country in the breast of every Dutchman not only in the two Republics, but in Cape Colony, and these people would form an irreconcilable majority. The policy of annexation had been adopted because by that means alone could the Government conceal the absolute falsity of the main ground for which they went into the war.

Mr. BARTLEY expressed the hope that the War Office would cease sending out to the Cape young and inexperienced soldiers whose training in the use of the rifle was incomplete. He asked for information with regard to the appointments to important military positions at home of officers who had returned from South Africa without having exhibited any particular ability in the field, and also why certain other officers, whose regiments were still at the front had leave to return home. In the interest of the efficiency of the army, he thought the House was entitled to have those matters explained.

Mr. D. B. JONES. * * * He thought the Government were not treating the House fairly, having regard to the cost of the war, in asking for this large sum of money when no information was vouchsafed which would enable the House to judge as to the use made of that which it had previously granted. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. SEATON-KARR asked for information with regard to the reason for the detention in Portuguese territory, and in a district reeking with malarial fever, of two battalions of Imperial Yeomanry which were sent to Rhodesia under Sir F. Carrington via Beira in May last. The result of that detention, he said, was disastrous. No fewer than 22 of the men died, and both battalions were incapacitated for a time by constant sickness.

Mr. LABOUCHERE thought that in this session the Opposition, although they had not been able to beat the Government by votes, had thoroughly singed its wings. (Laughter.) He considered that the session had been one of inquiry and investigation, and he regarded the Government much in the position of a person who had been brought before a magistrate and committed to the February assizes. (Laughter.)

He believed that if the Boers only went on resisting for a certain time, and we went on meeting that resistance, such a feeling would arise in this country as would compel the Government to propose more favourable terms to the Boers.

Mr. YERBURGH thought that if the Imperial Yeomanry were detained in South Africa till peace was proclaimed the letter of their agreement might be observed, but this would not be in accordance with the spirit of agreement.

Mr. J. BURNS supported the views just expressed by the right hon. baronet. If there had been a mistake in this matter, the mistake was in allowing the yeomanry, as yeomanry, to enlist at all. Every man who volunteered for service in this war should have been attached to a regular regiment. (Hear, hear.) In this war there should be no difference of treatment, and the Tower Hamlets militiamen should be no worse off than the Piccadilly peacocks who were now crying to come home. (Laughter and cheers.) A voluntary army could only be maintained by all men being on an equal footing. It was a disgrace to the best traditions of the British army that in the early days of the war a man with a title had only got to land at Capetown to be immediately attached to certain staffs, to the exclusion of fine soldiers who had distinguished themselves in previous campaigns. (Cheers.)

If we were to give encouragement to officers who had done admirable work elsewhere, promotion should not go to men who had merely political or backstairs influence to recommend them. He quoted an extract from a Rhodesian newspaper showing that saddles, overcoats, and other stores had been recently sold at Salisbury for next to nothing, while, he said, our men were suffering from want of such supplies, and he trusted that inquiry would be made into the matter. He claimed to know the feeling of the average soldier, and said they protested against differential treatment as regarded pay, social condition, and reward.

Mr. CAWLEY said he fought the election under difficulties, for he was one of those who was called a traitor to his country because he did not believe in Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy. He believed the right hon. gentleman, when he said that this would be a long and bitter war, and would leave a sting for generations, and when he said our policy must be to carry the Dutch with us, he used the language of true statesmanship. But we had not carried the Dutch with us. Both in Cape Colony and in the Free State the Dutch were against Kruger, and yet we had alienated them. (Hear, hear.) He could easily understand that a Dutchman in Cape Colony who did not agree with Sir Alfred Milner's policy disliked being called a traitor just as he did. Every Cape Dutchman who read last night's debate would know that because he disagreed with Sir A. Milner's policy he was regarded as disloyal to his Queen and country. As to the return of the Yeomanry, he agreed that they must accept the decision of their superiors as other soldiers did. The war was not over, and the Yeomanry must stay as long as they were wanted.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE remarked that the officer's view of what the army felt was about as valuable as the employer's view of what the workmen felt. (Hear, hear.) He travelled to Crewe last night with three of the South Lancashires, home on sick leave, and if what they said was true we were on the eve of a mutiny among the rank and file in South Africa. One of the men declared that if he returned it would be to enlist

under De Wet. During his speech the hon. member was frequently interrupted from the Ministerial benches, and after remarking on the extraordinary display of after-dinner manners, he declared that in the House of Commons at any rate they would insist on freedom of speech.

After some remarks from Colonel Webb, who protested against Mr. Burn's comments on the Imperial Yeomanry, the bill was read a second time.

Lord Newton on the Lessons of the War.

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 23, 1900.)

The annual meeting of the Newton Division Conservative Association was held on Saturday at the Town Hall, Newton-le-Willows. Lord Newton presided, and Colonel R. Pilkington, M.P., was also present.

Lord Newton said his own opinion with regard to the war remained unaltered. He had not regarded it with any great enthusiasm, but had rather looked upon it as a hateful necessity. He thought it was plain to everybody that the enormous losses which we had sustained, not only in valuable lives, but also in the expenditure of money, would hardly be atoned for by the result of the war. * * *

Discussing the lessons which were to be learned from the war, Lord Newton dwelt upon the fact that England has been shown to be almost universally detested.

The Americans' case against Spain was not nearly so strong as our case against the Boers, and yet with a few exceptions no foreign Powers gave us credit for anything but a base desire to grab what was supposed to be valuable territory, and a willingness to make war in order to benefit Jew millionaires. * * *

He would almost go so far as to say that we only owed our immunity from the intervention in this war of another Power to the fact that we had got the most powerful fleet in the world, and that no other nation at the present moment was ready to risk her fleet against ours. (Applause) * * *

For his part, when our military authorities said that we were fighting a campaign under enormous difficulties, and that the task of subduing the two Republics was one of the most difficult ever committed to a nation, he was disposed to think that we should find the task of fighting a great Power much more severe, and he sincerely trusted that we might not be called upon to do it until we had profited by the lessons of the present war. * * *

He was convinced that there were only two alternatives before the country—either to adopt a modified form of compulsion or to pay our soldiers in the future the same wages which they would obtain in trade. (Hear, hear.) He heard some one say "Hear, hear," but he would like to see the face of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when such a proposal was put before him. (Laughter.)

Sir Walter Foster on Old Age Pensions.

(*House of Commons*, March 7, 1900.)

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

It was a happy accident that the Bill had been brought forward; it was an opportunity for eliciting opinions from the Government bench and from the House. Looking back on the question, and recalling the words in the Queen's

Speech that the time is not opportune for such expenditure, he could not but regret that during the years when the revenue showed substantial surplus the report of the committee received no consideration. Over a series of years the annual surplus had been from three and a-half to five and a-half millions, and, according to the report of the committee, the amount required for old-age pensions for people over sixty-five years of age would be ten millions, and making the age seventy about £5,900,000. * * *

Manchester Unity of Oddfellows at Portsmouth.

THE WAR AND OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1900.)

The first sitting of the Annual Movable Committee of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows was held in the Town Hall, Portsmouth, yesterday. * * *

The Grand Master, Mr. Tom Hughes, who was received with applause, said it was his privilege to welcome them to Portsmouth. * * *

But in conceding sincerity of purpose to those opposed to State aid he claimed the same merit for those who thought, as he did, that it was the duty of the State to provide for the deserving citizen in his old age. * * *

John Ruskin did not enunciate a new doctrine, but merely enforced, in his own graceful, nervous style, an old one, when he wrote: "A labourer serves his country with his spade just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with his sword, pen, or lancet. If the service be less and therefore the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable, and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish because he has deserved well of his parish as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country." (Cheers.) * * *

If the financial burden imposed by the war delayed the realisation of their hopes of a State scheme of pensions for the aged poor they must be patient in bearing the disappointment which waits upon hope deferred. (Hear, hear.) * * *

The meeting then accorded a warm vote of thanks to Grand Master Hughes for his inaugural address.

The Ancient Shepherds at Bristol.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1900.)

The seventy-fourth annual conference of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity, was opened in the Shepherd's Hall, Bristol, yesterday morning, Bro. Robert Craik, Newcastle-on-Tyne, presiding. * * *

Turning to the question of old-age pensions the Chief Shepherd said it was a broken and uncertain subject, on which public opinion was neither ripe nor unanimous. The best-imagined schemes had not proved possible. A great deal was hoped for from the present Colonial Secretary, at one time so loud in the proclamation of his own theory, but subsequent thought had evidently impelled him to share the impotence of other would-be economists. The more he (the speaker) thought of the difficulties surrounding this question the more he was satisfied that the successful solution would be not

the absolute creation of any individual mind, but rather the evolution of a gradual and sustained growth of friendly society effort. One thing at least was certain, that owing to the expense of the war the hands of the State-aided pension clock were put back for one generation at least.

Co-operative Union Conference at Cardiff.

The War, the Land Question, Poverty, and Old-Age Pensions.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1900.)

* * * The President (Mr. Brown), in the course of his inaugural address, said that this was the first time a Co-operative Conference had been held in the country of Robert Owen, who at the beginning of the century stood almost alone as the apostle of the movement in England. * * *

There never was a time when the country stood more in need of education on subjects which not only affected them as co-operators but the people generally. (Cheers.) He was afraid that the glamour of war and the military spirit dominating the minds of so many would draw away attention from the consideration of those social subjects upon the solving of which the salvation of the people so largely depended. (Cheers.) Why should not they, a working-class, democratic institution, take the lead, apart from all political parties, in informing the public mind on such question as the land laws, taxation of land values, old-age pensions, and the housing problem, and in so doing attract the attention of the people to their movement, which was not merely a huge money-making, wealth-producing organisation, but also a body of men and women seeking in every way to improve the conditions and surroundings of the workers of the country. (Cheers.) * * *

The cause of poverty in the very midst of wealth came from the fundamental fact that the masses of the people had been disinherited. So long as man was a land animal and could only live and work on land, so long as wealth was merely the raw material of the land worked up by human labour, it was inevitable that if the land were treated as the property of one class, no matter what inventions might be made or improvements brought about, there must be at the bottom of the social scale brutishness, vice, ignorance, want, and starvation. (Cheers.)

The Yorkshire Miners' Demonstration. 50,000 Members Present.

(*Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1900.)

Mr. L. Atherley-Jones, Q.C., M.P., said that however absorbing the topic of the war in South Africa might be, the permanent interests of the men and women present were of far more importance. * * *

In the course of further remarks, Mr. Atherley-Jones alluded to the question of old-age pensions, and said he was unable to understand why a poor-law officer, a policeman, or a soldier should be more entitled to a pension than a man who had toiled and laboured in the mine, the workshop, or the factory. The remedy was in the hands of the workers themselves. * * *

In 1885 the people of the country sent the Liberals to power, but with the exception of two

short years, the Conservatives had been in office ever since. * * *

There had been 13 lean years, and apparently, if the "gentleman in khaki" were to carry the day there would be 13 more lean years in front of us. He appealed to his hearers, therefore, to turn their thoughts away from the pomps and vanities of war; from what after all would be for them a barren achievement, conferring no benefit except increased taxation; and to strive to return to power at the next election men pledged to carry out measures for the benefit of the workers of the country. By setting themselves energetically to forward the principles of reform they would do more to contribute to the lasting greatness of the Empire than by walking about decked in tawdry ribbons, and carrying flags. (Applause.) * * *

Mr. Burns, alluding to the question of old-age pensions, prophesied that no old age pensions for the people would be forthcoming within the next ten years. The money, he said, had all been spent for a far less glorious purpose. The war in which we were engaged would cost £200,000,000 before it was concluded, and the lives of 50,000 or 60,000 men. All this blood and treasure would have been wasted upon a base and brutal war in the interests of capital, and against free labour. (Applause.)

The Foreign Trade Outlook.

(*Leading Article, Manchester City News*,
August 11, 1900.)

Cotton spinning companies continue to declare good dividends, but the reports are not rosy. Spinners are running out of orders, and short time to a more or less extent is inevitable. The reasons for the poor outlook are well known; high price of cotton and the state of affairs in India and China are sufficient in themselves. And now the companies, like everyone else, are paying more for their fuel. The Board of Trade figures for last month will add to the general depression. Exports of yarn were again poor, being four million pounds weight less than the same month in the two previous years. Taking the seven months compared with the same period in 1898, the average monthly decrease was seven million pounds weight. Nearly all our customers reduced their takings last month. No comfort is to be derived from the exports of piece goods. The falling-off last month was nearly twenty-nine million yards—equal to nearly five million weight of yarn—bringing up the total decrease for the seven months to 106 million yards as compared with last year. Shipments to China were thirty-seven million yards, a reduction on the month of six million yards. We may expect some falling-off in exports to that country whilst affairs are unsettled.

Exports of coal were a fraction less in quantity, but 58 per cent. more in value. Manufacturers in metals, machinery, mill-work, and ships all show decreased shipments, the total reduction being over £600,000 in value. Excess of imports over exports of gold during the month was only half a million in value, as compared with over £3,600,000 last year. Altogether the Board of Trade returns are dispiriting. We are not likely to see much better returns until we have peace, cheap fuel, cheap cotton, and cheaper money.

The Tories' Great Betrayal.

(From an Article by Mr. F. Maddison,
M.P.)

(The Speaker, August 18, 1900.)

* * * No amount of rhetoric about the bravery of British soldiers—left, by the way, to die like sheep in pest-houses doing duty for hospitals—can alter the plain fact that Tory Cabinet Ministers have falsified the hopes they themselves raised in the minds of thousands of humble men. Marvellous prosperity has abounded, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had an overflowing Treasury, but not a single burden has been lightened for the workers. Surpluses have rolled in, but only the comparatively well-to-do have benefited by them. Surely this is a serious matter for the wage-earners of these islands. It is a heavy indictment of the present Government. We are still without a free breakfast-table, and in spite of the handsome balances which have been declared, there has not been any attempt to obtain one. If in prosperous years the masses are to get no relief in taxation, it is quite certain that the period of depression will press upon them heavily. Tory rule for five years has nothing to show but an enormous war debt. The privileged classes have had a liberal share of the surpluses, the deficits falling to the working-classes. They will, indeed, be lacking in sound judgment if they allow the Tories to cover up these things by inflamed appeals to their passions and patriotism.

This failure during five years to give effect to their old-age pension promises, made in the plainest language, and when votes depended upon them, is the great betrayal of the Tory party. They deliberately introduced this question into the election without any incitement from their opponents. It was not a counter-move rendered necessary by some bid for the support of the workers on similar grounds by the Liberals, but a carefully-chosen master-stroke of electioneering policy. Admittedly provision for old age on anything like an adequate scale forms a problem of considerable difficulty, but Mr. Chamberlain treated it as one of those ordinary political topics which require little more than willingness on the part of the Government of the day to deal with it, always provided that the national finances were prosperous. To thus play with the necessities of the aged, to raise hopes which no serious effort has been made to realise, is to mock the poverty of the most helpless in the nation, and to trifle with the democracy as a whole. * * *

What could not be spared for British citizens has been given in copious abundance to a gang of international financiers. They have had the life's blood of the nation's sons and million after million of treasure earned by the toilers in mill and mine, in factory and on farm, to prosecute a war which would never have taken place but for the gold-mines in the Transvaal, and for the restrictions placed by the Boers upon the employment of Kaffirs.

The Housing of the People.

(No. 13, Stop the War Committee's Publications.)

Speaking at Manchester in October, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman referred as follows to the Bitter Cry of those who have "No Room to Live":—

"Here is a grievance to which the complaints

of the Transvaal Uitlanders are a mere empty cry. (Loud and continued cheering.) Here is a peril at our own doors—(hear, hear)—greater than we can fear from any Boer aggression. Here are destruction and misery exceeding that of War—(cheers)—working and waxing in the houses of our own people. The necessary cures may be drastic. We may have to touch the Land Laws. (Cheers.) The rights of property may not be safe from us, and great public expenditure may be required, but a remedy must be found. (Cheers.)"

(Idem.)

"At home the hope of social reform had gone down in this wild welter of blood and crime."

Rev. C. F. AKED.

The Feeding of the Underfed Scholars.

(Idem.)

We are spending £100,000,000 in slaughter, in order to soothe the offended pride of Englishmen in the Transvaal who were making millions if they were capitalists, and earning £1 a-day if they were workmen; meanwhile, 55,000 children are driven every day hungry and underfed into the public schools of London. *Punch* has done good service in the cause of sanity and humanity by publishing the following verse:—

Fire-eaters of the Music Halls, in vain ye take
my name,

When your patriotic ballads rise and swell;
I am not all for glory and for military fame
And the thunder of the cannon and the shell.

Hark! I hear them; they are crying;

'Tis of hunger they are dying—

See this hollow cheek and weary sunken head!

Lo, they perish of starvation,

And you give them—education!

Ah! before you teach, for God's sake, give them
bread!

Extracts from

"Liberalism and The Empire."

"Imperialism and Finance."

(By F. W. HIRST.)

(Taken from Pages 4, 14, 15, 39—44.)

What, then, is Imperialism? What is this giant upas-tree that has to be cut down? What are the poisons which it exhales? what are its main branches? Do its roots strike deep? What is the character of the earth in which it takes root and flourishes. * * *

Cobden's Political Writings, 1868 edition, vol. ii., p. 235:—

"In ordinary years, when nothing occurs to concentrate public attention on this branch of the Budget, it will be observed that the expenditure on the services has a tendency to increase in proportion to the prosperity of the country. Taking the amount of our foreign trade as the test of the progress of the nation, we shall find, looking back over the last ten or twelve years, that the amount of the exports and the amount of military and naval estimates have been augmented in a nearly equal ratio, both having been about doubled. It would seem as if there were some unseen power

behind the Government, always able, *unless held in check by an agitation in the country*, to help itself to a portion of the national savings, limited only by the taxable patience of the public.

The following is an extract from a speech of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach on April 13, 1899:—

"Now, sir, I think one thing is quite clear, and that is that it is impossible, however great the prosperity of the country may be, for such increases as this—of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 a year in our expenditure—to be met by mere automatic increase of our existing taxation, nor could they be met for long by any increase of existing taxes. If this rate of increase is to continue, Parliament and the country must make up their minds not only to large increases in the existing taxes, but also to the discovery of new and productive sources of revenue."

It is, unfortunately, only too plain, from the sentences which follow, that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had flung to the winds the best traditions of his office:—

"I will venture to prophesy that the result of this will necessarily be a reaction against this great expenditure, which no one would deplore more than I should; for I am convinced that the result of such a reaction would be to reduce the efficiency and the strength of our defensive services to the point at which they unhappily stood in the last generation." * * *

The addition of more than 13 millions in five years to our naval and military estimates is a grievous annual drain upon the wealth of the country; for it represents a capital sum of 500 millions withdrawn from industry. This vast sum had been locked up and the interest on it ear-marked for unproductive expenditure before the outbreak of the South African War. If the war, as well as the permanent additions to our

warlike establishments, had been avoided, the sum annually saved would almost have paid the interest on the National Debt; or the income-tax, instead of being increased to a shilling, might have been decreased to a penny. * * *

It requires no economist to discern that expenditure on war is far worse than military expenditure in time of peace. The armaments of peace turn wealth into unproductive channels; war turns wealth to the purposes of destroying wealth. As these lines are being written, Great Britain is spending two or three million sovereigns a week in wholesale destruction of men, horses, cattle, and capital of all kinds in her own colonies or in States immediately contiguous, whose prosperity reacts upon her own. I do not know that any writer has ever succeeded in analysing the finance of war. But Mr. Bright once flashed out in his imaginative way a profound aphorism. One of the advantages of war, he wrote, is that you can have a very little for a very great deal of money. * * *

In 1859 Mr. Gladstone wrote as follows:—

"There is no incentive to Mammon-worship so remarkable as that which it (*war*) affords. The political economy of war is now one of its most commanding aspects. Every farthing, with the smallest exceptions conceivable, of the scores or hundreds of millions which a war may cost goes directly, and very violently, to stimulate production, though it is intended ultimately for waste or destruction. * * * It is the greatest feeder of that lust of gold which we are told is the essence of commerce, though we had hoped it was only its besetting sin." But this is not the whole case. Mr. Gladstone added that "the regular commerce of peace is tameness itself compared with the gambling spirit which war, through the rapid shiftings and high prices which it brings, always introduces into trade."

Cost and Waste of the War ; £1,500,000 per day.

The following quotations are taken from "The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith. Although this celebrated work appeared towards the close of the 18th century, its lessons continue to form the groundwork of the study of Political Economy. I therefore trust the reader will give close attention to these three extracts, because he will find, as he proceeds, that I base some of my calculations on this thesis :—

*"The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations. * * **

*"Whatever be the actual state of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which labour is applied in any nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must depend, during the continuance of that state, upon the proportion between the number of those who are annually employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed. * * **

*"The foresight of the heavy and unavoidable burdens of war would hinder the people from wantonly calling for it when there was no real or solid interest to fight for." * * **

It has been clearly stated in my Preface that the object of this work is to assist any person endowed with common sense to investigate the causes, and consider the various aspects that this lamentable war presents to us. We now want to ascertain the **real cost and waste** of war, and of this war in particular.

I presume that it is conceded that apart from accumulated capital, ordinarily in the hands of a small number of the community, the wealth of the nation will depend on the industry, capacity, and sobriety of the masses or working people. They are frequently termed "the backbone" of the country. The remainder may be of equal utility, but are numerically less important. Each person who performs useful service, whatever may be the walk of life in which his lot is cast, is of advantage to his fellows, and although his death will be felt most keenly by his family and those directly depending upon him for guidance and support, it constitutes only a lesser loss to the town or village to which he belonged; and a misfortune in a still reduced degree to the nation that claimed him.

Similarly, the loss occasioned by the waste of any substance is not confined to the person who was the nominal owner, but is to a partial extent borne by all. It may perhaps be well to give some brief illustrations of the truth of the foregoing statements.

Capital and Labour.

Capital and labour should ever go hand-in-hand, for they are the natural complements of each other, and when combined can accomplish infinite good, while apart they are reduced to comparative feebleness. Of the two, labour must be considered the more important. Alone, it can nearly always make a beginning in building up an industry, although it may do it at a great disadvantage and in a "hand to mouth" manner; whilst *capital, unless backed by labour, is practically useless.*

For instance, suppose we possess a newly-built factory or workshop, replete with the most modern equipment, and sufficient funds to lay out on the purchase of the necessary raw materials, and to enable us to give credit if requisite ; how is the business to be started if we fail to obtain labour? Imagine a shipwrecked person cast upon an uninhabited island, the ground of which he finds to be well strewn with nuggets of gold. They might not interest him: he could not exchange them for either food or service—the two things essential to him. Presume we are possessed of a great tract of country with splendid reaches of rich virgin soil, mines of precious metals, and forests of rare timber, unless we can attract labour to develop these latent resources and to fell and remove the trees—of what value is the property?

Labour, on the contrary, if divorced from capital in its ordinarily accepted meaning, can, even then, make slow and painful progress. Some industries may still be conducted in cottages and single rooms, and the thrifty labourer acquires a slight capital as time goes on. In savage life the capitalist is unknown; yet the people manage to exist by hunting, fishing, gathering wild fruit, and making rude attempts to provide themselves with boats, huts, culinary vessels, and the first pressing necessities of incipient civilisation.

The Value and Necessity of Labour.

The references I made to developing a new country remind me of the importance of enticing young and vigorous workers, which is always quickly recognised by statesmen, capitalists, and others interested in such development; the satisfaction they express, and the congratulations they exchange on achieving their object, prove its value. On the contrary, if anyone tries to tempt the active and enterprising men to leave or forsake their country, we immediately find these statesmen up in arms.

Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Rhodes are sadly in want of this type of young man, and recently endeavoured to induce some of the Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand Colonists, who had completed their term of service with our army in South Africa, to settle there, offering them, as free gifts, extensive farm land and certain advantages. Our Colonial Premiers lost no time in making a strong protest against this action on the part of the High Commissioner and the "Empire Builder," and charged them with gross ingratitude, and continue to display an anxious inquietude for the safe return, as soon as possible, of the absent members of their communities.

The Census is about to be taken, and we are desirous of learning that our numbers have increased. The French always fear a decrease (M. Zola has written an important book on the subject), and the nation is becoming keenly alive to this source of future weakness. The Germans point to their numerical growth with satisfaction and pride. If all countries are eager for the augmentation of their populations, accepting without complaint the average additions of the physically weak and mentally incapable members, surely we can appreciate the loss sustained when we part with some of the youth and vigour of our national life.

Later on, in this section, the loss of life occasioned by the war will be estimated, when it should be remembered that most of these young men were certified as well developed and of sound constitutions, and probably averaged 25 years of age, thereby showing, even with a due allowance for premature death from ordinary causes and risks, *a loss per man of 25 years of active labour.*

Destroying Property Creates Poverty and Bad Trade.

I wish I could, in a few words, bring this fact home to those who may chance to look over these pages, because I know something of the mistaken ideas that exist on the subject. We are all familiar with the expression that "it is unfortunate, but will be good for trade," so commonly used on hearing of the destruction of property, whether arising from fire, tempest, war, or other causes. If such remark were true, there need be no more bad trade, as we could always, by means of well-distributed burnings, find ourselves plenty of employment in reinstating the wasted property; yet if anyone suggested this course, he would be considered qualified for a lunatic asylum, even perhaps by those who professed the aforesaid theory. Inconsistency is a common fault.

No, we must accept it as beyond dispute that everything destroyed, whether wilfully or accidentally, reduces, to the extent of its value, the nation's assets. The loss of valuable property which war entails is serious enough in itself, but cannot be compared to the loss of life. It is somewhat possible, by increased exertion and prolonging our usual hours of toil, to repair a loss of money or goods; to bring back to life our dead soldiers and volunteers is impossible, and we can do but little towards relieving the physical and mental sufferings of the host of those who have the misfortune to return to us maimed and otherwise injured, or with constitutions undermined by fever, &c.

The Cost and Waste of the War.

As far as it has been practicable, the Government have kept the country in the dark as to the extent of the losses of human and animal life and the waste in money, and the recent estimates supplied by the War Office for the financial year we are about to enter upon (1901-2) will no doubt prove as untrustworthy as their predecessors. The following calculations are based upon official statements, and where none are supplied, as is unavoidable in the case of several of the subjects it is necessary to deal with, my estimates are made on the principle of understating the amount rather than exaggerating it. Even then the figures are sufficiently alarming.

As in the last section, *I suppose*—without believing it—that the war will be *really over* by October next (1901), two years after its commencement; so that *most* of the daily sums of expenditure, or waste—of course it is all waste, and worse than waste—may be multiplied by 730 as representing the days in two years. This rule will not apply to the cost of the army, because we began with such inadequate forces; nor to the destruction of property in the Republics, as our "farm burning and laying the country waste" policy only came into full play some nine months ago.

Daily Cost and Waste of the War.

(a) Army Account.

Mr. Brodrick's estimate of the cost of the military operations for the year commencing April 1st, 1901, is 58 millions. He bases his calculation on the assumption that the *war will be over in July*, after which date the forces can be steadily reduced. Not having absolute knowledge to the contrary one must conclude that sufficient allowance has been made for the cost of transport of returning soldiers; shipping new prisoners to St. Helena and Ceylon; the keep of some 60,000 men, women, and children in what are called "refuge" camps; the pay and expenses of the last 5,000 Yeomen it was hastily decided to enrol, and many other items. The extreme looseness of previous calculations, however, justifies doubt on such points.

Although Birmingham, Sheffield, and Bradford have enjoyed a pressure of work in meeting the Government's demands for their goods, it is somewhat galling to find that large supplies of new guns, remounts, saddles, and other equipment have been provided by foreign countries at very remunerative prices. I divide the War Secretary's estimate into *three* divisions, i.e.: (1) *Four* months of active operations for the full force of 240,000 men—by which time the war is *once more* to be *over*; (2) *four* months of partially-active operations for 120,000 men; (3) *four* months of garrisoning and patrolling for 60,000 men. This gives a present outgo of £290,000 per day, and leaves a balance of £2,500,000 to pay for transport and disbanding Volunteers and time-expired regulars—a quite inadequate provision; indeed, we shall probably find ere the next Budget is due that the 58 millions have grown by some *30 to 50 per cent.*

Carried to Summary—

(a) One day's active operations of our complete military force, £290,000.

(b) **Charitable Subscriptions.**

With the exception of that of the *Daily Telegraph*, the subscription lists are practically closed. The successful appeals on behalf of the Transvaal refugees and of those dependent on our absent soldiers made by the Lord Mayor of London and other Lord Mayors and Mayors throughout the country, joined by that of the *Daily Telegraph*, have altogether realised a handsome sum.

In addition, there were many special and princely contributions, such as the loan of vessels, the independent equipment of companies of Volunteers and Yeomanry, staffs of nurses, and so on. Add to these the privately dispatched gifts of money and goods—extending over a period of two years—and the total will probably far exceed £4,000,000, at which sum I fix this item.

Carried to Summary—

(b) Daily average of charitable subscriptions, £5,500.

(c) **Destruction of Property.**

The Transvaal and Orange Free State are described by our Government, and are considered by vast numbers of simple-minded persons, as already annexed, and consequently forming part of our Colonies. Accepting this view, it follows that we are consuming and destroying the wealth of our own people when we seize their cattle, horses, and sheep; burn down their farms, barns, and granaries, break down their dams, and lay waste growing crops and grass.

The Boers, in their turn, determined to maintain their freedom or die in the attempt, constantly destroy the railways, bridges, viaducts, and rolling stock; likewise the latter's contents when unable to carry them off for their own use. Injuries to railways are so common that Lord Roberts said they amounted sometimes to *23* cases in *24* hours. An immense staff of repairers is continually at work, and their expenses, and the above-mentioned waste of property and animal life, will, I suppose, be underestimated at £5,000 per day.

Carried to Summary—

(c) Daily destruction of property, animal life, food, &c., £5,000.

(d) Loss of Labour.—Order No. 1.

Figures showing the numbers of killed, wounded, and incapacitated, which form the basis of the following calculations, will be found on pages 97-8:—

The necessity of providing more than **300,000** soldiers for the war has caused us to lose the services of **85,000** men usually employed in peaceful industries. I have already laid down, in brief terms, the principles which regulate my estimate of wasted labour, and will therefore content myself with saying that many of these men are vastly superior in intellectual capacity to the ordinary run of soldiers; and it may very naturally be said that I am almost insulting them by averaging the value of their labour at 4s. per day. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that amongst the officers and in the ranks of the Volunteers and Yeomen men were enrolled who in civil life occupy prominent positions—Members of Parliament, for instance—and most of them must be credited with joining the forces at a time when our military reputation had sustained a severe shock. I don't forget that the lowest-paid Yeoman draws 5s. per day, but I prefer to give no chance of being charged with overstating the loss, and take them at what must seem a very reasonable average for the ordinary officer and soldier.

The *facts* are so bad that I can well afford to give away a good deal and even then more than prove my case.

Carried to Summary—

(d) One day's lost labour of 85,000 men at 4s. = £17,000.

(e) Loss of Labour.—Order No. 2.

28 men represent our average daily loss of life since the commencement of the war, nearly two-thirds of whom died of fever. As I have explained on page 270 the death of each man represents the destruction of **25** years of labour during the best period of a man's life. Again, assessing these men and officers at an average of 4s. per day, each death represents the loss of a productive force of the value of £1,825.

I understand that annuities of 4s. per day could be purchased on similar lives at £1,400 each. While I may not admit that such a form of replacing labour is satisfactory, I prefer to adopt the lower figure.

It should be remembered that if the bread-winner is killed, or maimed—as set out in *(f)*—provision of some sort must be made for those depending on him for support. The 4s. per day may be taken to represent the economic disadvantage of the nation for the loss of each sound, active member of the community, and the cost of pensioning his dependants.

The law now recognises that if a man is killed or maimed in his employment, even if quite accidentally, his relatives are to receive some compensation. It will I presume be conceded without question that when the Government sends a man on an errand of killing, or being killed, and he meets with death, the man's relatives should receive a pension. If the Government, who caused the loss, do not suitably provide for the support of the soldier's widow and children, or possibly aged and infirm parents, then the community must do so by subscription, or, as a last resort, by increased workhouse rates.

Carried to Summary—

(e) Daily loss of **28** lives at £1,400 each = £39,200.

(f) Partial Loss of Labour.—Order No. 3.

For *each* man who dies or is killed outright, there appear to be *three* who are permanently injured, maimed, or whose constitutions are undermined by fever, severe rheumatism, or other malady. A small number may sufficiently recover to enable them to hold their own in the struggle for existence; the greater part will be well content if they get through half the labour they were in the habit of performing; but some will weaken and pine, and become painful burdens on the hands of their families. I average these as half-incapacitated, and, continuing the previous low rate of value, we get another direct loss of labour as follows:—

Carried to Summary—

(f) Daily loss of labour of **84** men partially disabled for life, whose services are thereby reduced to 2s. per day = £58,800.

(g) Losses in Johannesburg and the Mines.

We now come to another form of loss. A short time hence and the town of Johannesburg will have been depopulated, except for soldiers and a few Boers, for a period of two years. The whole business of this important centre of the gold-mining industry and the base of supplies for Pretoria, and the market town of a wide district, has been brought to a standstill. Glowing descriptions of its extent and importance will be found in the many books which treat of modern South Africa. Endeavour to imagine this immense machine, that controlled the services of 150,000 to 200,000 persons—white and black—disabled and useless, and some general idea of the waste attending such a state of things will be obtained.

Let us consider for a moment the following items: (1) Labour compulsorily idle, not only in mining operations, but in warehouses, shops, offices, banks, hotels, theatres, &c. (2) Scores of millions of *dead* capital, represented by the handsome buildings of the town and the machinery and plant of the mines, and most of this property is suffering injury and rapid deterioration. (3) The considerable savings of thousands of workmen, employés, and small tradesmen of all kinds, dribbled away in hanging around Capetown and journeying to Europe and back again, only to result in the owners finding themselves still berthless, and likely to remain so.

All this miserable waste is not confined to Englishmen, because the population of Johannesburg is decidedly cosmopolitan; but for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the waste the war entails, it does not signify who owns the property or loses his income.

When one is forced to recognise the tremendous losses that the mine owners must have sustained from the causes mentioned, it does seem to afford ground for their appeal to the Government not to meditate heavily taxing the goldfields to pay towards the cost of the war. If it was possible to separate the guilty shareholders from the innocent ones, I would willingly express sympathy for the latter order. The difficulty of obtaining reliable information as to the amount of money invested in the Rand goldfields—and elsewhere in the Transvaal—and the capital sunk in Johannesburg, compels one to be satisfied with making a rough guess, which I put at the round figure of £50,000.

Carried to Summary—

(g) Daily loss in Johannesburg and the mines, £50,000.

(h) The Claims of Cape Colony and Natal.

Let us consider the condition of Cape Colony at the present time. With the exception of the vicinity of Capetown, the whole Colony appears to be the hunting-ground of the enemy. Portions of our forces are engaged upon the customary operations of "sweeping up," "scouring," "hemming in," and "closely following up" the various commandos, without making any captures of *fighting Boers* worth mentioning. Large numbers of the "loyal" population are under arms protecting the towns, and others are assisting our troops in their endeavours to bring the Boers to an engagement. The thousands of Colonists thus employed form another wing of the army, and will entail an important addition to the war estimates, of which we shall hear as soon as the Government dare and must apply for further funds.

Martial law—which the Duke of Wellington described as no law at all—is almost universal; hate and suspicion are growing apace, and the ordinary course of business is bound to have been completely disorganised. Natal, so far, seems to have escaped from this terrible state of things, but its losses before and during the Ladysmith period were heavy, and its railways, as well as those of Cape Colony, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, are monopolised by the army, and a very big bill must result, which in all probability will go to further swell Mr. Brodrick's far too optimistic calculations.

Carried to Summary—

- (h) Each day's claims by Cape Colony, Natal, and railway shareholders, £30,000.

(i) Loss on Reduced Borrowing Power.

As stated on page 250, we shall probably be forced to borrow about £175,000,000; and as the value of Consols is 95—which is not likely to rise, but rather to continue falling as long as we become more deeply engaged in war—we lose £5 on each £100 we raise, besides something for expenses and commissions. Prior to this threatened war Consols rose to £114, and two years ago they stood at 110-12. Had nothing arisen to disturb the world's confidence in our future security and prosperity, we should have been able to place the new stock at 110, let us say, and so have reaped a bonus of £10 on each £100; therefore, the war has cost us 15 per cent on £175,000,000. While this has been *our* reward, the National Stocks of other great countries have shown an upward tendency.

Carried to Summary—

- (i) Daily loss on borrowing powers, expenses, &c., £36,000.

(j) Abnormal Increase in Army and Navy Estimates.

If we turn to the Budgets of 1897-9, we find that during those two years—*before* the war—the Army and Navy expenditure had gained an annual increase of £2,829,000. If we now take the estimates for this year (1901), we see that the annual increase on the expenditure of 1899—the two years *since* the war—amounts to £16,277,500. The difference is striking, but not difficult to account for. In round figures, we have advances of **£3,000,000** in the two former years and **£16,000,000** in the two latter ones.

This abnormally-increased burden of **£13,000,000** per annum is the **second legacy of the war, the first being the growth of the National Debt.**

Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery have spoken of the general "hatred" of us by other nations which this war has engendered, and the scare thus created has forced us to make these extraordinary preparations, so as to be better able to protect our possessions in the event of the "hatred" assuming an active form. The provision of £13,000,000 for the purposes of strengthening the Army and Navy and of training reserves is only one part of the mischief; the transfer of thousands of workers from constructive to destructive labour adds indirectly another £2,000,000, and together they form a new and heavy handicap of **£15,000,000**. On pages 248-9 I show that these gigantic estimates are deceptive, and insufficient to attain the object in view, and that we must count on the future higher pay of the personnel and other matters, which will increase the Taxes by £4,000,000 a year, making a gross total of **£19,000,000**. We are an industrious people, and have become a rich nation, but, like a good horse, even *we* can be overweighted.

The Armies of other Great Nations.

The immense standing armies of France, Germany, Italy, and others represent forced service, almost unpaid, and do not cost those countries, man for man, one-half of what our Army charges amount to; but the result of the immense sacrifice they think fit to make is to be found in the **loss of labour**. The natural wealth of France and Germany enables them to bear the burden, but poor Italy has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy and a large section of the population to a condition of misery, and the young people are fleeing for relief to North and South America in greater proportions than those of any other country. In the last section I referred to the £2,000,000 increase of poor India's Army estimates. While we shall not directly suffer from this new burden, we shall do so indirectly by reason of a reduced demand for our goods.

What the New £19,000,000 a Year Really Represent.

If the £19,000,000 I have reckoned upon cannot be lessened—and the reduction of a scale of armaments once adopted is a difficult matter—the result will be the equivalent of more than doubling the National Debt, as the yearly interest payable on that account—two years ago—was under £18,000,000. The true meaning of this Imperial Policy, or insensate panic, whichever may be the cause of these extravagant estimates, can only be represented by the throwing away of some £700,000,000 of money. This reckless squandering of our substance almost amounts to the rate of nearly £1,000,000 per day for the given period of two years during which the war is supposed to last.

These millions roll off the tongue so glibly that people do not pause to think what they would purchase. It is stated that the Paris Exhibition cost £5,000,000; the Glasgow Exhibition, 1901, will possibly cost £1,000,000; the Manchester Town Hall, probably the finest in the kingdom, cost about £500,000; and one of the largest ocean steamers is worth £250,000. What a happy change we could have effected in the circumstances of the people if these annual £19,000,000 had been devoted to an ideal scheme of Old-age Pensions!

Taking a Hopeful View.

The following extract is from a letter by Mr. John Bright, dated May 21st, 1885:—

"Unless the Liberal party can bring about a reform in the matter of foreign policy, in the madness of military expenditure I see no hope of good in the future. There lies before us some great catastrophe as the punishment of our blindness and folly. Nations, it is said, are taught by calamity—perhaps we may be thus taught."

We cannot be *absolutely certain* that these bloated estimates will not be cut down. The prolongation of the war; the return of some of the troops with their depressing reports of our slow progress in subduing the Republics, and their disillusionment as to the character of the Boers and the nature of the country; the probability of our fears of a severe depression in trade being fully realised; the effects of the additions to taxation—although far from adequate; these may, together, produce a reaction in public opinion, and the old Liberal watchwords—"Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform"—once more become in the ascendant, and our deluded country be saved from the very worst results of its recent indifference or infatuation. If such a happy change should soon be realised, the present extravagant rate of growth of expenditure may be somewhat curtailed. Acknowledging its possibility, and again taking a hopeful view, I cut down the £19,000,000 and the £700,000,000 by one-third.

Carried to Summary—

(j) The daily capital equivalent of new Army and Navy expenditure, £640,000.

(k) The Boers' (our New Colonists ?) Losses.

The question whether the Boers do or do not become our colonists has no effect on the calculation of waste of life and substance. Up to now the losses have been mainly confined to ourselves; but to show the full extent of misery war creates we must count both sides.

The Boer loss is necessarily small. They are comparatively poor, and not numerous, and are only affected in a few of the items that concern us; so, without troubling the reader with more details, I will simply say that my estimate of their losses amounts to £120,000 per day.

Carried to Summary—

(k) The daily loss of the Boers (our new colonists), £120,000.

Summary.

(a)	One day's operations of our complete military force	... ..	£290,000
(b)	Daily average of charitable subscriptions	... ..	5,500
(c)	„ destruction of property, animal life, food, &c.	... ..	5,000
(d)	One day's lost labour of 85,000 men at 4s.	... ..	17,000
(e)	Daily loss of 28 lives at £1,400	... ..	39,200
(f)	„ loss of labour of 84 men partially disabled, at 2s. per day	... ..	58,800
(g)	„ loss in Johannesburg and the mines	... ..	50,000
(h)	„ claims of Cape Colony, Natal, and railway shareholders	... ..	30,000
(i)	„ loss on borrowing powers, expenses, &c.	... ..	36,000
(j)	„ capital equivalent of new Army and Navy expenditure	... ..	640,000
(k)	„ losses of the Boers, our new colonists (?)	... ..	120,000
TOTAL			£1,291,500

I am aware that we are all liable to make mistakes, "even the youngest of us," but until some one is good enough to prove to me the fallacy of the above figures, I shall maintain that they represent, as far as they go, a moderate estimate of the cost and

waste of the war per diem. Large as it seems, it is far from doing justice to the full extent of the penalties this lamentable contest entails.

Other Aspects of our Losses.

I will now give a few other items that may not be capable of being satisfactorily represented in pounds, shillings, and pence, but are distinct losses and drawbacks of great magnitude.

Take the price of Consols and the values of some 300 representative gilt-edged securities. I have not any recent figures by me. I know, however, that they stand at more than **200 millions sterling**—Consols alone representing £115,000,000—less than they did two years ago. Some people think that this fall is immaterial, as they will rise again. It may be so: we cannot be sure of it. In the meantime, what happens? If an estate consisting wholly or in part of such high-class stock has to be realised, the loss is immediate. The securities held by the great Limited Liability Corporations do not represent what they did by 15 to 20 per cent., and this is not a reassuring thought for those holding claims against such securities.

What of the wasted time of our 670 Members of Parliament, not to speak of the hereditary legislators, except perhaps of about 100, who may, justly, be classed as capable of performing their functions. They meet, discuss, and wrangle about the expense and conduct of the war, while the urgently-wanted reforms that have so long been awaiting attention must continue to wait. How much would these gentlemen have earned in their professional or business occupations, if the same time and effort had been applied thereto?

There are 15 to 20 millions of adults in this kingdom; how have they been employed? Those having relatives and close friends “at the front” have made daily search of the casualty lists and frequent visits to the War Office; and **all** have been reading, talking, or thinking about the war to a certain degree ever since its commencement. If we put this loss of time at the modest estimate of **one penny** per head per day of the population, it amounts daily to over £165,000. Few people, unfortunately, think of these things.

Consider all this energy and force thus thrown to the winds, and try to imagine what it might have resulted in if devoted to sensible objects.

I cannot pretend to estimate the foregoing waste in detail, nor with exactness, but will give the round figure of £200,000 per day—probably less than half the actual sum—which, added to the previous items, brings my **gross total** to **£1,500,000** per day.

Conclusion.

I could easily go further, and say that the labour and materials employed in the manufacture of guns and ammunition, in building and equipping transports, in providing staffs of doctors and nurses for the cure of self-sought fevers and purposely-made wounds, all leave nothing to enrich the country; and the effort and the money so engaged would be as useful, and far less harmful, if diverted to the manufacture of fireworks, which at least provide a pleasant entertainment.

The General Election, 1900.

A work of this kind could hardly ignore the General Election. It is possible that the public have recognised ere this the shameful deception that was practised upon them both in the preparation for and the execution of that event. It is old history, and I have no desire to dwell upon it; but there are some lessons to be derived from our experiences, and they are too important to go unnoticed. We are shown how unscrupulous certain people become in defence of their positions when their policy has failed and they feel themselves at bay, desperately fighting for a losing cause.

Such was Mr. Chamberlain's case. The election itself was created by the initial act of Lord Salisbury, but the power that moved him and the spirit that directed the proceedings emanated from the Colonial Secretary. As an instance of successful sharp practice and indefatigable labour it may have its admirers; and as the author and director of this *new method* of contesting an election lays claim to wear a feather in his cap, as representing the honour due to him for bringing on the war, he is surely entitled to another plume for last autumn's campaign. It was short, sharp, and victorious—although not so successful as was anticipated—and in that way presents a striking contrast to the prolonged struggle in South Africa. While several members of the Government were uncomfortable as to the tactics their leader adopted, only one, Mr. Arthur Balfour, dared publicly to denounce them, and he waited until they had nearly run their course and the result of the general voting was no longer in doubt.

Preparing for and Working the Election.

Many weeks before the election the arrangements were skilfully made, and by telegrams from the seat of war and Cape Colony—and repression of telegrams—by speeches, by leading articles, and in other ways, the country was jockeyed into the belief that the "*war was over*." If Lord Roberts lent a hand in this deception, he has already had reason to regret it: it has not strengthened his military reputation. If, on the contrary, the statement arose from faulty judgment, it will avail little to blame him.

The Cabinet Ministers made use of it, as the following quotations show:—

Mr. Chamberlain:

"Under the skilful leadership of Lord Roberts all difficulties have been overcome."

Mr. A. J. Balfour:

"The war now happily drawing to a close."

Sir M. Hicks-Beach:

"In South Africa, so far as organised resistance is concerned, the war has been brought to a successful conclusion."

The unhappy divisions in the Liberal ranks—and it is idle to pretend that there were not divisions, and divisions which are bound to become more acute, as the impossibility of a few extreme Imperialists controlling the mass of the party, or the tail wagging the dog, is daily becoming more apparent—caused the Liberal party to lose much of its real strength, with the well-known result.

They were called "Unpatriotic"; "Pro-Boers"; "Little Englanders"; "Lovers of every country but their own"; and finally "*Traitors*." The old scandalous charges against the Boers were revived, and the value of their country—already annexed (?)—was dilated

upon, and the advantages that even *they* would derive from our presence were paraded with the object of quietening the dissatisfied and allaying the qualms of the awakening consciences. It all seemed so attractive, and the election being bustled along, people responded to Mr. Chamberlain's appeal.

Traitors.

In a little time hence we shall smile to think that such devices answered their purpose. The "traitor" cry was Mr. Chamberlain's sheet-anchor. He seemed to know that vast numbers of electors would never curiously inquire why their fellows—whether working men or composing other grades of society, many possessing real property, and thereby less free to realise their interests and quit the kingdom—should suddenly be seized with the insane desire to ruin themselves and their country. In one sense, and only one, could the "traitor" charge be said to have had any real significance. Had the Colonial Secretary put it thus: "You are traitors to *me*, to *Joseph Chamberlain*," we must have answered: "Well, yes, we should be such, had we sworn allegiance to you; but, fortunately, there are few who have not avoided *that* pitfall." This false assumption of "*Patriotism*" on the Government's part has been worn thin by too frequent usage. At this point the reader would do well to turn to page 290, and see the chastisement, possibly unexampled (in modern times, anyhow), which Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in the House of Commons, administered to Mr. Chamberlain on the subject of publishing the so-called "traitorous letters"; and on page 182 Mr. Gladstone's respect for the opinions of opponents. I give here quotations from the latter:—

"I have spoken, and I must speak in very strong terms indeed, of the acts done by my opponents, but I will never ascribe those acts to base motives. * * *

"I give them credit for patriotic motives; I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us."

Public opinion will soon undergo a rapid change, and then the main movers in the miserable imposture practised at the recent election will be fortunate if they escape with nothing worse than the expression of the nation's condemnation.

President Lincoln is reported to have said:

"You may fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

The law is severe against "obtaining *goods* under false pretences," but takes no cognizance of obtaining *votes* under such conditions.

The appeal to the people on the question of the war was inevitable, and quite proper if made at the proper time—i.e., when the war was ended, or the Government's term of power had run out. Under the circumstances existing six months ago—October, 1900—there was not a tittle of justification for such a proceeding.

The mischief arising from an indorsement by the country of the Government's South African policy cannot be corrected immediately. The operation has already begun, and is making steady and rapid progress. We are constitutionally governed; we are our own masters; we have pronounced our own policy—however blindly; and must, for the time being, bear the suffering and shame consequent on our errors.

Who will be the Greatest Sufferers?

Many people blame the working men for the Government's success. On one principle this is a just conclusion. As they are numerically so much stronger than the

middle and upper classes, it follows that their vote must decide every election. In discussing the subject with Conservative friends, I have been surprised at the evident absence of appreciation of this fact when, as so often happens, they launch out on a diatribe against the crass ignorance, drunkenness, selfishness, and stupidity of the working classes. Rather poor thanks for returning their friends to power again!

The first thought on hearing such language is that it is strange, coming from men who, as is frequently the case, are the furthest removed from the working men and the worries they are charged with creating. I refer to doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and members of the upper classes—speaking generally, of course, as there are thousands of admirable exceptions. The employers of labour, of all people, ought to be justified in denouncing working men if anybody is (?); but they display the least animosity of all, and the strength and vigour of their strictures, whenever used, are generally in inverse ratio to the number of “hands” they employ. The knowledge of human nature required to run a large manufacturing business successfully perhaps enables them to see, and sympathise with, the working men’s views of the many different “nice points” that arise between Capital and Labour.

The responsibility for a carelessly-recorded vote will most assuredly be brought home to the working-men this time, and the lesson will therefore be more permanent in its results. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden believed in the good sense, the right feeling, and sound judgment of the working classes. My father’s long experience as an employer, and my own for nearly 20 years, brought us to the same conclusion, notwithstanding the customary disputes and annoyances. Although I blame the working-men for returning the Government to power, I wish to make one point clear, and will therefore say that supposing, as in the old days, they had not been enfranchised, I should feel as certain as one can be on a question not capable of proof, that the Government’s majority would have been relatively stronger.

Whilst all classes of society must join in suffering the losses of relations and friends whom death overtakes “at the front,” it is the working men who will sustain *in the severest degree* the penalties arising from extra taxation and depression of trade. I do not mean that the Tories will purposely fix upon them the larger share of the new imposts—although they would willingly do so if they dared; they have done it in the past; but rather that, whereas the new taxation and loss of business only cause the cutting down of luxuries in the case of the “well off,” they too frequently mean for the labourers want and misery, with the dread of an ultimate descent to the workhouse.

The Figures of the General Election.

Whatever opinions we may hold as to the desirability or conduct of the late appeal to the constituencies, the results of such experiences are bound to interest all thinking persons; consequently I subjoin some extracts and tables taken from *The Liberal Magazine* :—

We proceed to give a detailed examination of the figures of the General Election. The statistics have been very carefully compiled, and may, we are confident, be taken as accurate. Where an assumption has been made as to uncontested seats the details are in all cases set out.

I. SUMMARY.

In round numbers :—

- (1) In LONDON, out of 420,000 persons voting, 7,000 (or 1 in 60) changed sides.
- (2) In the ENGLISH BOROUGHs the Liberal vote (Labour excluded) increased by upwards of 21,000, the Tory by upwards of 52,000—a net advantage of 31,000 votes, on a total poll of 1,220,000.

10. Imperialism was not in evidence

(3) In the ENGLISH COUNTIES, out of an electorate of 2,750,000, nearly 80,000 more have polled than in 1895. Of these, out of every *seven* five have voted Liberal, two have voted Tory.

(4) IN WALES the Liberal vote has gone up by nearly 10,000; the Tory vote has gone down by over 5,000.

(5) IN SCOTLAND, of 31,000 additional votes, the Liberals got 8,000, the Tories 23,000.

(6) In IRELAND the Nationalists are still as overwhelmingly powerful as ever.

II. THE GENERAL ELECTION AS PLEBISCITE.

Here are the figures, as taken from the detailed statistics which follow :—

				Liberal.	Conservative.	Majority.
ENGLAND—						
London ...	...	...	...	159,316	256,047	C 96,731
Boroughs...	...	...	...	556,089	666,390	C 110,301
Counties ...	...	...	...	1,001,612	1,159,153	C 157,541
Total ENGLAND				1,717,017	2,081,590	C 364,573
WALES				133,970	88,400	L 45,570
SCOTLAND				254,531	258,502	C 3,971
Total GREAT BRITAIN				2,105,518	2,428,492	C 322,974
IRELAND				350,000	150,000	L 200,000
Total for UNITED KINGDOM				2,455,518	2,578,492	C 122,974

(Tory majority in 1895—103,814; Liberal majority in 1892, in round numbers, 200,000.)

III. VOTES AND SEATS.

The above figures show that on a total poll of five millions, the present Tory majority in votes is 123,000. If the Tories only held as many seats as this vote-majority entitled them to proportionately, this Tory seat-majority would be 16. As a fact it is 134.

In 1892 Liberalism polled a majority of over 200,000 votes, and secured a majority of 40 only.

In 1895 and 1900 Toryism polls about half as large a majority of votes (103,000 and 123,000), and gets majorities of 152 and 134!

Seats Contested and Votes Polled.

We also give some statistics with regard to the number of seats in Great Britain contested and uncontested, and as to the percentage of the electorate actually voting in these contests :—

	No. of Seats.	Uncontested.		Contested.		Percentage of Electorate voting in Contested Seats.
		C.	L.	C.	L.	
LONDON ...	61	14	—	39	8	65
University ...	1	1	—	—	—	—
ENGLAND—						
Boroughs ...	165	45	4	80	36	78
Counties ...	234	85	9	71	69	78
Universities ...	4	4	—	—	—	—
WALES—						
Boroughs ...	11	—	3	3	5	82
Counties ...	19	—	10	1	8	73
SCOTLAND—						
Boroughs ...	31	1	—	15	15	75
Counties ...	39	2	—	18	19	76
Universities ...	2	2	—	—	—	—
GREAT BRITAIN ...	567	154	26	227	160	—
Total ...		180		387		
		Uncontested.		Contested.		

In the above these 5 constituencies (7 seats) are treated as uncontested :—

No Liberal Candidate.

Westminster.

Brighton (2).

St. Augustine's.

No Tory Candidate.

Merthyr Tydvil (2).

Osgoldcross.

I will close this section with the following extracts :—

Chamberlain Beetle and Balfour Butterfly. •

(*Westminster Gazette, March 7th, 1901.*)

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(*As stated in a Speech at Accrington on October 20th, 1899.*)

(*Mr. Whiteley was elected as a Tory by Stockport in 1895. He had offered to resign his seat, but the Stockport Tories asked him to retain it until the General Election.*)

A Parsons' Party and a Landlords' League.

* * * “Elected, as he was, a Democratic Conservative, and for a working men's constituency, he found the Conservative party nothing but a parsons' party, a parsons' picnic, and a landlords' league, completely saturated with and dominated by landlord ideas. * * *

“He was always being told that he would not like the Liberal party, and that it was not nearly so nice as belonging to the Conservatives. That might be so. * * *

“Whatever they might say or do, he believed that there was in the Liberal party a greater, a more abiding, a better and wider sympathy with the great bulk of the people in this country than existed on the other side of politics and so—like one who joined the Salvation Army—he became converted. * * *

The Rich and the Poor.

“He thought he could claim that his conversion was not so sudden. Probably something was due to heredity, seeing that for several centuries his forefathers had been Puritans and Radicals. His conversion began with a measure that was introduced into the House of Commons—namely, the Cattle Diseases Bill—a bit of class legislation. A man had a great deal of cargo to throw overboard when he changed his political party. He had to give up ideas which he had cherished almost as part of his being, and after he was bereft of those, he felt a great vacuum. * * *

“He believed that a Radical was a politician in earnest. He believed that politics should be the science of bringing the greatest good to the greatest number. When he was a little boy he was provided with a box to save his pennies, threepences, and sixpences, instead of spending them on sweets. The box bore a number of saws and aphorisms, most of which he had forgotten. One that he remembered ran: ‘Take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves.’ He believed that reflected what political life should be. He would render it in this way: ‘Take care of the poor, and the rich will take care of themselves.’

A Fool's Paradise.

“They had been living in a fool's paradise for the last four years. It had not been a case of take care of the poor. It had been one of ‘Take care of the rich, and let the poor go to Davy Jones's locker. * * *

“His complaint and the rock on which he had split from the Conservative party was that it had always been a party for the rich, for the landlord, and the parson. * * *

“Let the Church pay its own ministers like others, but do not let the Church quarter its minister on the Exchequer. The policy of doles was radically wrong, and it pursued it would land the country into a great catastrophe.

(3) In the ENGLISH COUNTIES, out of an electorate of 2,750,000, nearly 80,000 more have polled than in 1895. Of these, out of every *seven* five have voted Liberal, two have voted Tory.

(4) IN WALES the Liberal vote has gone up by nearly 10,000; the Tory vote has gone down by over 5,000.

(5) IN SCOTLAND, of 31,000 additional votes, the Liberals got 8,000, the Tories 23,000.

(6) In IRELAND the Nationalists are still as overwhelmingly powerful as ever.

II. THE GENERAL ELECTION AS PLEBISCITE.

Here are the figures, as taken from the detailed statistics which follow :—

ENGLAND—				Liberal.	Conservative.	Majority.
London ...	...	...	...	159,316	256,047	C 96,731
Boroughs...	...	...	...	556,089	666,390	C 110,301
Counties ...	...	...	...	1,001,612	1,159,153	C 157,541
Total ENGLAND				1,717,017	2,081,590	C 364,573
WALES ...	...	...	...	133,970	88,400	L 45,570
SCOTLAND ...	...	...	...	254,531	258,502	C 3,971
Total GREAT BRITAIN				2,105,518	2,428,492	C 322,974
IRELAND ...	...	...	...	350,000	150,000	L 200,000
Total for UNITED KINGDOM				2,455,518	2,578,492	C 122,974

(Tory majority in 1895—103,814; Liberal majority in 1892, in round numbers, 200,000.)

III. VOTES AND SEATS.

The above figures show that on a total poll of five millions, the present Tory majority in votes is 123,000. If the Tories only held as many seats as this vote-majority entitled them to proportionately, this Tory seat-majority would be 16. As a fact it is 134.

In 1892 Liberalism polled a majority of over 200,000 votes, and secured a majority of 40 only.

In 1895 and 1900 Toryism polls about half as large a majority of votes (103,000 and 123,000), and gets majorities of 152 and 134!

Seats Contested and Votes Polled.

We also give some statistics with regard to the number of seats in Great Britain contested and uncontested, and as to the percentage of the electorate actually voting in these contests :—

	No. of Seats.	Uncontested.		Contested.		Percentage of Electorate voting in Contested Seats.
		C.	L.	C.	L.	
LONDON ...	61	14	—	39	8	65
University ...	1	1	—	—	—	—
ENGLAND—						
Boroughs ...	165	45	4	80	36	78
Counties ...	234	85	9	71	69	78
Universities ...	4	4	—	—	—	—
WALES—						
Boroughs ...	11	—	3	3	5	82
Counties ...	19	—	10	1	8	73
SCOTLAND—						
Boroughs ...	31	1	—	15	15	75
Counties ...	39	2	—	18	19	76
Universities ...	2	2	—	—	—	—
GREAT BRITAIN	567	154	26	227	160	
Total ...		180 Uncontested.		387 Contested.		

In the above these 5 constituencies (7 seats) are treated as uncontested :—

No Liberal Candidate.

Westminster.
Brighton (2).
St. Augustine's.

No Tory Candidate.

Merthyr Tydvil (2).
Osgoldcross.

I will close this section with the following extracts :—

Chamberlain Beetle and Balfour Butterfly. •

(*Westminster Gazette, March 7th, 1901.*)

“Mr. Augustine Birrell was amusing and sagacious as usual at the National Liberal Club last night, when he discoursed to a crowded meeting, held in the Conference Room, on ‘The Lessons of the General Election.’” * * *

The election was fought on a false issue. The policy of Ministers had not been challenged, and their statement that the war was over was a lie. (Hear.) The bedrock of the matter was to be found in the letters, speeches, and telegrams of Mr. Chamberlain, and their statement that a vote against the Government was a vote for the Boer. But many Conservatives did not like it. It was too disgusting to see the beetle crawling on the rock, so they invoked the butterfly, with its beautiful iridescent wings; they called on Mr. Balfour, who explained that all Mr. Chamberlain meant was that it would be so hard to explain to the Boers that defeating the Tories did not mean withdrawing our forces. (Laughter.) * * *

The true thing to say of him was what history would say, that he was the supreme wiseacre who thought Kruger would not fight. (Laughter.) From that epitaph he could never hope to escape. * * *

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* * * “Elected, as he was, a Democratic Conservative, and for a working men's constituency, he found the Conservative party nothing but a parsons' party, a parsons' picnic, and a landlords' league, completely saturated with and dominated by landlord ideas. * * *

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“His complaint and the rock on which he had split from the Conservative party was that it had always been a party for the rich, for the landlord, and the parson. * * *

“Let the Church pay its own ministers like others, but do not let the Church quarter its minister on the Exchequer. The policy of doles was radically wrong, and it pursued it would land the country into a great catastrophe.

Promise and Performance.

"He remembered that the Conservatives fought the last election upon a social and democratic programme of wise reform for the working classes. They promised Old Age Pensions, Reform of the Poor Law system, Classification of Workhouses, Better administration of Out-door Relief, and a vast number of measures which would entail serious inroads on the Exchequer. And the speeches, the excellent speeches he made, they would have melted the heart of a stone! And the silly part of the business was that he believed what he was then saying. He intended to carry out what he said, but when the Government came into power what did it do? Did the Government vote the money necessary to carry out those reforms? Not a bit of it. They gave the money to the landlords and parsons, who grabbed it, and they had got it now in their pockets. * * *

"Was ever such moonshine, such a ridiculous idea placed before the public? The Agricultural Rating Bill was an act of unmitigated jobbery, which no Town Council would be guilty of. * * *

"The landed gentlemen were past masters in the art of what they called in Lancashire 'fobbing.' They were the living embodiment of the old Lancashire doctrine summed up in the words, 'If tha does ow't for nowt, do it for thisel.' * * *

Making Hay While the Sun Shines.

* * * "Since the Government came into power they had been going wrong, in his opinion, for they had pursued a selfish and class policy, a result due to their big majority, which had made the landlords say, 'Let us make hay whilst the sun shines.' He had been told that he had changed parties from some personal object. There was nobody who had suffered more through his faith in political parties than he had. He had practically lost what he thought was one of the best constituencies that ever a man sat for, and he had to go out into the world again and begin his political life again at the very bottom rung of the ladder."

Working Men and the Government.

BY F. MADDISON, M.P.

(*"Speaker" Supplement, September, 1900.*)

* * * "The workmen of the country are absolutely masters of the situation. It is possible that the Tories, by deliberately selecting a time when the registers are ineffective, may curtail the power of the democracy, but the masses are still all-powerful. How will they use this mighty instrument of the ballot? Upon the answer to that question much depends.

"War represents the failure of diplomacy, and Mr. Chamberlain's gigantic blunder has caused weeping in many a household. At home, the privileged classes have alone benefited by the large surpluses contributed by the masses; abroad, the British name has been defamed in the eyes of the peoples—not kings and aristocrats—of Europe by the reversal of those traditions of freedom upon which England's true greatness rests." * * *

BEFORE AND DURING THE ELECTION.

Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., at Loughborough.

(*"Manchester Guardian," August 20th, 1900.*)

MR. H. BROADHURST, M.P., supporting a vote of confidence in Mr. Levy, said if a general election took place in October the full financial policy of the Government would not be disclosed consequent upon the war, besides which thousands of men would be disfranchised. They had gone to war in the Transvaal to obtain the franchise for Englishmen and foreigners there; but if they took a general election here in the autumn, when the register was out of date, it would mean that thousands of their countrymen entitled to vote would be shut out. He hoped every man with a vote would resent action such as that.

The Right Hon. Sir Gordon Sprigg, Prime Minister in the ultra-"loyalist" Cabinet at the Cape. Is He a Traitor?

(*"Morning Leader," September 12th, 1900.*)

WE have heard a great deal in these latter days about a "Dutch Conspiracy," or a "Pan-Afrikaner Conspiracy," which somehow or other was to bring about a federation of South Africa, on the Canadian model, in virtual independence of the United Kingdom. * * *

I stand to-night, as I have always stood in the past, as the advocate of responsible government for South Africa; and by responsible government I mean that we shall have the entire control of our own internal affairs, that the Ministers of the Crown in this Colony

shall be considered as representing the will of the people, and whatever may be the view of Her Majesty's advisers in England, they shall not be entitled to oppose the action of the Ministers of the Crown here. I see that so long as we remain single colonists we are beaten in detail. But if we stand as one with Natal and with the Free State and the Transvaal—if we get these four nationalities united—we shall be looked upon as too strong and too powerful to be interfered with.

What I want to see is a similar form of government in South Africa to that which you may see across the Atlantic in the great Dominion of Canada. So long as Canada was disunited it was subject to the same control and interference that we are in this Colony of the Cape of Good Hope; but as soon as it was united as one great and powerful kingdom the interference of England was withdrawn, and since then they have had responsible government in reality. * * *

It only remains to state that the speech from which we quote was delivered in the Produce Market, East London, Cape Colony, on November 6th, 1883.

What is Won by the Sword must be Kept by the Sword.

(*"The Echo," September 19th, 1900.*)

"WE struggle against nature, ignorance, all kinds of obstacles, in the effort to make our wretched lives more endurable. There are men, scientists and philanthropists, who devote their whole lives to benefit their fellow-men, seeking to improve their condition. They pursue their efforts tirelessly, adding discovery to discovery, expanding the human intelligence, enriching science, opening new fields of knowledge, day by day increasing the well-being, comfort, and vigour of their country.

"Then war comes upon the scene, and in six months all the results of 20 years of patient labour and of human genius are gone for ever, crushed by victorious generals."—MAUPASSANT ON WAR.

* * *

Two Irelands Now.

ABOVE all, this is the conspicuous result of the war in South Africa. The late Government, at least, tried to remove one weak spot from our governing system. Thanks to Lord Salisbury and his friends, Ireland is still coerced, still garrisoned, still disloyal. And now we have our second Ireland—6,000 miles away. There, too, we have a "disloyal" majority, and a so-called "loyal" minority. There, too, we have suppressed Parliaments, put down rebels, and governed by arbitrary military laws. There, too, we shall have our garrison of 30,000 to 50,000 men. Before the war the Dutch Afrikaners were divided. Most of them in Cape Colony were with us. Another great body in the Free State were for the most part friendly. A third in the Transvaal contained at least elements well-disposed to British rule, while intermarriage and other causes were softening the general relations between the two white races. Now, alas, for want of patience, for want of sense, for want of sympathy, we have united the Dutch Afrikaners into a solid mass, as

resentful of our rule, as ready to take advantage of our troubles, as are the Irish Nationalists. That is the characteristic rule of this Government. How will the country like it when its full consequences are unrolled before its eyes?

H. W. MASSINGHAM.

Mr. George Whiteley, M.P., on the "Khaki Wave."

(*"Manchester Guardian," August 6th, 1900.*)

ADDRESSING a large gathering of Liberals of the Pudsey division on Saturday afternoon at Horsforth, Mr. George Whiteley, M.P. for Stockport, said he should rather hail with satisfaction—so far as regarded his own opinions and feelings—a dissolution in October. * * *

He recognised the size and importance of the great Empire to which he belonged, and made up his mind, as all true Liberals did, to defend it. But all this rushing into the street, all this waving of flags, all this "flapdoodleism" was politics which did not appeal to him. But if they were going to have an election in October, that was a proceeding which the Conservative party could not justify, and, fought as it would be on the old register, it would disfranchise hundreds of thousands of electors. The Conservative Government would not wait until January to have their election, because the work they had been engaged in would not bear the scrutiny of other three months' consideration, because they were anxious to hurry on the election in order to make hay while the sun shone, and in order to gain some profit and advantage from this ebbing wave of khaki-ism which had been flooding the country. If the election took place in October any Parliament returned would not represent the true feelings of the people. The true reason for desiring to hurry the election was to whitewash Mr. Chamberlain by an immediate election, taken upon an issue which was not yet before the country. * * *

There had been displayed by the Government in the past session the same cynical disregard for the rights, interests, and wants of the people as in every other session of the present Parliament, and it was that cynical disregard which had made him, as people said, turn his coat and become a Liberal.

Lord Rosebery's Advice to Liberal Electors.

(Letter to Captain Hedworth Lambton, of Lady-smith fame, Liberal candidate for Newcastle.)

DALMENY, *September 22nd, 1900.*

MY DEAR HEDWORTH,

I cannot refuse to write you a line of hearty good wishes for your success at Newcastle, and in so doing send a word to those who press me for guidance at this election.

The question I have to answer is—*How should I vote at this juncture* were I a voter, which I am not?

Could I vote for the Government?

Now, I am reluctant to criticise, for I know too well the difficulty of conducting public affairs. And in the present situation of the world I would vote for almost any strong Administration. I have for that reason tried to support this one, at anyrate, in its external policy. But this Government is strong only

In votes, in other respects it is the weakest that I can recollect. Take, for example, and the instances could be multiplied, its dealing with Vaccination and the Spion Kop dispatches, its withdrawal of its first Education Bill, and its retreat from Port Arthur.

Nor could I support a Government which has *neglected that social legislation for which the country calls* and to which it was pledged; which has so managed foreign affairs as to alienate all foreign nations while keeping our own in a hurricane of disquietude and distrust, and which by *its want of military foresight and preparation* exposed this country to humiliations unparalleled in our history since the American War.

Can we hope for better things in the future?

(There are three great national reforms which cannot wait. Legislation in respect of *temperance* and the *housing of the working classes*, not on extreme and visionary, but on sound and practical lines, and *fearless administrative reform*, more especially of the War Office.

With regard to these there is *nothing to hope for from the present Government.* The housing of the working classes they have touched and scamped. They have appointed a Royal Commission as to temperance, and then flouted the Commission, and dismissed the subject with a sneer. Administrative reform could not safely be intrusted to those who appointed, conducted, and ignored the Harrington Commission.)

I should, therefore, vote for those like yourself who advocate at home legislation and administration on sound Liberal and practical lines; who would maintain and consolidate the priceless heritage of our Empire; who would pursue a foreign policy which should preserve our interests with firmness and dignity, but be courteous and conciliatory in method; and who in the immediate problem of South Africa, would only support a settlement which guaranteed that the results of our sacrifices should in no jot or tittle be prejudiced, but should have as its ultimate aim that the Queen's South African dominions should present as fair a picture of contentment, confidence, and loyal harmony as the other regions of her Empire.

These being your views, I wish you well, all the more as you embody in your person the heroism of our Navy, and the political traditions of your historic family.—Yours ever,

ROSEBERY.

Mr. Chamberlain's Electioneering.

(*The Liberal Magazine.*)

By common consent, Mr. Chamberlain out-Chamberlained himself in the election. All through he set himself to prove that every vote given to a Liberal was a vote given to the Boers. We set out the various stages in the story.

At Birmingham, September 22nd:—

"* * * In Parliament two-thirds of the Opposition are opposed to this policy—openly opposed to it as long as they dare and covertly opposed to it now that we have challenged them to an election. Now we have come practically to the end of the war; there is *nothing going on now but a guerilla business,*

which is encouraged by these men. *I was going to say these traitors, but I will say instead these misguided individuals.*"

A clear case of "Don't nail his ears to the pump." "Traitor" was the keynote of Tory electioneering from that moment.

Mr. Chamberlain did not let the matter rest there. At Tunstall on September 27th he said:—

"The electors should not fail to heed what was said by the Mayor of Mafeking, who, speaking the other day, said that every seat lost to the Government was a seat gained by the Boers."

Here are a few (and a few only) of Mr. Chamberlain's electoral letters and telegrams. To a correspondent at Pontefract:—

"I believe that the men of Yorkshire will not forget the words of the Mayor of Mafeking that 'A seat lost to the Unionist Government is a seat gained by the Boers.'"

To a correspondent at Greenock:—

"It is the duty of every Unionist to vote at the present election. Every vote given against the Government is a vote given to the Boers."

"Heartily wish Mr. Carlile success. Let all patriotic Englishmen remember the Mayor of Mafeking's words: 'A seat lost to the Unionist Government is a seat gained to the Boers.'"

To the electors of Heywood:—

"I heartily wish success to my friend, Mr. Kemp, who is at the front. The Imperial Yeomanry have acquitted themselves with much distinction. I trust that the electors will see that Mr. Kemp's seat is successfully defended in his absence. Every seat lost to the Government is a seat sold to the Boers."

It was subsequently explained that "sold" was a telegraphic mistake for "gained." It is a curious mistake which can best be cleared up by the production of the original telegram. It can, of course, easily be obtained by Mr. Chamberlain from the Post-office.

Low Standard of Election Tricks.

(*"Westminster Gazette," October 6th, 1900.*)

WE gladly publish Major Evans Gordon's letter in which he is concerned to prove that East is East and West is West. But we have another matter about which we should like the gallant M.P.'s opinion. Here is a copy of a leaflet circulated in Stepney on the day before the polling:—

YESTERDAY

Mr. Justice BUCKNILL (a Judge of the High Court) refused to interfere with a poster describing Mr. Ellis as a Traitor, because of his being in communication with Kruger.

ELLIS
AND
STEADMAN
are Pals.
ARE THEY NOT BOTH
Traitors
AND
Pro-Boers?

Of course what was proved before Mr. Justice Buckley was that Mr. Ellis had *not* corresponded with Kruger. A more untruthful and disgraceful leaflet it would be hard to imagine. Major Evans Gordon owes it to himself to tell us that it was issued without his approval, and more—he ought to take immediate steps to find out who is responsible.

Cunning Joseph.

(“*The Speaker*,” August 11th, 1900.)

WE must go to the country ere long beyond doubt,
And I'm bound before then some new dodge to find out.

Old humbugs are wearing a little too thin,
We must hit on a new one to help us to win.

Ha! the right thing I've got, so my reason assures,
I'll produce some queer letters addressed to the Boers;
The writing M.P.'s, when they hear of this news
Before the election, will shake in their shoes.)

And the best way, I think, my 'cute project to serve,
Is to carefully keep all the names in reserve;
Each person who pleases may choose from the lot,
Some may say it is Courtney, and some say it's Scott.

On Labby or Lawson suspicion may lodge,
And Channing beside be involved in the dodge;
And as calunny's course we must try not to slacken,
John Burns and Lloyd George we must manage to blacken.

Then, then, when we start our electoral tours,
What a chance we shall have to denounce these “pro-Boers”;
The electors will shout for these letters like mad,
For “pro-Boers” they well know are the worst of the bad.

Full of treason and murder they think they are stuffed,
And from that fixed opinion they won't be rebuffed;
For the heads of the traitors like demons they'll yell,
Though what's in the letters sly Joe will not tell.

Oh! how he must laugh at the tools he's deluding,
As he sits in his office o'er fresh dodges brooding.
His skill is supreme and his artifice prime,
He's the very best dodger by far of our time!

Note, page 290, the castigation that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman administered in Parliament on December 7th, 1900.
—H. J. O.

Mr. Asquith on the “Hustled-on” Election.

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

THE Election is to be hustled on. Why? In order that the issue may be artificially narrowed. The patriotic fervour which has

animated the whole nation is to be exploited, if possible, in the interests of a particular party. Finance, domestic legislation, social reform, the unfulfilled pledges of 1895, the subventions by which during these five years the prosperity of our national resources has been frittered away to particular interests and classes, even the conduct and management of the war itself—all these gloomy and inconvenient topics are to be huddled out of sight.”

“The fear of the future is clothing from top to bottom the Tory party, from the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs down to the humblest member of the rank and file of the supporters of the strongest Government of modern times. There has gone up during these past few weeks a pleasing chorus of appeal to the solitary figure on the Vosges. ‘In Heaven's name let us get it over before all the gas is out of the balloon.’ Is there any other hypothesis which explains the fact?”

Sir W. Harcourt on Mr. Chamberlain and the Labour Representatives.

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

“THE Colonial Secretary now fell foul of the Parliamentary representatives of labour in language which almost passed belief. He had attacked trade unions, and also the members who sat in the House of Commons as special representatives of labour, simply because these members unanimously condemned his policy and conduct. A labour candidate had actually appeared as a candidate against one of the former Tory members for Birmingham. No doubt that was an extremely audacious thing to do. Mr. Chamberlain had dared to say of the Labour members who were elected by miners and other fellow-workers that in Parliament they were like fish out of water—that their only use was as items in a voting machine, and that the working men would be better without such champions.

“He himself had been in Parliament a good deal longer than Mr. Chamberlain, and he knew these men better, having always fought side by side with them for freedom of combination and many other questions of practical value to the industrial class. He, therefore, protested with indignation against the Colonial Secretary's unjust and malignant attack upon men who were in every respect just as good as Mr. Chamberlain himself. It was a burning shame that they should be subjected to such unmerited insolence.”

Sir Edward Grey on Unionist “Patriotism.”

(*The Liberal Magazine*.)

“HE did feel very strongly that, so far as the election had gone, there was a tendency on the Government side to claim for themselves and their supporters a monopoly of patriotism. He believed that to be nothing more nor less than a gigantic imposture upon the country, and he believed that nothing was more unpatriotic than to say that a large number of their fellow-countrymen were deficient in patriotism. The Government told them that they did not wish the position to be weakened. He agreed that the settlement must be a permanent one, but what the Government were saying was that if they were not supported by an overwhelming

majority the interests and the honour of the country would not be sufficiently protected. To say that they alone were to be trusted was really to invite every foreign country to try and take advantage of their successors."

A NON-PARTY View of the Election.

(*The Liberal Magazine.*)

The Economist, October 13th, 1900 :—

"ENGLAND will scarcely look back with much pride on the General Election of 1900. Sprung suddenly upon the country, it has been marked by the lack of any real dividing issue, and by even more than the usual clap-trap which popular electioneering seems inevitably to generate. * * * (To tell you that you are a traitor and enemy of the country because you differ from me as to what is good for the country is to falsify issues, and to rouse the most dangerous kind of feeling. Many honest men have in the past been made traitors by such charges.) In 1774 there was not a more loyal subject of the British Crown than Benjamin Franklin, but the outrageous abuse heaped on his head in the House of Lords converted him into the 'rebel' in 1776.

We do not, of course, say, or hint, that the abuse of the large number of people who do not admit the infallibility of the Government will lead them into any anti-English policy. But we do say that to speak sneeringly and passionately of such persons as 'traitors' and 'pro-Boers,' and to declare that any vote given to a Liberal or Labour candidate is a 'vote given to a Boer' is to import a very bad and dangerous element into our political life. The most extreme opponents of the war have opposed it because, in their judgment, it would injure the true interests of England.

* * * The same abuse was heaped on those who opposed or criticised the Crimean War. What is the deliberate judgment of posterity on that ill-starred enterprise? Is it not just possible that some historian of the next generation may say the same of some critics of the present war? * * * 'You cannot indict a whole nation,' said Burke. Nor can you charge half a nation with being what you please to call 'traitors' or 'pro-Boers.' Everybody will be ashamed of that nonsense in a few months' time. * * * This sort of thing lowers public life, and obscures all real political issues. Besides, as we have said, it lands us in ultimate absurdities, for it is impossible that half the people of a country can be traitors. If it were so, we should be on the very brink of revolution—but we are not."

A very dignified and powerful indictment—from a non-party source, too.

Mr. A. Balfour on the Electioneering Trick.

(*"Westminster Gazette,"* October 10th, 1900.)

"GREAT complaint has been made of a statement that every vote given to a Radical Home Rule candidate was a vote given to the Boers. That statement is not justified if it means that every man who voted for a Radical candidate desired the victory of the Boer cause. That

would be a calumny upon honourable and patriotic men."

"Candid Friends."

(*"Morning Leader,"* October 10th, 1900.)

THAT even the *Daily Mail* should begin to lecture Mr. Chamberlain for his strong language is not without significance. But it must be said plainly that in the circumstances the pose of the lecturer is a piece of repulsive and intolerable hypocrisy. Does the *Daily Mail* suppose that the public which it has so egregiously misled has no memory at all? In its issue of Monday, in a leading article entitled "Is Mr. Chamberlain Going Too Far?" it wrote :—

The Leicester speech threatening France was another instance of that unrestrained vigour of language which is more usual in the smoking-room than on the platform. * * * it is possible to understand the grave apprehension which Mr. Chamberlain's advent to the highest office would cause among thinking men and moderate men on the Continent.

Now this Leicester speech was delivered by Mr. Chamberlain on November 30th last. What had this tardy censor of morals, this newly-discovered patron of thinking and moderate men, to say of the speech at the time? We turn over the file of the *Daily Mail*, and, in its leading article of the morning following the speech, this is the vile stuff we find :—

Once more Mr. Chamberlain has acted as the interpreter of the nation's will. The solemn warning which he gave to France is what every chivalrous Englishman would have wished him to utter. * * * A new alliance of the three Teutonic Powers—England, the United States, and Germany (with Japan, Austria, and Italy)—is something which may make these foul-mouthed Parisians shiver. If they cannot cease their insults, their colonies will be taken from them and given to Germany and Italy—we ourselves want nothing more—and France will be rolled in the "blood and mud" in which her Press daily wallows.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech provoked immediate remonstrances even from some Jingo journals. But the *Daily Mail* would tolerate no reproaches. On the following day (December 2nd) it wrote :—

Some critics appear to think that such plain language [as Mr. Chamberlain's] should not have been used; we cannot agree with them. In our opinion it was the absolute duty of a Minister of the Crown to give clear warning. * * *

Unnecessary Words of Consolation.

(*"Westminster Gazette,"* October 6th, 1900.)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN was pleased to say last night that "he might die to-morrow and still there would remain this great Empire of our forefathers." That is a great and unlooked-for admission. We wish him not the least harm in the world, but still it is something to know that the Empire is possible without Mr. Chamberlain. His recent speeches had left rather alarming doubts as to whether it existed before him or could go on after him.

One of Mr. Chamberlain's Apt Pupils.

(*"Westminster Gazette," October 16th, 1900.*)

IT is astonishing to read the way in which the Mid-Essex Tories conducted the campaign against Mr. Henry, the Liberal candidate, who happened to be a Jew. Let us give some quotations from a single meeting. Colonel Lockwood, M.P., said :—

He objected to his (Major Rasch's) having to fight a tin-pot thing—no disrespect to Mr. Henry Solomons or whatever his name was. * * *

Sir John Colomb, M.P., said :—

Perhaps the fact hadn't reached him in the remote recesses of Houndsditch or Shoreditch or wherever it was—some ditch. Let him keep in the ditch or get out of it himself and stick himself on the fence and stay there.

Major Rasch himself said :—

They had seen almost the last of the Semitic invasion, and they would now see an end to this "great fuss about a little bit of pork."

And these are three representatives in the House of Commons of the "gentlemanly" party!

Mr. Birrell "Birrelling."

(*"Westminster Gazette," September 27th, 1900.*)

LET us record an excellent Birrellism about the Registration Laws. Speaking at Manchester last night, Mr. Birrell said :—

The Registration Laws of this country are a perfect infamy and a disgrace, and I don't believe there is any cure for them whatever, except to make a clean sweep of the lot and go in for plain, simple manhood suffrage. A man should be able to carry his right to vote with him wherever the necessities of his livelihood have taken him. It is the man who votes, not the house upon his back. You are men, not snails. You vote in respect of yourselves, or you should do, wherever you happen to be.

"You are men, not snails," is a delightful touch which will long be remembered.

Here is another apothegm of Mr. Birrell's which is worth setting down :—

Imperialism is a splendid banquet, but the only people who can make a great empire, who are rich enough to maintain it, are a thriving population at home.

Here is the link between Imperialism and social questions.

AFTER THE ELECTION.

Lord Crewe on Deliberate Mendacity.

(*"Manchester Guardian," November 30th, 1900.*)

THE Yorkshire 99 Club entertained Mr. James Bryce, M.P., at dinner to-night at the Leeds and County Liberal Club. The Earl of Crewe presided over a large gathering.

His Lordship, who was received with cheers, said * * * the fact was that we had been subjected during this election to a monstrous innovation. The spokesmen of the Conservative party—and more particularly the chief spokesman of the Conservative party—had thought fit to charge very nearly half of their fellow-countrymen with disloyalty to the Empire, and disloyalty to their Queen and country. (Shame.) That, he maintained, was a monstrous innovation absolutely unknown hitherto in English political life—(hear, hear),—and the conduct of the election with the use of poisoned wells and explosive bullets was a thing which the Liberal party should neither forget nor forgive. (Hear, hear.)

The Conservative campaign had been one of deliberate mendacity. (Cheers.) In many constituencies the air had been so thick with lies that you could not see your way about. (Laughter.) Of course there had been many exceptions to that rule, but, taking it as a whole, the conduct of the election by the Conservatives had been most damaging to the tone of English public life. * * *

If they were to speak of Imperialism on the one hand and whatever was opposed to Imperialism on the other, the line which he should draw between Liberals and Conservatives was that Conservatives were content that the country should be feared and hated, whereas Liberals wished their country to be honourably respected. (Cheers.)

There was another subject which was likely to be brought before the notice of Parliament, and that was a matter which had been raised to some extent in the public Press, and, as a rule, he thought with great moderation and discretion—the holding of directorships and shares in certain companies—(loud cheers)—by members of the Government. We had an eminent authority, Mr. Wanklyn—(laughter)—telling us what was the proper line to take in this matter. But Mr. Wanklyn's communication was not a serious contribution to the subject. (Laughter.) When this matter came to be discussed, as he hoped it would be, he trusted that those who were affected by it would not ride off on the high horse of charges of corruption being brought against them, for such charges had not been brought by any serious person.

Mr. Chamberlain had set up quite a romantic standard for public men when he objected to the appointment of Sir Hercules Robinson to the Governorship of the Cape on the ground that Sir Hercules had once held shares in the British South African Company, and it was therefore all the more disappointing to find his name in such a connection. (Laughter.) * * *

The Chamberlain Family and Contracts.

(*"Westminster Gazette," November 8th, 1900.*)

"If Mr. Williams gets nothing in exchange for his late post (says the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*) the omission will be a significant one, especially as it will concur with the removal of Mr. Austen Chamberlain from what may be called the sphere of contracts." This would be a case of unpoetic justice, since Mr. Powell Williams's "interests" in the contract have been nil. In which connection, by the way, the Chronicle recalls the witty

description of a Liberal M.P. that the more the British Empire *expands* the more the Chamberlain family *contracts*.

Mr. A. G. Hales on Finishing the War.

("Daily News," December 4th, 1900.)

"* * * To my mind, the real work of the war has yet to be done. We need to put another hundred thousand men along the railway line between Capetown and the Modder River, and every man should be a mounted man, for it is not so much the number of men whom we have to fight as the vast extent of country we are compelled to cover. Had our Generals been supplied with mounted riflemen instead of infantry six months ago, this war would have been completely stamped out by now, in my estimation; but instead of being stamped out, it has been allowed to smoulder and gather fresh force, until at the time of writing it looks as if it were going to blaze into a bigger thing than it has ever been hitherto. * * *

"Concerning the Boer system of fighting in small bands, instead of in large compact masses, about which we have recently heard so much idle talk, it strikes me that the Boer leader has a perfect right to so dispose of his forces as to do the most harm to us, and the most good for his cause and his country. It is not our place to dictate to him how he shall fight. All we have got to do is go in and beat him, and prove to him that no matter how he may double and turn, in the end we are sure to get to him. I see nothing to object to in the fact that the Boer is giving us a continuous guerilla war. I always thought he would. In an article written at the end of last March to the *Daily News* from Springfontein I predicted that he would do so, and I cannot see any reasonable cause for complaint concerning his tactics. * * *

Debate on the Address.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

("Manchester Guardian," December 7th, 1900.)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman:— * * *

THE PATRIOTISM OF LIBERALS.

THERE is not a man on the other side of the House who—forgetting for the moment that he is a politician—does not know that we who sit on this side are actuated by every whit as patriotic motives as he is. (Opposition cheers.) We may be wrong-headed if you like, or short-sighted if you like, but however short-sighted or wrong-headed—however much we may dissent from the policy of the Government on this or that matter—it is because we think it will injure instead of benefiting the Empire. (Opposition cheers.)

Yet in this general election we were held up to odium as being most of us traitors—(loud Opposition cheers),—as desiring the success of the enemies of the country, and electors were warned again and again that votes given for Liberal candidates were votes given for the Boers—(Opposition cheers),—and this not by some partisan local agent, some obscure wire-puller, but by Cabinet Ministers. (Continued cheers.) I am not going into any details on that *gruesome subject*, but in the interest of that *moderation of tone* which I am seeking to pre-

serve, I refrain from frankly characterising such manœuvres and artifices, and I am content to leave them to the condemnation they will receive in the sight of the world. (Cheers.)

THE PUBLICATION OF PRIVATE LETTERS.

There is one episode to which I may particularly refer—the publication of private letters. (Hear, hear.) Those letters were of different kinds—some by private members of Parliament, some by distinguished men at the Cape. Why were they published? They were picked out from a large number of other letters. For any public purpose? No. Under any public necessity? No. What, then, was the object? Simply to discredit and blacken, if possible, the opponents of the Government. (Opposition cheers.) Even if one or two of these letters were a hundredfold more improper than any of us think, yet they were private letters. (Opposition cheers.) Every one of them was a private letter. (Cries of "Oh.")

What is said of a man in private life who publishes a private letter for his own advantage that has somehow come into his hands? Why, sir, he is visited by the extreme penalty that a society unorganised by law can inflict. (Opposition cheers.) Am I to be told that an act which, if done in private life, would exclude a man from the society of honourable men—(loud Opposition cheers)—is a tolerable act on the part of Ministers of the Crown? * * *

THE WAR: THE SUPPRESSION OF DISPATCHES.

The war in South Africa still engrosses our interest and attention, and what is the most remarkable circumstance when we think of it now? It is this—that the British public know so little about it. (Opposition cheers.) Never has a war, great or small, been conducted with so little communication of authentic information as to its incidents and its policy. * * *

I hold that this is not respectful to the British public. It is not respectful to the House of Commons. (Opposition cheers.) We hear nowadays of a thing called Imperialism—(a laugh),—and everybody is contending with everybody else as to the best kind of Imperialism to profess. But that is Imperialism in the sense of our devotion to or desire to maintain the Empire. Imperialism may have, and does have, another meaning. It means another thing when the Executive Government takes on itself to manage all the affairs of the country—(cheers),—when the representatives of the people are ignored—(hear, hear),—when the country is kept in darkness, when plans are made to evade the interference of the legislative body—(Opposition cheers),—when things are done and resolutions announced the moment the representative body has become dumb—(renewed cheers),—and when all doubters and critics and scoffers are classed together as discreditable persons, guilty of a sort of *lese-majesté* against the Executive Government. (Loud Opposition cheers.) That is Imperialism as we have seen it in other countries. Is there not a little danger that we may drift into some sort of squalid imitation of it here? (Opposition cheers.) * * *

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Then there is another reason. We have been promised a full and searching inquiry into the conduct of the war—(hear, hear),—the preparations for the war, and the execution of the plans in relation to the war in South Africa. * * *

The final autopsy may be most interesting.

instructive, and valuable, but are we to know nothing as to the course of events? The taxpayer, whose money is being poured out like water, the men and women in this country whose sons and whose brothers have lost their lives or been exposed to hardships in all the reverses and successes, the assaults and defences, the captures and surrenders, the marchings and the fights through all these months—am I to be told that they are to have no reasonable or satisfactory explanation of what has occurred, which often seems to them hard to understand? (Opposition cheers.) * * * It was not so in the Crimea, it was not so in the Peninsular War, or in the Indian Mutiny. It never has been in any war, and I ask the right hon. gentleman when is this veil to be lifted? * * * Miscalculation has followed on miscalculation—one coming on the heels of another from the beginning—miscalculation of finance, of power, of forces, and of the disposition and temper of our enemy. At the present moment the chief subject on which information is earnestly and even impatiently sought by the country is as to the policy of the war. (Hear, hear.) * * * What I refer to is the policy being pursued, or to be pursued, in the war with the view of bringing it to an early close—(Opposition cheers)—with as little suffering as possible, and also, let us not forget this, with as little damage as possible to the future prosperity and happiness of the South African population. (Opposition cheers.) * * *

We were told at the election that the war was ended. Well, how many men are there now in South Africa? I cannot say accurately, but I should say over 200,000—between 200,000 and 220,000. These men are not there in idleness or in safety. I have not seen any representation of the occurrences in November, but I have seen a map showing for the month of October all the places in the Free State and the Transvaal where fighting took place. I counted them up, and I think there were something like 80 places where there was fighting during October, and in most of those places lives were lost. That is after the war was said to have been ended. Once a week we see from the daily papers that drafts are going out to South Africa. It would be very desirable if the right hon. gentleman could tell us what the intentions of the Government are with regard to certain classes of men—the reservists, for instance, who left their employment, and whose places have been kept open for them by their employers. Surely, at the first opportunity these men should be allowed to return to their occupations. Then, again, the gallant Yeomanry and Volunteers, who, in a crisis of their country, sprang to arms, and went out to serve nobly at the front—surely they should not be kept a day longer than is absolutely necessary. It would be a poor reward for the alacrity with which they offered themselves. (Opposition cheers.) I do not wish to be a Cassandra, but do not let us forget that we are coming to that time of the year when the frightful scourge of enteric fever will be raging, and if it was bad last year it may be expected to be worse this year, because there will be the germs from last year's cases. * * *

In the course of meeting these irregular hostilities certain harsh measures have been authorised—the burning of farms—(hear,

hear),—the destruction or carrying away of property—(hear, hear),—the deporting of women and children. (Hear, hear.) It cannot be denied that these things have moved the country—(Opposition cheers),—and that many a heart revolts against them. (Renewed cheers.) * * *

Mr. Lough: Sold to the Boers.

THE CRY OF "TRAITOR."

Mr. Chamberlain, amid some cheers and Opposition laughter, said: It was not "sold." * * * The words were, "A seat lost to the Government is a seat gained by the Boers."

Mr. Balfour: I am afraid I never even heard of this matter. (Opposition cheers and general laughter.) * * * I am perfectly certain that I never used any phrase throughout the whole election which could be reasonably interpreted as implying that any opponent of mine was lacking in patriotism. (Opposition cheers.) * * * I don't doubt that the gentlemen I see arrayed opposite me are animated by as devoted a public spirit as the gentlemen sitting on this side, but is it not a fact that among the English and Scotch supporters of the right hon. gentleman there are found men who honestly think that the war was an unjust war, and that e'en now the independence of the Boers ought to be restored? * * *

(December 8th, 1900.)

The debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech was resumed by

Mr. Labouchere, who continued the discussion raised by Mr. John Ellis with regard to the publication of letters seized in South Africa. He thought gentlemen on both sides would feel that the member for Rushcliffe had been very unfairly treated. (Hear, hear.) His hon. friend was only performing a duty in asking for facts, and it was idle to say that he should not bring such facts forward because they might damage the Government. But the truth was, not that his hon. friend wanted to damage the Government, but that the Colonial Secretary wanted to damage a political opponent. (Hear, hear.) With regard to his own letters, which according to the right hon. gentleman showed "moral treason," he desired to explain his position. He considered when he wrote those letters that one of the reasons which was leading us to war was the personal antagonism existing between the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Kruger, and in recommending Mr. Kruger to accept the conference which the right hon. gentleman had himself proposed, he naturally used arguments which he thought would convince him. That was what was called diplomacy—(laughter),—not the new diplomacy, which appeared to mean that you should insult your opponent as much as possible and do everything to make him hostile. (Laughter.)

It seemed to him a piece of insufferable impudence for us to claim a change in the registration law in the Transvaal, considering that we had in this country the worst registration law in the whole habitable globe. (Hear, hear.) He was anxious to get the whole question out of the hands of the right hon. gentleman and President Kruger. Time would have been in favour of peace, and if the lawyers had taken up the subject he believed a friendly arrangement would have been arrived at. What seemed to have irritated the Colonial Secretary

was his statement that President Kruger would have the opportunity of giving him a second fall. But he believed that would have been a very pleasing thing to President Kruger. (Laughter.) It was surely a new doctrine that no Englishman should interfere to try to bring negotiations to a peaceful conclusion, and that was all he had done.

The right hon. gentleman, in sending him his letters, had asked for observations upon the subject. What business had he to ask such a question? He was the right hon. gentleman's equal in that House and out of it. (Laughter.) But he wished to be courteous, and he gave the right hon. gentleman his observations. Thinking a free interchange of views would be useful, he invited a few observations from the right hon. gentleman. (Laughter.) He had always been under the impression that the refusal to produce the Hawksley letters had led President Kruger to suspect that the right hon. gentleman was more or less connected with the raid, and in the interests of peace he suggested that the right hon. gentleman should confide to him a few observations in regard to the Hawksley correspondence. (Hear, hear.)

The Colonial Secretary was one of the best electioneers he knew. There might be better in New York—Croker and others,—but the right hon. gentleman was a past master as an electioneering “boss.” He therefore, when he received the letters, suspected that a general election was approaching, and that they would be published just at that time. He himself was not an absolute innocent in these matters—(laughter),—so he thought he would stop the right hon. gentleman's game, and he published the letters himself. (Laughter.) He told the right hon. gentleman that his responsibility was to his constituents alone, and when he went before them they gave him a majority. He was asked to give only one pledge. At his last meeting an elector got up and said, “Will you pledge us—we expect it of you—to keep your eye on Joe?” (Loud laughter.) He promised that he would do so. He could assure the right hon. gentleman that he was very proud of the letters, and was only sorry that President Kruger did not follow his advice.

Dr. Clark was not a *persona grata* with gentlemen opposite, but he thought he had been unfairly treated by the Colonial Secretary. What Dr. Clark said to Mr. Kruger was that there would be some military advantage in passing the frontier and attacking our colonies, but that this would be outweighed by the bad moral effect here. That was advising President Kruger not to do it. Dr. Clark's letter contained the statement that the Colonial Secretary objected to a tribunal composed of the four Chief Justices of South Africa, because he said three out of the four would be on the side of the Dutch. He also objected to the Lord Chief Justice of England as umpire, as he was one of the friends of the Opposition. Did it not show the animus of the right hon. gentleman that he should have objected to Lord Russell of Killowen as head of the tribunal? (Cheers.)

As regarded Sir H. de Villiers's letters, the Colonial Secretary admitted that they were only part of a correspondence with Mr. Kruger and Sir A. Milner, and the letters to Sir A. Milner at least there could have been no difficulty in publishing. It was to be remem-

bered, moreover, that the published letters form the Chief Justice were written before Mr. Kruger had made any concessions at all, and one would like to know what were his views after Mr. Kruger had made his concessions. (Hear, hear.) The Colonial Secretary was very angry with the leader of the Opposition, who made an uncommonly good speech last night. (Cheers.) There was so much official Brahminism uniting the two front benches as a rule that one was glad when one of the gentlemen on those benches attacked another in strong, fervent language. (Laughter.) As regarded the general question of the publication of the letters, he reminded the House that a salutary rule relating to private correspondence had been infringed. Private letters had been used for electioneering purposes, and he asked whether the Cabinet was to be held responsible.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(December 7th, 1900.)

The Earl of Kimberley (after complimentary references to the mover and seconder of the Address) said:—

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

* * * I must also allude to the manner in which, on many occasions, imputations were thrown upon those who were candidates in the interests of the Opposition—imputations which I think in many cases were absolutely false—(Opposition cheers),—imputations which ought never to have been brought, and imputations which, though they might be excused in the mouths of obscure people, considering the sources from which some of them sprang, I think were such as every right-minded man would regret. (Cheers.) I do not pursue the matter further, except to say that I saw the line taken on many occasions of imputing disloyalty and want of patriotism to men quite as loyal and patriotic, though differing in opinion, as themselves, as the other side. I look upon that with feelings of not less than disgust. (Hear, hear.) The chief offenders are not in this House. * * *

SOUTH AFRICA: A STATEMENT OF POLICY NEEDED.

* * * You have, no doubt, broken to a certain extent the organised bodies of your opponents, but you have utterly failed up to this point in really subduing and pacifying the country. Neither do we see that there is any probability of rapid progress being made in that direction. * * *

The Earl of Rosebery: My lords. * * * Surely the object of a government that respects itself, that trusts the country, is not to go to the country without any cause being offered, on a worn-out register in the month of October. The noble Marquis consoles us by saying that if the army in Africa had been able to return they would no doubt have registered their votes for the Government. One hears of the correspondence of soldiers in South Africa, and I do not feel so perfectly confident as the noble Marquis of their unanimity on that subject. (Hear, hear.) They have not been treated with so many comforts, with such tenderness and care, with such regard for their creature comforts, that when they return they are likely to cast a unanimous vote for the Government.

But let that pass. That is an incidental point on which I can offer no opinion.

AN UNPRECEDENTED AND WANTON ELEKCTION. What I do offer an opinion upon is this, that this is a wholly unprecedented election, a wanton election, an election for which no cause or reason has ever been given or ever will be given in this House or the other. * * *

THE "PRO-BOER" PLACARDS.

The Government conducted the election on the footing that every man who voted for the Opposition was a friend of the Boers and an enemy and traitor to his own country. (Hear, hear.) You may disclaim these methods in this easy House, on those red benches, but you know—everybody who reads the newspapers knows—that they were utilised in every town and hamlet of this country. For the credit of party government those methods should not be forgotten even in a hereditary House. I will quote two or three instances of what I mean.

One was a placard which I copied in the Royal borough of South Queensferry, which is part of the constituency of the leader of the Opposition in the other House. It was couched in this way: "Electors! Every seat lost to the Government is a seat sold to the Boers." Then came the name of its reputed author, Mr. Chamberlain. Then came the words, "Vote for the Government candidate and wrest a seat from the Boers." Ignorant electors may have been persuaded, and no doubt were, by these placards that votes given to the Liberal party were given to the Boers. But I confess, so far as I recollect, that 1,400,000 votes out of 3,000,000 were recorded for the Liberal party, and if it was transmitted to the Boers on the highest authority that these 1,400,000 votes were given to the Boers it is impossible to exaggerate the encouragement that these words would have given to our enemies.

But it is not only obscure candidates who adopted these methods. The President of the Board of Trade issued an historical placard in his constituency, in which he put in the largest letters, "Remember that to vote for a Liberal is to give a vote to the Boers."

But there is a more serious case. A Canadian by birth, and therefore an Imperialist, stood for the Newmarket division of Cambridgeshire, and both he and his opponent were absent in South Africa at the time of the election. Mr. Rose, the gentleman of whom I speak, not only held Imperialist opinions but he had given some pledges of his devotion to them. He had three sons before this election took place. He lost two of them in South Africa. On the day that he received the announcement of the second death his third son was sent out to South Africa, and is at this moment fighting against the Boers. That was a tragic experience indeed. I suppose Mr. Rose was not a sham Imperialist, and yet the agents of his opponent—a man as honourable as Mr. Rose—did not scruple to put up placards all over the constituency representing Mr. Rose as helping Mr. Kruger to pull down the British flag in South Africa, with remarks perhaps too scurrilous to mention. (Hear, hear.) * * *

THE HATFIELD CHRISTMAS PARTY.

There is one other point. It is that we are able to congratulate the noble Marquis on being the head of a family having a most remarkable

genius for administration. (Laughter.) I remember it was said of the Jews that it was the practice of the nation to confine the priesthood to a large family, and I am not at all sure that this great backward stride towards the traditional methods of the ancient civilisation is altogether welcome to some aspirants to office in Her Majesty's Government. (Laughter.) But there is solace for every sorrow. We have often felt that in the festive season which is now rapidly approaching some danger might occur to the country through the Ministers being so much scattered that there appears no central motive or administrative power in which we can feel that our interests are safe. But when the festive circle assembles round the noble Marquis at Christmas we shall feel—not, indeed, that the whole Cabinet is there, because I do not believe that even the palatial dimensions of Hatfield House would accommodate the whole Cabinet—but we shall feel that there is a very ample section, an inner Cabinet, assembled round the noble Marquis at his family table in which we can feel that our interests are safe. (Laughter.) * * *

The Duke of Devonshire: * * * If Parliament had been dissolved in January or February instead of October, it was conceivable that the result of the election might have been the defeat of the present Government and the access to power of another, and that the new Government would have to face the exigency without having any time to consider the preparation of measures to bring before Parliament. It was much more convenient, therefore, to have the dissolution in October.

The Earl of Rosebery: Was there an apprehension that the delay would have changed the result?

The Duke of Devonshire replied that it was impossible to say what the result of the election would have been. * * *

"Sold" or "Lost" to the Boers.

(*"Daily News," December 8th, 1900.*)

APPROPOS of Mr. Chamberlain's message to the electors of Heywood Division of Lancashire, "A seat lost to the Government is a seat gained by the Boers," which it is now explained was altered in transmission to "Every seat lost to the Government is a seat sold to the Boers," it is interesting to note that the Liberal candidate (Mr. E. H. Holden) had a son in the Duke of Cambridge's Own Yeomanry, who was taken prisoner by the Boers and was in captivity four months. Afterwards this son (Mr. Norman Holden), when released, lay ill with enteric, between life and death, for three months. When he came home three weeks ago he had to be carried into the house. Mr. E. H. Holden subscribed one hundred guineas to the General War Fund, and was the means of keeping open the situations of no fewer than 25 members of the staff of the business house with which he is connected who volunteered for service in South Africa. Mrs. Holden also took a great interest in the War Fund, and was unremitting in good work for those at the front.

Indifference of the Electorate.

(*"Ethical World," December 8th, 1900.*)

THREE separate judgments have been asked for on matters that a citizen who cared at all

for the affairs of his nation or municipality might be expected to keep always in view. And yet an electorate that should, if alive and alert, respond at the first call to the extent of its 95 to 100 per cent polled, as a result of all the cajolery and trickery of the most expert election agents, some 70 per cent. for the Parliamentary Election, some 35 or 40 per cent. for the Municipal Election, and some 17 per cent. for the School Board Election. Whatever view is taken of so deplorable a result, the elector comes out as a man who does not care, or who will not take the trouble to form an opinion. And yet there is nothing to gain by abusing the elector. He is ignorant, selfish, lazy, pig-headed, and a hundred other objectionable things; but, after all, he is ourselves, and every epithet with which we pelt him recoils and strikes us.

Treason and Disloyalty again.

(*"Daily Telegraph," December 14th, 1900.*)

Lord Carrington was the principal speaker at a Liberal meeting at Spalding last evening. He said he should like to ask two questions of the Minister who during the last election made such a ferocious attack on the loyalty and patriotism of the Liberal party. First, did he think that charges of treason and disloyalty against a moiety of the voters would add to the honour and security of the Empire as far as Europe was concerned? Second, did he think that a speedy and honourable termination of the war could be assisted by an insinuation that of half the nation the sympathies were with the avowed enemies of England?

It was pleasant to contrast Sir Redvers Buller's language with that of the Colonial Secretary. These simple words of a British soldier and an English gentleman had blown to the winds the libels of an electioneering Minister, libels which were as uncalled for as they were unjust, and as unpardonable as they are untrue.

A Big Majority will Stop the War.

(*"Daily News," December 24th, 1900.*)

THE reduction of the Tory majority is, it appears, "what the Boers have been looking for." We have the word of a Cabinet Minister for it. Speaking at Blackpool on the eve of the poll, Mr. Hanbury said:—

"This was not a General Election when Blackpool might be hidden away amongst other constituencies. What would it mean if Blackpool wavered within two months of the General Election, when it returned its member unopposed? He did not mean that there was any possibility of the Conservative candidate being defeated, for that was an impossibility. But they might depend upon it that if there was any diminution of the Tory majority through the abstention of any great body of voters, this would be noted by the Boers."

* * *

The idea that the Boers would lay down their arms if Mr. Worsley Taylor's majority had been as large as Lord Ridley's, but will be induced to continue fighting now that Mr. Heap has decreased the majority, will seem to most people *highly absurd*.

Article by Dr. Guinness Rogers.

(*"Daily News," December 20th, 1900.*)

* * * But here comes in the anomaly. The Ministry are discredited. Their abuse of the power which the nation has placed in their hands has dimmed their prestige, and their manifold failures have irritated many of their own followers. They have blundered so persistently that (as the pessimist tone of Lord Salisbury himself suggests) it might seem as though they had come to despair of their own success. They have exploited the war for their own party purposes. But it is only now that they appear to realise that it is a grave and serious business which cannot be settled by the most successful division in Parliament, and yet the country shudders at the very mention of a change. * * * The burden which the war imposes upon us in every respect, the absolute arrest of all internal progress which it involves, the wretched spirit of militarism which it fosters, supply material surely for a sufficiently strong case for the advocates of peace. * * *

The British Post-office Defiled.

(*The Speaker, January 5th, 1901.*)

THERE are some rather singular selections in its choice of a series of extracts from *The Times* to illustrate the various important events of the century. But everyone will be grateful to that paper for reproducing, a few months after the publication by Mr. Chamberlain of the private correspondence of his political opponents, the letter written by Carlyle on the subject of the opening of the Mazzini letters:—

"But it is a question vital to us that sealed letters in an English post-office be, as we all fancied they were, respected as things sacred; that opening of men's letters, a practice near of kin to picking men's pockets, and to other still viler and far fataler forms of scoundrelism, be not resorted to in England, except in cases of the very last extremity. When some new gunpowder plot may be in the wind, some double-dyed high treason, or imminent national wreck not avoidable otherwise, then let us open letters; not till then." * * *

Traitors "at the Front" even.

(*"Star," January 9th, 1901.*)

IN to-day's *Times* there is a letter which shows what they think of Mr. Chamberlain in New Zealand. Mr. W. S. Allen, who writes from Piako, New Zealand, says:—

A few days before the General Election last October the Secretary of State for the Colonies went down to a town called Tunstall, in Staffordshire, for the express purpose of making a speech against an officer of the South Australian Mounted Rifles, who, at the very time, as Mr. Chamberlain knew perfectly well, was at the front with his men fighting for the Empire. That officer was my eldest son, Lieutenant William Allen, who, after having represented the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme for eight years, has now been deprived of his seat in the British House of Commons, mainly by the influence brought to bear against him by the Minister for the Colonies. My son has distinguished himself by his

bravery in the field, and he and his men have done their duty bravely and well in defence of the Empire, and this is the reward he has met with from the Colonial Minister.

It was in his speech at Tunstall on September 27th in support of the Unionist candidate that Mr. Chamberlain said :—

The electors should not fail to heed what was said by the Mayor of Mafeking, who, speaking the other day, said that every seat lost to the Government was a seat gained by the Boers.

Most people will agree with Mr. Allen when he says :—

* * * I think also that, in opposing the election of the only officer of the Australian contingents who was a candidate for a seat in the Imperial Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain was also guilty of an act of grave discourtesy to the Australasian colonies.

So that even the distant colonies are finding Mr. Chamberlain out.

Summary: The Legacies of the War.

A New Government, but an Old Policy.

The recent election gave us a new Government. It does not differ materially from the old. Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Goschen, and Sir M. W. Ridley disappeared; while Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Hanbury, Lord Selborne, and Mr. Gerald Balfour were advanced to Cabinet rank. Mr. Goschen and Sir M. W. Ridley accepted qualification for the House of Lords; but Mr. Chaplin stood on his dignity, and preferred, for the present at anyrate, to remain with "the life of Parliament," and will probably retire to the calm atmosphere of the House of Lords later on, when increasing years and waning powers will tend to make the change less trying.

In the composition of the Ministry Lord Salisbury drew so largely on his family circle as to cause stinging comment from his followers. Nearly one hundred years ago there was a "Ministry of all the Talents": to-day we might almost make a Ministry out of all the Talents of the Cecil family, and it would probably last as long as that historical one did. *Mr. Bartley* (Conservative) brought the matter before the House of Commons, and said:—

"Suppose similar appointments to those by the Prime Minister of members of his family had been made by Mr. Gladstone. If he had selected five or six members of his own family for some of the highest appointments in the Cabinet and Government, their names, relationships, and salaries would have been placarded everywhere during the recent general election. If such things would have been wrong if done under Mr. Gladstone's Government, how could they be justified now? * * *

"One-fifth of the Cabinet were practically all members of one family party. How could they expect independence of opinion? They wanted vigour and independence which could not be expected in well-ordered sons-in-law, sons, and even nephews. Five members of one family put into some of the highest appointments made the Government not one of independent units but practically of one family."

Mr. T. G. Bowles (Conservative) commented as follows:—

"The horse leech had daughters, but it was not recorded that it had sons-in-law or nephews. Finally, there was the important question of the ability of the members to be appointed to the Government, for there was no doubt that ability always lent a certain charm to a Government. Here, he thought, his hon. friend had underrated the difficulties that beset the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister was in the House of Commons he knew his followers, and could judge for himself whether they were men of ability; but when he sat, like a Grand Llama, on the red benches of another place it was difficult for him to get that knowledge, and perhaps he did not always have adequate assistance in obtaining it. In his own family circle, however, he did know; he was able to detect there the latent political talents and administrative qualities that might perhaps be unsuspected by persons outside. Consequently by utilising this talent that he did know he somewhat disregarded the enormous amount of talent that he did not know. * * *

"When Lord Salisbury reflected that he had only four of them in the Cabinet—though he believed two had been appointed outside it—he must be astonished at his own moderation."

Lord Rosebery, in the House of Lords, said:—

"We are enabled to congratulate the noble Marquis on being the head of a family with the most remarkable genius for administration that has ever been known. I remember it was said in the history of the Jews that it was the practice of that nation to confine the priesthood to a single family; and I am not at all sure that this great backward stride towards the traditional methods of that ancient civilisation is altogether welcomed by some of the aspirants to office in Her Majesty's present Administration."

The changes in the Cabinet caused no change in policy apparently as, besides other pronouncements, Mr. Walter Long has told us in decided, if somewhat irreverent language, that "there was no power on sea, or sky, or land that could induce Her Majesty's Ministers to vary one jot from the line they had laid down."

Mr. Birrell, when addressing the National Liberal Federation meeting at Rugby last month, February, 1901, mentioned one way in which the Government might display their patriotism. The passage is typical of the speaker, and runs thus:—

"The war had brought us no glory. Rightly or wrongly, it had earned us the hatred of Europe, and, what had touched him to the heart more deeply, it had grieved the spirits of many of our best friends in the United States of America. As for our Generals who had come home from the field of battle, they had come home with heavy hearts and tied tongues, and, some of them, rightly or wrongly again, with tarnished reputations. As for His Majesty's Ministers, what glory had they got out of the war? If they were to take the advice which they had with such kindly Christian persistence been pressing on certain Chinese officials, and were to commit suicide, however grievous might be the gaps their disappearance would make in social circles, he did not think even the civil or military administration of this country would have lost much."

There is one feature in connection with the Government's management of public business and control of the labours of the House of Commons which the constituencies ought carefully to watch. The opportunities for their representatives to bring matters to the notice of the House are constantly undergoing curtailment, and many old members describe themselves as mere instruments for registering the decrees of the Government front bench. It is a game that both parties can play at in turn, but is improper and dangerous. Some reasonable restrictions on debate, and increased appropriation of the time of the House for Government business, may be necessary, but the new rules should be the result of mutual agreement.

Preparation for and Conduct of the War.

The writer refrains from entering upon the questions of lack of suitable preparations for the war, as exemplified by insufficient force of artillery and the fewness of mounted men; want of proper hospital accommodation, and general mismanagement of the nursing department; inadequate supplies of clothes and food—these not being his main ground of complaint, nor the points he aims at making better understood—although all are very proper subjects for investigation, and sufficient in themselves to destroy a Government; but the people are *not yet* sufficiently sick of fighting to cause them to wreck Ministers on details of the conduct of the war. As proof of what is in store for them ere long, the reader should note the following quotations from two able and reliable witnesses.

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., on the 17th August, 1900:—

"Our troops in South Africa had found that our Lee-Netford was not such a good weapon as the Mauser, with which the Boer was armed. The courage of the British soldier was the same as of old, but that was no reason why his weapon should be the same as of old."

Captain Lambton, who, although a naval officer, rendered military service of the utmost value at a critical moment, says, in his letter to *The Times*, September, 4th, 1900:—

"* * * But how about the period anterior to the war? Before pressing for reforms which, if refused (and likely to be refused), were bound to lead to hostilities, did the Government consider the forces and equipment the Boers could place in the line of battle? * * *

"What the Boer agents could buy in the gun factories of France and Germany our English makers could equally well have supplied our Government with if the opportunity

had been afforded them. Our artillery should have been re-armed. But nothing was done. Can Mr. Brodrick, who was then Under Secretary for War, explain this supineness? * * *

"In all this, what is there for the Government to glory in? Surely nothing but discredit is their due. If our guns had been kept up to date I venture to assert that the history of the war would have been very different. * * *

"Mr. Brodrick hopes the electors will "keep their minds on the broad issues between the two parties in the State." So do I; and that issue should be whether the present Government, who drifted so unpreparedly into war, are fit to be trusted with the management of the affairs of the British Empire."

The Progress of the War.

(Before drawing these pages to a close it is worth while to consider the position of the opposing forces in South Africa. Unless the enemy is suffering from drawbacks of which we are unaware, he may continue the struggle indefinitely. By tempting immense bodies of our troops to make "surrounding movements" in difficult and unhealthy portions of the country, only to find themselves eluded after sustaining fearful losses of sick and sorry men and horses; by confining their active operations to the derailing of trains and seizure of supplies, and snapping up of convoys; and by prowling about Cape Colony and living upon our colonists there, the burghers may keep the whole of our forces occupied, and the end of the war always seem as far off as ever.)

No confidence can be placed in the war news except such as comes direct from Lord Kitchener. From correspondence between officers and men "at the front" and their relatives and friends here, we occasionally learn what is the true state of affairs at one or other of the scenes of operations. Cattle and sheep are counted by each general who picks them up and is forced by military necessity to leave behind him; the Boers who surrender, and the bulk of the prisoners, are old men and boys, and incapacitated burghers whose strength will not stand the strain of their system of rapid military tactics. Take the recent case of General French's movements in the Eastern Transvaal. He was proclaimed our most brilliant cavalry officer, and yet, while he was preparing to snap up Louis Botha in the Ermelo district, that astute general had found means to pass through the cordon or net in which he was to be enmeshed, and to inaugurate a series of attacks on our General's convoys, from which, as we now know, our poor soldiers suffered untold misery.

General Plumer is sent to the north on the same errand. No opposition is offered; but as soon as he reaches the range of mountains, common sense dictates a halt, and he returns to head-quarters. No battles are fought, nothing is accomplished. It reminds one of the amusing description of other days, when troops were marched "up the hill and down again" with much the same result. Our men are very weary of such work, and "melancholia" is now one of the recognised complaints in hospital reports. No one can be surprised that our Colonists hold the Commander-in-Chief to the letter of their agreement as to duration of service, nor that our men are reported to be "stale" and "discontented," and are even driven to acts of mutiny. The Boers must be "stale" enough in all conscience; but they are fighting for their freedom as only patriots can, and to them suffering and death are simply martyrdom.

Mr. Asquith spoke of the Government getting the election over before "all the gas was out of the balloon"; well, we are fast approaching that condition of things, as is clearly indicated by the indifference the public display to the further dispatches of troops, the

present want of appreciation of Mr. Kipling's music-hall ditty, known as "Pay, Pay, Pay," which used to be rapturously encored, and the many other similar instances of weariness. The only excitement and rejoicing now seen occurs when we have ocular proof of the safe return of any considerable number of our men.

Mr. Kruger is reported to have said that "the war would stop when only 500 fighting burghers remained." Few people believed him at that time; but as we have more than 16,000 prisoners, and the wounded and dead Boers must amount to 10,000, or still higher figures, something like two-thirds of the active male population are accounted for, yet the war is as disastrous for us as ever it was. Turn to page 24, and see how truly Dr. Theal prophesied recent events. (After fighting for eighteen months, we may credit ourselves with holding, in an uncertain manner, and only in daylight, about 4,000 miles of railway and the land on each side as far as a rifle can command it; but the roads and the whole country are careered over by the enemy, and even, if report is true, as seems likely, some of the small towns we have ventured to leave garrisons in are to-day—and for long back have been—in a state of siege.)

Methods of Warfare.

Really, if we were not blinded by egotism, we should see what a miserable figure we are cutting. On page 99 I suggest, in the event of the nation's determination to follow up this wicked and stupid policy, that 100,000 to 200,000 more men be sent out. As it is, we call upon our generals to attempt the impossible, because the Government fear they cannot raise the necessary forces, and *dare not* ask the country for the money such additions would entail; therefore our commanders, in their desperate straits, are almost driven to inaugurate a system of warfare which will be a lasting disgrace to the British nation. I decline to believe that the issue of such proclamations as will be found on pages 110-111, and the subsequent decisions to half starve the women and children of fighting burghers, and the "farm burning and laying the country waste" policy, can possibly emanate from chivalrous Englishmen except under the excitement of temporary anger, produced by the hourly irritations of disorganised camps, and the frequent goadings of a Government in despair. One after another, these disgraceful orders are withdrawn—partly, one likes to think, from a calmer and more humane consideration of the circumstances by those in command, and partly because public indignation against such acts was so clearly expressed that the Government were obliged to discontinue them.

(Unhappily, even this was done with a bad grace, as attempts were made, by drawing comparisons with other cases not at all analogous, to show that we were not worse than other conquerors in the past. The immense superiority of our forces over the Boers—15 to 1 to-day—and the fact that we claim to be the leaders in civilisation and morals, make a comparison between our doings and the discreditable records of those of other armies a condemnation in itself. We ought to have our own standard of conduct, and it ought to be such that other nations will be bound, in the future, to hold us up as examples worthy of imitation, and not be able to quote us in defence of mean and disgraceful backslidings.)

There is little doubt, however, that the great majority of the officers and the rank and file have behaved in a manner that does credit to our best traditions. The treatment they received when taken prisoners by the Boers goes to prove it. The

letters they wrote to relatives and friends, describing their abhorrence at having to execute orders for farm burning—in some cases telling how they avoided or mitigated the full enactment of such orders—show the true feelings of manly Englishmen. Whether a famine will spread over the land, and, in consequence of it, the blacks go on the war-path; whether the Cape Dutch will be irritated and insulted sufficiently to cause them to rise against us, are doubts which, if realised, must complicate our difficulties, but which may soon have to be solved if the present policy is steadily pursued.

The Penalties of the War.

When the Liberal Government retired in 1895, they left a legacy of friendship and goodwill with the whole world. Consider the contrast we have to-day! On August 1, 1900, Sir William Harcourt, speaking in the House of Commons, eloquently expressed this unfortunate condition of things, and subsequently quoted Lord Rosebery's opinion. Sir William said:—

“Statesmen of the highest authority and character have been impressing upon us over and over again this fact—that we are the best hated people in the world. Not by the Governments, but by the people of foreign states, which is a much more serious thing. In a speech of the Prime Minister to the Primrose League he represented to them that so great and so combined was this hatred that we might at any time be exposed to an ugly rush from the nations of Europe. Such a statement as that has never in the history of this country been made by the Prime Minister of England. * * *

“Why, sir, if it is true that this danger exists, you must quadruple your Army and you must quadruple your Navy. What does it mean? It means that if each of four of the Powers builds an ironclad you must build four, or if each adds a *corps d'armée* to its land forces, you must add four. The remarkable thing is that when the Prime Minister made this declaration he said he really could not understand the reason for that hatred. He ought to understand it. It has grown up under his auspices. * * *

“There is another authority, greatly versed in foreign affairs, who holds the same opinion of the danger and of the universality of the hatred; but Lord Rosebery knows the cause of that hatred, and he has stated it in a celebrated speech. This is what he said, and it is deserving of the attention of the House and of the country: ‘The British Empire needs peace. For the last twenty years, and still more for the last twelve, you have been laying your hands,’ observe these words, ‘with almost frantic eagerness on every tract of territory adjacent to your own, or which from any point of view you thought it desirable to take. That has had two results—I daresay it is quite right; but it has had two results. The first result is that you have excited to an almost intolerable degree the envy of other colonising nations, and, in the cases of many empires, or many countries, or several countries rather, which were formerly friendly to you, you can reckon, in consequence of your colonial policy, right or wrong—and I am supposed to be rather a sinner in that respect—not on their active benevolence but on their active malevolence.’ That is the reason of the hatred given by Lord Rosebery. * * *

“They have left us but a narrow margin for dealing with the great possibilities of danger in China; they have compelled us to refuse, what in my opinion we desired and ought to have given, assistance to our Indian subjects.

When such a state of affairs exists, how are we to suitably prepare for the other war which threatens us, if it has not already begun—the industrial war, the contest for supremacy in manufactures which we have so long held? We cannot employ our navy; nor our newly proposed army corps in *this* coming struggle, whereas the most efficacious weapon we could employ—the cultivated mental faculties of the rising generation—we seem bent on blunting rather than sharpening. We used to hold the records for ocean steaming and railway transit; we are now beaten in both cases. The motor car and bicycle records, and pre-eminence in jockeyship, boxing, and university sports no longer remain with us. We need not be greatly dispirited about the loss of these latter events, but they may be useful reminders that we are not secure from competition, *even in sporting matters.*

From my knowledge of the Americans and Germans, and even the modern Frenchmen, I am fully persuaded we have no time to lose in putting our house in order. The first thing to do is to try and bring about an honourable agreement with the Republics in South Africa, and so end the waste of life and treasure, and enable some of our soldiers to return to profitable and peaceful occupations; and liberate others for service elsewhere, if such a calamity became necessary; in the meantime we should enjoy the respect and consideration which the knowledge and presence of power necessarily command, but which to-day is wanting, or the *Daily Mail*, March 19, 1901, would not speak of our having to get accustomed to humiliations, and to take slaps in the face with a good grace, and, of all other things, not to quarrel with another Power of the first class. From such a source this is almost enough to make a "Jingo" feel humiliated. The present condition of things satisfies nobody. Mr. Rhodes and his following deride our generals and soldiers for their incapacity, and threaten us with dire penalties if we proceed to tax the mines; the Outlanders are ruined, and savagely growl their complaints; the "loyalists" of Cape Colony call for more blood, and the wives and children of the labourers of this Kingdom will soon find their rations curtailed by taxation and bad trade. "R. G.," the well-known writer to the *Economic Journal*, December, 1900, seems to have found some people fairly satisfied and hopeful. He says:—

"In the City there is a somewhat calmer view as to the delay of the settlement in South Africa after the war, than that which appears to prevail in political circles. * * *

"Resistance, therefore, must end in time, and those who are interested in the City are content and can afford to wait. The prolongation of the resistance ensures the security of the settlement. It has involved the permanent removal of the most bitter of our opponents from large districts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, as it is quite impossible that many of the prisoners with their families can ever return. Their property is gone; they are incapable of industry; and there is nothing, consequently, to justify their repatriation. All this makes for peace in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the future. The industrious inhabitants may settle in peace all the more easily that the restless elements are eliminated."

I fancy that the City element may have changed its opinion somewhat since December last. The fact is, that if ever the Republics are subdued, and *forcibly* brought under our flag—not *enticed* to come under—they must be perpetually kept down, after the fashion of the Poles, with the attendant expense to and weakening of this country, as set forth in Sec. 11 and 12. In worry, anxiety, and loss of strength to us it really means another Ireland, six times the extent of the neighbouring one, and more than 6,000 miles farther away.

On the 15th February, 1901, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in the House of Commons, expressed his views on the subject as under:—

* * * "If you are to hold South Africa you must win the confidence and goodwill of the Dutch community, not, of course, neglecting your own—(ironical Ministerial cheers)—and in the Dutch community I include that of the Cape Colony as of equal or greater importance than that of the two belligerent States. It must be expected that the British authority, although supreme, must make itself agreeable and acceptable to the Dutch. That is all I ask the House to agree to, and if you cannot make it so, then it is time the fact should be freely stated, that not all the wealth in your Treasury, not all the troops in your Army, and not all the nerve and skill of your administrators will serve to preserve your Empire. (Opposition cheers.) * * * Statesmen are appointed to overcome difficulties, not to be overcome by them. (Opposition cheers.) We shall be told that there are no Governments to address ourselves to. By your own rashness you have blotted out the Governments. (Ministerial laughter.) If you have no Governments you have generals. Sir Redvers Buller had no difficulty in finding means of communication with

General Botha, one of the most significant and interesting passages in the whole of the Blue Book. (Opposition cheers.) General Buller had an interview with the Boers, which was not effective, because the door was slammed in their faces." * * *

The Churches and the War.

I now approach a subject which is more painful to comment upon than any of those already reviewed; it is the attitude assumed by ministers of the Christian faith towards certain aspects of the present wars in China and South Africa. I may say, and at once, that I do not blame them for not using their pulpits as a stand from which to denounce the iniquity of these wars. My ground of complaint is that they did not bring their powerful influence to bear in demanding that consideration and humanity should be shown to the enemy, and that the women and children should be treated with every respect and protected from all unnecessary suffering or humiliation.

Some clergymen have formed decided opinions on the Boer War, and consider it a crime on our part, and cannot, and think they ought not, to refrain from pronouncing from their pulpits their condemnation of the Government's policy, and have suffered for doing so. These men command our respect, and it may have been their duty to act as they did. I only pretend to express one opinion on the subject. I have said elsewhere that, much as I hate war, I am obliged to admit that cases may arise when it becomes inevitable, and I am willing to acknowledge that many estimable persons amongst my own friends and acquaintances are still unable to see that we are wrong in the present instance.

Wishing to speak of the representatives of the Church with all due deference, one naturally asks oneself whether by selection, training, surroundings, and occupation they are specially constituted suitable arbiters in the difficult, frequently complicated, and always vital questions which may ultimately involve the decision for peace or war? Be this as it may, while I should be one of the last to propose interfering with their full liberty, acting in their private capacities, to denounce or approve—in becoming language—the Government's war policy, I recognise objections to their doing so from the pulpit, when no opposition can be offered, when dissent cannot be expressed nor arguments confuted.

But, there is something the Church can and *ought* to do on *all* occasions. It can teach humility, brotherly love, forgiveness, and, above all, it can denounce vengeance. It can beg its congregations to grudge neither time nor effort to endeavour to master the details and intricacies of political questions which are on the point of assuming portentous aspects; to weigh carefully the supposed necessity for war, realizing its horrors to those engaged and the non-combatants in the vicinity who will be subject to its blighting influences; to remember the horses and other dumb animals who will be subjected to agonies it is difficult to find words to express; to ask themselves on what principle of reason or equity two more or less excited and embittered disputants—singly or otherwise—should not call in a Court of Arbitration to decide the matter at issue; and lastly, to measure the *possible* good results to be obtained by war against the *certain* evils which it ensures, and to pray *with all earnestness* that charity and enlightenment would be vouchsafed to them so that the much dreaded misery might more probably be avoided.

Of course, numbers of gentle, broad-minded, large-hearted men have acted thus. *It is with the majority that the public will make their account, and particularly with a*

handful of rabid fanatics who seem to have forsaken the "Prince of Peace," and gone over to the "God of War," and, like other apostates, cannot be too extreme.

A few of these particular preachers command large audiences, otherwise they would not do much harm. They are fluent, and have acquired a certain measure of oratory—qualities which are far too uncommon in the service of the Church—and their addresses are thereby endowed with an importance which often exceeds their merits. If the same praises of the glories of war, and of the ennobling influences of battlefields, were attempted by less capable exponents, the real hideousness of the subject would probably be only too apparent; but in the skilful hands of the expert word painter the displeasing and repellent features are lost sight of, and a totally false impression of charm and purity is produced.

It is not for me to designate these men impostors; they may be acting conscientiously; what I must say is that they are unsuited for their vocation, and the deliverance of these addresses will, later on, when we have calmed down, do immeasurable harm to the Christian faith. The complaint of the Church to-day is its inability to attract the serious members of the ruder sex after they have passed early manhood. Is this not likely to be more pronounced in the future? These people think, and will ask themselves if it is not an abuse of time to attend a service where the principles of the Master are set at naught by the teachings of His servant.

China and The Allies.

The foregoing remarks are not confined to the attitude of the Church towards the war in South Africa, but also apply to that which there is reason to hope is approaching its end in China.

I will now give quotations showing what massacre and vandalism have been practised there; and after the reader has looked them over, I should expect him to conclude that the boasted civilisation of Europe is a myth, and that the Christian religion has become a mere fashionable observance. Such being the case, we have to add to our other sins that of *hypocrisy*.

(From Leading Articles, Manchester Guardian, January 4th, 1901, and December 27th, 1900.)

* * * The Powers began military operations simply and solely in consequence of the crime against civilisation committed in the attacks on their Ambassadors. Their professions and the whole conditions of the enterprise made it doubly necessary that they should be particularly scrupulous in their own conduct. European civilisation was, in a certain sense, on its trial in China when the military operations of the Powers began. Yet it is now known that there was hardly a crime against civilisation that this international army of civilisation did not commit. Temples were profaned, and such religious sense as the Chinaman has was gratuitously outraged. The rules of warfare laid down at the Hague Conference, to which China was a party, were all disregarded. No prisoners were taken—except by the British; non-combatants were slaughtered wholesale; towns were systematically pillaged; women were treated worse than the men; and meanness was added to crime when the famous astronomical instruments made by the early Jesuit missionaries were appropriated by German officers. * * *

A circular of the Buddhist Church, issued from Tokio, says:—

"Instead of holding inimical feelings against the Chinese who have perpetrated so much havoc and atrocity upon the missionaries, we should endeavour to return good for evil, and to supplicate a permanent blessing upon this pitiful race."

We should have liked so Christian a sentiment to have been first expressed by a Christian Church.

The Chinese, say the Japanese Buddhists, feared

"that behind a man who had come with a Bible in his hand stood a warrior armed with a spear and a sword, and that the result of all these intrusions would be claims for compensation, plunder of territory, and what not."

"Sowing the Wind."

(*From a Special Article, Daily News, January 3rd, 1901.*)

* * * The policy of the Powers is a "sowing of the wind," says Dr. Dillon, in his closing words, "and the harvest reaped will surely be the whirlwind. But that belongs to the 'music of the future.'" Even this is a cool summing-up of Dr. Dillon's narrative, parts of which we cannot shock our readers by repeating, although it has appeared in the pages of the staid "*Contemporary*." When these stories penetrate the minds of the British people there will surely be an outcry for some emphatic dissociation of this country from such barbarous deeds in the name of civilisation.

We recall that Sir Robert Hart has written in the "*Fortnightly Review*" what may serve as a sort of preface and preparation for the horrors related by Dr. Dillon. From Taku to Peking, Sir Robert says, in places which teemed with happy, contented, industrious people last spring, there is now scarcely a sign of life to be seen. Much of the destruction was, doubtless, the work of the Chinese soldiers and Volunteers, "but," says Sir Robert Hart, "according to all accounts, what they left we gleaned, and, if report speaks true, little mercy was felt and less displayed, by some at least, wherever living Chinese, of any age or either sex, happened to be fallen in with."

(*Daily Telegraph, September 14th, 1900.*) Peking, September 3rd.

The French and Russians have committed frightful atrocities at Tung Chow, outraging and slaughtering women and killing children.

General Fukushima, the Japanese commander, has made a personal complaint to the Russian and French Generals, and has urged General Chaffee to do likewise.—*Laffan*.

(*From Leading Article, Daily News, December 25th, 1900.*)

* * * There is one passage in Sir Robert Hart's article which every fair-minded man will read with pain. It describes gross misconduct on the part of some of the forces of the Powers. "Even some missionaries," he says, "took such a leading part in 'spoiling the Egyptians' for the greater glory of God that a bystander was heard to say, 'For a century to come Chinese converts will consider looting and vengeance Christian virtues.'" It should be humiliating to Europe to learn that Sir Robert Hart is obliged to give the Japanese the credit for best administration, and for keeping their hands off the people, inspiring confidence, and making life liveable to the inhabitants of Peking.

(*From Leading Article, Daily Telegraph, January 15th, 1901.*)

* * * "All that remains by way of moral effect from the proceedings of the armed forces belonging to the Powers is a conviction that, as for civilisation, remarkable things may be done in its name, and CONFUCIUS is on the whole better."

(*Westminster Gazette, February 21st, 1901.*)

"The Blessings-of-Civilisation Trust."

Mark Twain's Latest Article.

"Mark Twain" is represented in the new *North American Review* by a scathing, albeit quaint, review of current wars and of the effects of the policy of Expansion. It is entitled "To the Person Sitting in Darkness"—the meaning of which is caught in the sentences "Shall we go on conferring our civilisation upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give these poor things a rest? Shall we bang right ahead in our old-time, loud, pious way, and commit the new century to the game; or shall we sober up and sit down and think it over first?" :—

Extending the Blessings of Civilisation to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade, and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked—but not enough, in my judgment, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce—too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is now left is really of but indifferent quality and not dark enough for the game. The most of the People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilisation Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty, and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years, and must certainly suffer by it in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth that the People who Sit in Darkness have noticed it—they have noticed it, and begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilisation. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well.

"Mark" says the reason why "the business" is being ruined is not far to seek :—

It is because our Mr. McKinley and Mr. Chamberlain, and the Kaiser, and the Czar, and the French have been exporting the Actual Thing with the outside cover left off. This is bad for the Game. It shows that these new players of it are not sufficiently acquainted with it.

"Mark" speaks repeatedly of "the Chamberlain game," and he begs the American people to be "franker than Mr. Chamberlain—let us audaciously present the whole of the facts."

(*The Times, December 31st, 1900.*)

The Germans in Chi-Li.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Pekin, December 28th.

Now that the joint Note has been presented, the hope is expressed that the British Government will consider the effect of the German mode of conducting operations in this province. Its harshness in punishing, without discrimination, innocent and guilty, and in pillaging systematically people who were already conquered before the Germans arrived in China, is creating, not checking, disorder. At present, though nominally at peace, German parties are harrying the country, sacrificing many innocent lives, levying fines on the quiet towns and villages, destroying the authority of the local officials, and fast provoking peaceful districts into anarchy. * * *

Unfortunately, much of the obloquy incurred by this wilful harshness is doing injury to the reputation of the British, who are everywhere advertised as subordinate to the chief command of Count von Waldersee, although no British officer is admitted to his counsels, his working staff being exclusively German. The effect on the native

troops and the Chinese of this subordination to Germany is obvious, while more serious is the assistance we are unintentionally rendering towards a *rapprochement* between Russia and Japan. The question arises should not an early occasion be seized to separate the British forces from the chief command of Count von Waldersee, which has already sufficiently impaired the British position in China?

(From Leading Article of the *Morning Leader*.)

But the looting of the Allies pales to insignificance when we consider the record of the Germans, who systematically refused quarter in obedience to their Kaiser's order, and that of the Russians and the French, who seem to have revelled in rapine and murder. "A band of brigands who kill, burn, ravish, and loot," is Sir Robert Hart's description. "Bloodshed, rapine, and rape," is the terse summary of Dr. Dillon. It is he who has described the cold-blooded massacre of three hundred "perfectly innocent" coolies by the Russians at Taku. The worst chapter of all is that put on record by the Japanese journalist. He draws some terrible pictures of the fate of the female population at the hands of the French and Russians in Tung Chau. Nor does his evidence stand alone. Dr. Dillon has already told us in the *Fortnightly Review* that:—

"In Tung Chau and Pekin girls and women of all ages were raped first and bayoneted afterwards."

In the past we have enjoyed three-fourths of China's foreign trade. The price we shall pay for the German Emperor's patronage of our proceedings in South Africa will partly come out of loss of trade with China, which will pass into German hands. The Emperor is the main cause of Europe's recent abominable conduct, and in our dependent position we have had to submit to be dragged along and take part in proceedings such as are usually associated *only with savages*.

The Good Results of the War.

Such a heading may seem strange following on so long a condemnation of the war : it is used, however, in all seriousness. There are few great crimes or fatalities that do not teach a lesson and cause the introduction of some beneficial change. What may we expect to learn, and what advantage gain, from this war?

The most important results are the warning it offers to all Great Powers who covet the possessions of Little Powers; the comforting assurance these Little Powers will, in future, possess in the knowledge of the surprising resistance they can offer to the most formidable enemy; and the combined effects of this warning and knowledge will certainly tend to reduce National bullying. Our probable loss of **20,000** lives and the waste of **200 millions** of money are bound to have a steadying influence on everyone except the extreme, music-hall Jingo, and he, of course, is hopeless. Should these calamities be supplemented by severe depression of trade the effect would be at least trebled.

The penalties of the war are already so great that the Government cannot escape the censure and wrath of the country, which are bound to be their lot as soon as the war *is over*. The people have not yet got rid of the fear that dreadful things would happen to them if the Government were changed, and a policy of "conciliation and reason" took the place of the "fight to a finish," and "not a shred of independence"

policy to which His Majesty's Ministers have pledged themselves. Speaking for myself, I may say that if I thought a Liberal Government would continue the war to secure such an ignoble end, I should feel it my duty to resist my own party as vigorously as I am now doing that of my customary political opponents.

Having seen the consequences of going to war with two tiny Republics, we are hardly likely to rush headlong into a quarrel with a Great Power; and if Mr. Chamberlain should recommence his "flouting of other Great Nations"—as Lord Rosebery describes it—it is reasonable to conclude that the people of this country would be in a likely frame of mind to take means to curb him. This, also, is something gained.

The War will be followed by Drastic Legislation.

If the war continues beyond October, 1901—my previously given date for its *supposed* close—the losses and misery will be more severe than I have indicated, and suffering amongst the working classes may become acute. If famine in India, and war in China and South Africa, produce their natural result, and thoroughly depress trade, the first to suffer in a painful form would be the working classes, and they, subjected to enforced idleness and loss of wages, would soon feel the pinch of poverty. The wan appearance of the wife, and the beseeching looks of the hungry children, must harass the husband and father, and cause him to take a more serious view of life, and ponder on the change in his circumstances.

He would have leisure—only too much, perhaps—to read, listen to, and to form opinions, not only on the political questions of the hour, but on others that might have remained in abeyance for a long time, such as :—

- (a) The present distribution of taxation and the necessity and justice of making the rich contribute a larger share of the nation's rapidly growing expenditure.
- (b) The provision of some system of Old Age Pensions for *everyone* of good character.
- (c) The rating, for local purposes, of vacant building land.
- (d) A readjustment of the license duties by which something approaching a sense of proportion shall be attained between houses doing a big, paying trade, and the small ones that find it hard "to make both ends meet."
- (e) An arrangement by which the community would share the profits usually termed "unearned increment."
- (f) To inquire into the rights of landlords to enjoy the full benefit of mining royalties.
- (g) The Repeal of the Agricultural Rates Act.

The above items would form a substantial beginning, but none of them will be taken up in earnest while the working classes are in full employment, receiving high wages, and can spend money freely in enjoying themselves. That condition of circumstances does not conduce to create agitation for reforms, nor to cause worry about national extravagance.

(There is a well-known saying that it is better to "let sleeping dogs lie." The friendly and long-suffering *British Public* were peacefully dozing when the Millionaire Mine-owners, the Stock Exchange Gamblers, and Her late Majesty's cajoled Cabinet Ministers, forgetting this proverb, awoke them, and called upon them to assume the character of Dogs of War, and little thought that when excited they might turn and rend their disturbers. *Unless I am much mistaken, however, such will be the result.*

THE FUTURE AND ITS UNCERTAINTIES.

("The Times," January 2nd, 1901.)

THE immediate aspect of affairs in Cape Colony at the opening of the New Year is scarcely less gloomy than at the beginning of 1900.

The number of Boers invading the country to-day may be less than it was a year ago, but they have penetrated further south, and their presence near such centres of hostile Dutch feeling as Graaf Reinet constitutes an element of danger which was not present last January.

"As We Sow, so Must We Reap."

("Daily News," December 14th, 1900.)

"House of Commons,
December 12th, 1900.

"My Dear Robertson,— * * * We have had the sudden discovery of an urgent want of money for the war, followed by the disclosure of a rate of expenditure for which no term can even be guessed at. Our troops of all arms are to be retained indefinitely in South Africa, engaged in duties, many of which are distasteful to them and revolting to the conscience and heart of the nation; and, although the remonstrances of the Opposition have succeeded in extracting from the Government between Thursday and Friday last a complete change of tone, and the promise of the application of a more humane and reasonable spirit to the Boers, the prospect is still dark in the extreme. As we have sown, so are we reaping in South Africa. Let us who have prophesied this very result, and who, because of that forecast, have held aloof from support of the policy which has led to it, stand together, and, while leaving to the authors of the war their responsibility for healing the wounds they have helped to make, let us be ready to take every opportunity of urging the sacred cause of peace, of humanity, and of friendship between races.—Yours very truly,

"H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN."

A Bad Example.

("The Coming Day.")

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON sharply points out that what we are doing in South Africa may be laying up sore trouble in Europe. Germany has overwhelming reasons for desiring the coast of Holland. What if, some day, a demand is made for unification, in the name of Imperialism, and on some got-up "grievance"? We have set the example. Says Mr. Harrison: "The Dutch would hate it; but they hate us worse. We might talk about maintaining Dutch 'independence,' but Europe would hear our protest with derisive jeers. (England has lost the right—her ancient birthright—ever again to utter such words as *freedom, independence, justice* at the council board of Europe. Henceforth England will be noted as the type of the aggressor, the oppressor, the plunderer of the weak; and Czars and Sultans will recede into the ranks of ordinary tyrants. England has become the byword of hollow pretensions to freedom and honour. And if Germany, France,

or Russia have occasion to incorporate a small neighbour and raise it up into 'civilisation,' it will be Lord Salisbury and British Jingoism that will have taught them the evil trade."

"Grind the Guerilla down to Dust."

("The New Paper," December, 1900.)

(IF with what measure we mete it shall be meted to us, then terrible will be the measure that is yet to be meted out to the writers on the *Daily Telegraph* and other kindred journals, who, within earshot of the churches, where they will shortly be ringing out the carols of "Peace and Goodwill," are trying to educate the people of this country in the ferocious principles of Attila, Alva, and the Spanish Inquisition.) This is the *Daily Telegraph's* "plan of campaign" for this Christmastide:—

Systematic suppression carried out now with inflexible determination will grind the Guerilla down to dust, between the upper and nether millstones, and there is no other recipe. Lord Kitchener's temperament of "ice and iron" is a guarantee that the work will be done with a relentless will, untouched by any emotion of wanton vindictiveness.

A sinister sentence this, callous and cruel to the last degree. And what makes it worse is that in these same swashbuckler columns we have a *Daily Telegraph* "Million Shilling" Fund for "Widows and Orphans"! Ice, iron, and the nether millstone for the "guerilla," otherwise the Boer patriot, who is trying to preserve his widows and orphans and homesteads from "systematic suppression" and slaughter; "millions of shillings" for the widows of the slaughterers, who perish—at the instigation of journals and jobbers—in their slaughtering task! What a terrible blend—of sham "patriotism" and real cruelty!

The Possibilities in Cape Colony.

By A. G. HALES.

("Daily News," January 12th, 1901.)

* * * Frankly speaking, I do not think the War Office really knows much about the actual facts of the matter. They are like children groping in the dark, and they stand prepared to believe just what they hope. The genius of Oom Paul Kruger overlapped our War Office just as the clouds overlap Table Mountain on a misty morning. Our officials laughed him to scorn as an ancient braggart when he told the world that "if England conquered the two republics it would be at a cost that would stagger humanity." * * *

(Is it not time the nation did some thinking for itself? How much longer will the people put trust in the packed offices which have so long been made the mere dumping-ground for incompetent young sprigs of high-toned families? Surely the dawn must be breaking; surely the night of national shame and humiliation has nearly passed away. Of a truth, it is time the nation shook itself. When in all our national history, even when at war:

with great Powers and opposed to gigantic odds, had we to face such a list of surrenders on the field of battle? When before did British troops yield towns and positions of strength up to a foe? When before, in all our annals, have our enemies captured our guns as these veldt farmers have done? There is something radically wrong somewhere) . . . The Cape Dutch can put 35,000 men into the field, and with that force co-operating with the Boers our army would find itself face to face with a difficulty too great for words to portray. The country behind and all around them is denuded of all supplies. . . .

Has it never struck the readers of the *Daily News* as strange that the Boers should have vacated the gold mines of Johannesburg without damaging them? Would any European general have left those mines intact, unless he hoped later on to return and take possession of them again? I think not; and when Louis Botha marched out of the great gold camp I firmly think he hoped sooner or later, by the aid of the Cape Dutch, to march back again. The only way, if it is not now too late to prevent a rising, seems to me to throw another 100,000 mounted men, with pack-horse transport, into South Africa, and to raise another 100,000 men ready, if need be, to follow them, in order that the Boer may at last realise that his grand and gallant struggle is all in vain, and that he may, before he is completely wiped out as a people, see that "the stars in their course fight against Siseria." . . .

Let us face this fact, and once and for all dip our hands deeply into our pockets, and send the men and the horses to do it speedily; it will be the cheapest, it will be the most humane, it will be the most manly.

Our Alarmed Colonists.

("The Speaker," October 13th, 1900.)

. . . The *South Australian Chronicle* published recently a capital cartoon, which shows what Australians think of this attempt to keep their men at the Cape. The cartoon is headed "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's son," and the drawing represents Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Lord Roberts offering inducements to an Australian bushman to remain in South Africa, whilst a female figure representing Australia exclaims "It's home, boys, home to your own countree."

We wonder if our readers can guess the author of the following protest against Imperialism, which is not many days' old:—

We have been the policeman of the world too long. There was not a dancing Dervish, or a mad Mullah, or any kind of religious fanatical lunatic but Great Britain and Great Britain's Army were sent to put him down. It seemed to him to be everybody else's business just as much as ours. We never got any thanks for it. We did the hard and dirty work of the world, while the other nations stood round and jeered at us. So long as our trade interests were kept perfectly safe and square, he did not see why we should embark on a dangerous policy in that direction. We had swallowed a great deal in the way of Empire, and he thought the time had now come to wait a little, and digest and assimilate what we had.

The extract is from a speech made by Dr. Conan Doyle, one of the Unionist candidates for Edinburgh. It may be taken as an illustration of the educational value of the work done by the *Edinburgh Evening News*. That excellent Radical organ has succeeded in producing an atmosphere in which Jingoism and Imperialism cannot live.

Imperialism and Conscription.

("Manchester Guardian," November 5th, 1900.)

A FOOL'S PARADISE.

SPEAKING at Newton-le-Willows on Saturday afternoon, Lord Newton, in dealing with the military problems of the country, said we were more or less living in a fool's paradise, and we absolutely refused to recognise the facts in connection with the military situation. There seemed no disposition to face the truth. Many people complained that we had not a good army or an army that compared favourably with those of the Great Powers. The reason was as plain as possible and stared us in the face. In every other civilised country military service was not treated as a sport or as something which was done because people had nothing better to do.

They were told that this country would never tolerate conscription, that it was perfectly hopeless to propose it, and that those who suggested it were fanatics and imbeciles. But either there must be conscription or the people must make up their minds that the army would not be so efficient as the armies of countries where conscription was enforced. What the country was trying to do was to extend our already enormous Empire and assuming fresh responsibilities in every part of the world with absolutely inefficient machinery. But we must draw in our horns. We must moderate the so-called Imperial policy of expansion or introduce a military system to efficiently maintain those new responsibilities.

Not All Satisfied with British Rule.

("The New Age," April 19th, 1900.)

THE number of emigrants who left Irish ports in 1899 was 43,760, or nearly ten per thousand of the total estimated population, and the increase on the previous year amounted to 9,895. No such increase has taken place since 1895. In all, during the last 50 years no less than 3,796,131 emigrants have left Ireland. The gravity of the exodus may be realised if it is remembered that the population of Ireland is steadily decreasing. With an increasing population emigration is not necessarily an evil; it may, indeed, when voluntary, be a manifestation of healthy national life. But the Irish exodus is by no means the willing spontaneous movement of a people. It is the forced exile of men and women passionately attached to their native land, and only driven out by bad laws and evil administration. There are still many misguided persons who imagine that British rule is the best possible rule for all the nations of the earth, and who justify the present war in South Africa on the ground that future prosperity will result from the success of British arms. We can only say that these Irish emigration figures do not encourage such notions. British rule in Ireland is slowly

depleting that country of its best manhood and womanhood.

Imperialism, Militarism, Barbarism.

(*"Manchester Guardian," February 2nd, 1901.*)

THE members of the Labour Representation Committee held their first annual Conference in the Downing Street Co-operative Hall, Manchester, yesterday. There were 82 delegates present, and an analysis of the representation showed the following strength: Trade unions, 348,862 members; trades councils, 94,000; and Socialists, 22,861—a total of 465,723.

Mr. Councillor J. Hodge, of Manchester (Steel Smelters' Society), was voted to the chair.

Mr. J. Burgess (Glasgow) moved: "That inasmuch as modern Imperialism, with its attendant militarism, is a reversion to one of the worst phases of barbarism, is inimical to social reform and disastrous to trade and commerce, a fruitful cause of war, destructive of freedom, fraught with menace to representative institutions at home and abroad, and must end in the destruction of democracy, this Congress desires most earnestly to impress upon the working class the urgent need there is for combating this dangerous and barbaric development in all its manifestations." The resolution was agreed to without any speeches, and the Conference accepted with equal readiness the following resolution, moved, on behalf of the Independent Labour Party, by Mr. J. Harker (Manchester): "This Congress, believing the harrowing war in South Africa to be mainly due to the corrupt agitation of the Transvaal mine-owners, having for its object the acquisition of monopolies, and a cheap supply of coloured and European labour, protests against the destruction of the two Republics as being contrary to all our ideals of national political justice, and respectfully invites the Government to endeavour to terminate hostilities by offering to submit to arbitration, under the provisions of the Hague Convention, all matters in dispute between Great Britain and the two States with which we are at war."

It was arranged that the next conference should be held in Birmingham. An evening demonstration in the Free Trade Hall was abandoned on account of the Queen's funeral.

Hospital Funds and the War.

(*"Morning Leader," October 10th, 1900.*)

TIME and again has it been shown that the trail of the war is across every department of our daily life.

It has affected the prices of everything, from a cup of coffee to a scrubbing-brush, and from a pair of boots to a football.

Much more serious, however, is the influence which the various war funds have exerted on the finances of our hospitals. In one or two cases that influence has been not far short of disastrous.

Mr. Bunn, the indefatigable secretary of the Hospital Saturday Fund, has been good enough to procure some figures which bear this out with melancholy completeness. He wrote to 87 different medical institutions asking for particulars as to their income this year. Up to date he has received 39 answers, and here are a few of the results.

HOSPITALS' DECREASED REVENUE.

As compared with the same period of last year, the incomes—to take the principal hospitals—show fallings off as follows:—

HOSPITAL.	DECREASE IN REVENUE.
St. Thomas's.....	£7,500
King's College.....	2,900
City Orthopædic.....	1,000
Cancer.....	4,928
Great Northern.....	2,076

Against these serious decreases there are a few beggarly increases, the highest of which is £698 in the case of the East-end Lying-in Hospital, and £207 in the case of the North-eastern Hospital for Children. Altogether, taking increases with decreases, the incomes of the 39 institutions which have replied to the Hospital Saturday secretary's inquiry so far show a total diminution of £20,727. What that indicates to the poor of the Metropolis is easy to imagine.

HOW THE POOR WILL BE AFFECTED.

Take the St. Thomas's Hospital alone. This institution, which seems to have been the hardest hit of all, treats 70,000 patients every year. King's College Hospital again deals with 24,000 cases.

Results of Tory Foreign Policy.

(Leading Article, *"Daily Telegraph," January 7th, 1901.*)

EVERY competent politician has been aware, since the annexation of Port Arthur, that Manchuria was predestined, from that moment, to become as Russian as Moscow; and to regard the practical accomplishment of the fact with either panic or surprise would be to show oneself destitute of the most elementary faculty of foreseeing the inevitable or accepting it when realised. * * * But if the popular hostility of the Continent is to be abated, an ultimate coalition against us averted, and the foreign policy of this country restored to an assured and permanent basis of diplomatic strength, there is one golden rule which must be observed, whether in the expression of popular opinion or the views of those who aspire to guide it. We should never nag where we do not mean to act. We must not threaten except where we intend to fight. * * *

We have been already warned from Berlin, in the unmistakable manner which was of course to be anticipated by anyone acquainted with the principles of German policy, that if we desired to give practical shape to an antagonistic attitude on this matter, we should stand alone. * * * The plain English of this is that Persia in case of conflict would be the ally of Russia, and if any such arrangement had been concluded it would simply mean that Persia had already become the annexe of Russia. * * *

By threatening where we have not been prepared to prevent, we have not arrested her progress, and have taken the most gratuitous trouble to enhance her prestige at the expense of our own. * * *

Difficulties Requiring Real Statesmen.

Catechism for the Constituencies by (Mr. Stead.)

Q. That is the first great change. What is the second?

A. There are two other elements in the population of South Africa, the British and blacks. The latter have watched with keen interest the spectacle of the two white races worrying each other to death. They have been kept quiet by the payment of enormous wages. When the war is over, it will probably be followed by native risings, accompanied as always by horrible outbursts of savagery on both sides.

Q. But can the British not be relied upon to hold South Africa for the Empire?

A. Unfortunately the British, although very enthusiastic in their expressions of lip loyalty at the present moment, do not make any pretence that their loyalty will last a day longer than they are allowed to have their own way. Those who assume so confidently that the British at the Cape will eagerly acquiesce in the rule of Downing Street are strangely blind to the lessons of the past history, or to the nature of the men of whom they are speaking. * * *

When the mines are reopened in Johannesburg there will flock once more to the Rand thousands of adventurers from all countries in the world. There are Germans, Russians, Americans, Poles, and Frenchmen. These men cannot be expected to have a particle of enthusiasm for the British Empire. Yet they will probably constitute the majority of the non-Dutch white population in the Transvaal. Most of the shares in the Rand gold mines are held by French and Germans, and Germany has always maintained that she has interests in the Transvaal which she means to defend.

Q. But how is the British Empire likely to come into collision with this foreign element?

A. It will do so the moment it attempts to impose upon the mine-owners or the mining population the burden of defraying any of the cost of the present war, or carrying out any policy which the heterogeneous cosmopolitan foreign element may not regard as essential to its material interests.

Q. Have we had any experience of Downing Street rule in mining camps in South Africa?

A. Yes, it was only three years after Downing Street had established its authority over Kimberley before that mining camp broke out into open rebellion. A British regiment had to be sent up to put an end to the disorder.

Q. Is Johannesburg likely to be more submissive than Kimberley?

A. Quite the reverse, for the foreign element in Johannesburg is so much greater than that which was to be found in Kimberley. How little Johannesburg may be relied upon was proved by the fact that Mr. Rhodes has always alleged as justification for his entering into the Jameson Conspiracy, that he believed that if he had not taken a hand in the plot, the Outlanders would have established a Government of their own on the Rand, which would have been much more hostile to that of Great Britain than President Kruger himself.

Q. What, then, is the outlook in South Africa?

A. It is very, very black and dark. It justifies the gloomy prediction of Prince Bismarck that *South Africa will some day be the grave of the British Empire.*

Q. And to what is this due?

A. Entirely to the action of the Government, which has intensified every difficulty, strengthened every element of danger, and is now proposing to set up a system of government which will serve to rally against us every element that is fatal to the maintenance of British authority in South Africa.

Q. What is the best that can be hoped for?

A. If the present policy is not reversed, and the policy of absolute coercion replaced by one of absolute conciliation, the best that we can hope for is that in ten or twenty years we may be able to maintain our hold upon Capetown, and Simon's Bay, as a naval base of the Empire, in the same way that we hold Gibraltar as a naval base at the extremity of Spain. We shall be lucky if we can save that from the general shipwreck of British interests that has been brought about by the statesmanship of Joseph Chamberlain.

The War that is Coming.

(*"Daily News," December 18th, 1900.*)

Some Practical Suggestions by A. G. Hales.

* * * Writing of De Wet reminds me of a remark often used by those who have so freely sat in judgment upon work of mine which has appeared in the columns of the *Daily News*. Who is this person? they ask; what does he know of soldiering? where did he get a military training? what right has he to criticise? I will answer these questions by asking others. Where did Christian de Wet get his military training? what did he know of soldiering till he met our own men in the field? Where did Louis Botha, Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army, get his military training? What did he know of practical war right up to the moment when he pitted his shrewd workman's brains against the trained intelligence of Sir Redvers Buller? * * * He rides light who rides fast, and until we adopt some such system as that which I so many months ago suggested, we will continue to be the laughing-stock of Europe.

300,000 HORSES NEEDED.

The burghers feed their horses principally upon veldt grass; why can we not do likewise? There is no scarcity of water. Boer commandos never take up a position where they cannot get water for their horses from the sluits, and what does for them should do for us. As things are now, we chase De Wet until our men are knocked up; then he turns upon us, and the hunter becomes the hunted. The public do not know these things, thanks to the beautiful system of censorship adopted by army officials, but by-and-bye they will know them, and they will not then wonder why our prestige as a nation has suffered so severely. I know that it is easy to find fault, and hard to suggest remedies. Therefore, even in the awful presence of the War Office, I have dared to suggest the almost utter abandonment of a principle of transport that was rather out of date in Cæsar's time. My suggestion means that something like three hundred thousand more horses are needed in Africa at the present moment. They will cost a lot of money. But they will not cost nearly so much as this war will cost without them. * * *

Practising Christianity is Unfashionable.

(*"Star," December 31st, 1900.*)

* * * In China Western civilisation is rivalling Eastern civilisation in its savagery. Japan is seen gravely adjudicating on the claims of the various Western nations to a pre-eminence in murder, outrage, and rapine. The nations look on with indifference. The standard of morality has declined so low that crime need only be international or national in order to be immune.

The cynical European temper which allowed the Sultan to massacre the Armenians permits any infamy done in the name of a State or an ambition. As the century dies the shrieks of the Armenians once more ring in our ears. Nobody cares. England has congratulated the Great Assassin. The Great Assassin has given England his benediction on her attempt to extirpate the Dutch Republics. The European Powers profess to pity the Boers and to execrate England, but they would do the same in the same circumstances. One and all, they are moved only by lust of power and greed of gain. * * * In the débâcle of the Whitaker Wright group the name and fame of the Marquess of Dufferin is most unhappily involved. It is a sad omen when we find the greatest British diplomatist of these latter years ending his career in company so malodorous.

The condition of the British people offers us no comfort. The national cancer, drink, is eating out our vitality, and our statesmen are still supine. The terrible problem of overcrowding threatens to undermine the manhood of the nation. The newspaper Press, which used to be our safeguard, has become our greatest peril. The search for sensation overrides everything else. Even our oldest and staidest journals stoop to inflame the passions of the mob. They lashed England into the South African war by infuriating the crowd with lies invented by the kept calumniators of the Rhodesian cabal.

What hope can be descried on the horizon? Frankly, we see little. The times cry out for a strong man, a good man, a man who will face the fool-fury of the mob and scourge it into sober sense.

Gladstone! thou should'st be living at this hour,
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men.
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.

(*"Star," January 1st, 1901.*)

* * * There are healthy signs in the self-questionings with which we are saluting the new century. The gay optimism of the early days of the war is gone. A sober and solemn curiosity tinged with anxiety is manifest in our outlook. We are chastened and humbled by the many weaknesses and inefficiencies which the closing years of the nineteenth century have revealed to us. We are bewildered by the discovery that we are not omnipotent. * * * We have lost for the time the secret of England's greatness, namely, that her rule depends upon love and law, rather than upon subjugation and coercion. We have Germanised ourselves, and the result is anarchy in South Africa. Will we retrace our steps?

Dean Farrar's Gloomy Forebodings.

(*"Daily News," December 31st, 1900.*)

HISTORY should have but one phrase, and that was righteousness—the righteousness which exalteth a nation. What in that sense would be the output of the century? We were assured that our commerce was in a state of uncertain equilibrium. Prophecies were dark; problems, social and political, were not easier, but more complex than they had been in any former age. Industrial depression was coming slowly and surely upon us. Germans and Americans were severely competing with, if not surpassing, us as the great workshops of the world. Why? Because they were better instructed; they knew more, and were less devoted to amusement. We were in danger of the most perilous form of dry rot. These were the opinions of the best experts. In spite of all warnings, should we go on in foolish self-confidence?

In many respects our boasted civilisation was a mere picture. In London alone there were 300,000 paupers. Suicides had increased in percentage; and the increase of paupers was in proportion larger than that of the well-to-do. Utter callousness prevailed. The nations of Europe were stirring and guarding their populations from sufferings such as ours. They had shown themselves moresane, more conscientious, than we were. The drink bill of 1899 was £163,000,000, and was considerably in excess of that of 1898, with a corresponding increase in pauperism, lunacy, and crime. This canker was eating into every phase of civil life. Why did not nations listen to the warnings of statesmen? The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Sir W. Harcourt had shown that we were consuming more intoxicating liquor than any other nation under the sun. So, too, said Lord Rosebery and the late Mr. Gladstone. This national curse was a great and lamentable curse, the great difficulty of our philanthropists and our magistrates. It meant filth, disease, misery, death, national degradation, and loss of national character. Yet, in spite of all the misery which the papers daily brought before us, we went blindly on to wholesale misery and ruin.

The Rev. G. M. Sheldon told him he had seen more drunkenness in England in one year than he had seen in his whole lifetime in his own native land. Were we to be indifferent to all this? Was it to overcome us like a summer cloud without awakening our indignation? It was said that England had too long been against progress, too long in favour of the few against the many; fostering the most deadly errors of ignorance and destruction. What was there but Christ's Gospel to rectify these conditions in the leprosy of life? The future of England was full of most imminent peril; peril to our commerce, peril to our whole national life. It was incumbent on us to arouse ourselves. 'The river of our national life should not be allowed to stagnate in a backwater of evil. He was no more a pessimist than were the Apostles of Israel, who did not fear to point out the perils of their nation. If we were more true, less apathetic, less petty, less self-conscious, less self-indulgent, more active for truth and righteousness, he should not be a pessimist, but the most hopeful of optimists.'

Dean Kitchin on the War.

("Daily News," February 12th, 1901.)

TENDENCIES TO DEMORALISATION.

LAST night Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Durham, presiding at the annual meeting of the Darlington Peace Association, said: We shall have immense sums to pay for the war, affecting the Funds, upsetting economic laws, and acting disadvantageously on trade and commerce. He had been very distressed at the pulpit utterances in favour of the war during the past year. (Applause.) To his mind it was a kind of blasphemy. War brought out the worst qualities, contrary to what they heard of its purifying the nation. He had noticed demoralisation after the Crimean War. All war had a tendency to demoralise the men engaged in it. He could not help thinking that this war would have the result of lowering the moral tone of the English people. He deprecated the war being carried through, as was said in South Africa, against people trying to save their own liberty. We should not try to crush or stamp out the whole body of those people, but come to such terms as would be honourable to them and not dishonourable to us. (Applause.) England had always been the friend of small States; let us not now turn our backs on that principle. (Applause.)

Lord Roberts's Proclamations.

To the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian."

SIR,—We have observed with profound regret that the continuance of hostilities in South Africa between this country and the Boers is attended by measures of increasing severity, and tends to even wider departures from the rules and practices of civilised warfare. The tendency in recent military proclamations and administration has been to set aside the rules adopted by the Hague Conference as to the means of inflicting injury upon the enemy, especially as set forth in—Article 45. "Any pressure upon the population of occupied territory to take the oath to the hostile Power is prohibited." Article 47. "Looting is formally forbidden." Article 50. "No collective penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be levied on populations by reason of individual incidents for which they could not be considered collectively responsible."

We submit that departure from these salutary provisions cannot but entail suffering and wrong upon many innocent and defenceless persons, and must needlessly delay the future establishment of relations of friendliness and goodwill amongst Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa, besides which, the destruction of private property and the destitution and misery brought upon women and children, which are incidental to the policy now being pursued in the prosecution of the war, are a growing burden upon the public conscience.

Only the utmost necessity can justify measures of this kind, and so long as no other terms than absolute and unconditional surrender are offered to the opposing forces we cannot be satisfied that such necessity exists.—Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

Edward Lee Hicks, M.A., Canon of Manchester, Rector of St. Philips, Salford, sometime

Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; (Rev.) Alexr. McLaren, (Rev.) Saml. F. Collier; Margaret Irwin, President Manchester Women's Peace Association; J. Renshaw Bailey, Congregational Minister, Eccles; William E. Codling, Wesleyan Minister, Eccles; Samuel Pearson, M.A., Broughton Park; Charles Williams, Accrington; Frederick Overend, Bacup, President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Baptist Association; Harold Knott; A. E. Hawkes, M.D., Liverpool; (Rev.) Priestley Prime, Heaton Moor; (Rev.) E. L. H. Thomas, B.A., Handforth, Cheshire; (Rev.) H. Enfield Dowson, M.A., Gee Cross, Hyde; (Rev.) R. Travers Herford, B.A., Stand, near Manchester; Frank Harland, Manchester; Hugh V. Herford, Manchester; (Rev.) Charles Peach, Manchester; (Rev.) S. Alfred Steinthal, Manchester; Geo. Wm. Rayner Wood, J.P., Manchester; (Rev.) P. K. Batchan, M.A., Heaton Moor; W. Simpson, Broomfield Road, Heaton Moor; (Rev.) C. J. Street, M.A., LL.B., Bolton; (Councillor) Wm. Trevor, J.P., Newton Heath; (Alderman) Wm. Birkbeck, Clayton Bridge; Charles W. Godbert, Clayton Bridge; Thomas Horrocks, Newton Heath; Alfred Edge, 24, Thorndale Avenue, Belfast; Jas. N. Walker, Newton Heath; Thos. Taylor, Newton Heath; Nicholas Edge, Newton Heath; Thomas Longworth, Newton Heath; C. A. Walls, Broadhurst Road, Moston; Erskine Trevor, Newton Heath; (Councillor) P. Whyman, Alderley Edge; (Councillor) D. McCabe, Manchester; (Councillor) John Royle, Manchester; (Rev.) W. H. Fothergill, Briarfield, Middleton; (Rev.) W. Vause, Park House, Middleton; (Rev.) F. N. Shimmin, Archer Park, Middleton; W. G. Townend, Northfield, Middleton; Henry Thorpe, 51, Rochdale Road, Middleton; E. J. Howarth, Woodside, Middleton; Geo. Howarth, Woodside, Middleton; Robt. Wroe, Taylor Street, Middleton; Thomas Webster, Manchester Old Road, Middleton; (Rev.) T. M. Phillips, 14, Aspinall Street, Middleton; H. Ingham, Harold Street, Middleton; T. Duxbury, Rothsay Terrace, Middleton; C. Mellor, Lodge Bank, Middleton; Abraham Stansfield, Silk Street, Middleton; S. P. Chapman, Durnford Street, Middleton; William Booth, 27, Burton Street, Middleton; William Pollitt, 1, Whitaker Street, Middleton; John Pearson, 17, Taylor Street, Middleton; Geo. F. Jackson, Mellalieu Street, Middleton; Henry Fairbrother, Oldham Road; (Rev.) Frederick Oliver, Middleton Junction, Manchester; D. Jopson, Holly Bank, Middleton; (Rev.) J. Edward Roberts, M.A., B.D., (Rev.) Hector V. Thomas, (Rev.) Andrew Bowden, (Rev.) E. Knight Everett, (Rev.) Thos. Armstrong, (Rev.) Alfd. Johnson, (Rev.) Thos. Wm. Thomasson, (Rev.) Robert Jones, (Rev.) William Owen, (Rev.) C. H. Watkins, (Rev.) John Dyer Bray, (Rev.) Edward Peake, (Rev.) G. N. Williams, (Rev.) L. M. Thomas, (Rev.) Vincent J. Cooper, (Rev.) J. Kirk Maconachie, (Professor) Herbert Ellis, M.A., (Rev.) Arnold Streuli.

December 18th, 1900.

The Coming Century.

("Morning Leader," January 1st, 1901.)

It is not perhaps the least interesting of all the signs of the times that the civilised world

should sit down on the first day of a new century to ask itself what are the chief dangers of the coming era. * * * The very variety of the answers bears witness to our confusion. * * * To be sure, the Press exercises a power that it never possessed before, and exercises it too often ill enough. It stands equally in danger of the financier and the demagogue who may have the wit to use it. But the Press, after all, is only the epitome of the day's tendencies. It gives them shape and uniformity. A creative force it is not. It is the diary of a people's deeds, a confessional of a people's thoughts. Its record is not in the long run worse than our deeds, its comments cannot for long together fall below the level of our thinking. Those who feel dismayed when they think of the Press as their guide through the coming century would do well to go deeper, and ask themselves whether the aberrations of the Press are not simply the faithful reflection of defects in our civilisation. * * * We care more about the acquisition of a strip of territory in South Africa than we do about the passage of a reform at home, more about the extension of our arid and faithless civilisation at the expense of a tribe of niggers, than about the diffusion of its ideas or its material comforts among our own population. * * * Militarism and the greed of the moneyed classes are the two concrete evils we have to combat. We can fight them most effectively by insisting that peace, righteousness, and contentment are the only real and permanent elements in the grandeur and the glory of a nation.

"New Century" Fears and Hopes.

(*"Daily News"* and *"Westminster Gazette,"*
December 31st, 1900.)

A FAMILIAR form of journalistic enterprise has secured for the *People's Journal* and the *New York World* a number of messages appropriate to the occasion from "lights" of the English-speaking worlds.

Mrs. EMILY CRAWFORD: Over-excitement. Present-day over-excitement is really as destructive to all the higher faculties as alcohol, and things seem going from bad to worse. I notice the same weakening effect on the English as on the French, notwithstanding the difference of climate and temperament.

Miss BRADDON: The homage paid to wealth.

Miss ELLEN TERRY: A lack of simplicity—in thought, manners, and customs.

Viscountess HARBERTON: The lack of steadfastness of purpose in individuals, combined with an excessive craving for amusement and for paltry decorative display in domestic life, which is producing an apathy among the whole body of the people, enabling them to tolerate with equanimity Governments that are known to be incompetent, Governments composed too often, moreover, of men who have already sacrificed patriotism to mere love of place and party, with disastrous results.

Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT: The glorification of sordidness. To be rich is the universal ideal of human blessedness to-day, not for the sake of doing great and generous deeds for the comfort and improvement of mankind, but for the gratification of self and selfishness. Is it not the fact that the man who has most successfully used up

his fellow-men in the business of accumulating wealth for himself is the most socially distinguished and politically-honoured man to-day? It is very, very sordid, for death cuts it short, and it makes no treasure in Heaven. But how it is glorified!

Here is a further batch of notable opinions:—

Mr. KARL BLIND: Imperialism.

The WARDEN OF MERTON: The spread of Socialism, and the substitution of popularity hunting for statesmanship.

Sir WALTER BESANT: The vastly increased naval armaments of all the Powers, and in their avowed jealousy and open hostility towards the whole of the English-speaking people.

Mr. WILLIAM ARCHER: Military socialism mechanically enforced, instead of a democratic socialism organically developed.

Mr. F. C. BURNAND: Socially and politically, practical atheism.

Mr. WALTER CRANE: Socially: the pursuit of money and the gauging of everything by a money standard. This, accompanied by the gambling spirit, whether on the racecourse or the Stock Exchange, together with the formation of the great rings and trusts, or monopolies in the very necessities of existence, constitute a terrible danger to social life. Politically: the craze for expansion—big empires—and the extinction of small but brave independent races and States.

M. DE BLOWITZ: A coalition of those who have everything to gain against those who have something to lose.

Sir L. ALMA TADEMA: The increasing loss of respect for work.

Lord RONALD GOWER: Socially and politically, Hooliganism.

Lord CHARLES BERESFORD: The Chinese question.

Dean FARRAR: The chief social danger: the dominance of drink. The chief political danger: our apathetic laxity in facing serious problems.

Mr. ZANGWILL: The reactionary reversion to mediæval ideals of militarism, caste, and ecclesiastical despotism ere they have been sufficiently purged by modern thought.

GENERAL BOOTH: Religion without the Holy Ghost, Christianity without Christ, forgiveness without repentance, salvation without regeneration, politics without God, and heaven without hell.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. T. M. HEALY, M.P.: Newspapers!

IAN MACLAREN: It appears to me that the great political danger in the beginning of the new century will be the collision of the Western Powers in the East, and the chief social danger will be anarchy among the masses of the people at the base of our modern society. May I add that, in my opinion, the safeguard against both perils is the application of the Sermon on the Mount to the life alike of nations and of individuals?

Mr. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.: Militarism.

Dr. A. CONAN DOYLE : I should say the uncontrolled supremacy of an ill-balanced, excitable, an sensation-mongering Press.

The BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER : Self-advertising vanity.

Mr. WILLIAM WATSON : Greed.

Mr. GILBERT PARKER, M.P. : Apart from international questions incident upon the extension of the Empire, to my mind the greatest danger to the welfare of the world in the coming century will be the spread and power of big monopolies and trusts.

Mr. MAX O'RELL : An irresponsible and unbridled Press.

Mr. ARTHUR W. PINERO : Trades Unions—the relations of workmen and employers.

Mr. STANLEY J. WEYMAN : The influence upon half-educated nations of an irresponsible Press, whose first object must (with very rare exceptions) be pecuniary.

BISHOP OF HEREFORD : Evil desire and covetousness (Colossians, iii., 5).

Mrs. ASQUITH : Militarism.

Lady COLIN CAMPBELL : The results of universal education.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P. : Imperialism, militarism, and the corruption of public life arising from the Companies' Acts ; limited liability, and the immense development of the Stock Exchange.

Mr. MAX BEERBOHM : That constant circum-spection for social and political danger to which we are incited by jumpy journals.

Madame SARAH GRAND : The sapping of the foundations of society by laxity in the matter of marriage.

The Rev. HERMANN ADLER, Chief Rabbi : The recrudescence of racial antipathies and national animosities.

Mrs. FLORA ANNIE STEEL : The danger, social or political, caused by the dislocation of aspiration from actuality in a swiftly increasing and eventually overwhelming body of women which, having given up its old position, has not yet found a logical foothold in the new.

Mr. GEORGE R. SIMS : The spread of insanity.

Dr. MAX NORDAU : The chief danger, threatening civilisation itself, seems to me to be that infernal selfishness called by pseudo-philosophers "Individualism." In social life it leads to anarchy ; in home politics to party-preying ; in international politics to wars, conquests, land-grabbing ; in art and literature to silly pooh-poohing of all traditions and to attitudinising. Progress is the outcome of a strong social sense. "Individualism," such as preached by the madman Nietzsche and brought into fashion by his contemptible followers, necessarily leads to barbarism.

Mr. STEAD : General war, which threatens Christendom, as the result of ignoring Christian principles in its dealings with one-fourth of the human race which is born inside a yellow skin.

A War for Freedom and Justice.

(No. 46, S.A.C. Committee's Publications.)

AVOWED OBJECTS OF THE WAR.

SOME RESULTS OF THE WAR.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. To establish genuine Self-Government in the Transvaal. | 1. To establish military autocracy in the Republics, with the suspension and possible withdrawal of self-government in Cape Colony. |
| 2. To extend the Franchise to Britons. | 2. To take the Franchise away from Boers and Britons. |
| 3. To secure Freedom of the Press. | 3. To prohibit the circulation of the chief Dutch and some English newspapers over most of Cape Colony and Natal. |
| 4. To secure Freedom of Public Meeting. | 4. To destroy the right of Free Meeting in England by ruffianism condoned by authority, and to abolish it by Martial Law in the South African Colonies. |
| 5. To stop excessive Taxation and waste of Public Funds. | 5. To tax the resources of the Transvaal (chiefly British) for a war indemnity, and to support a large standing army of British troops. |
| 6. To secure Fair Administration of Justice. | 6. To replace trial by jury both in the Republics and in parts of our Colonies by Martial Law under which military officers sentence civilians to heavy fines, confiscation, and long terms of imprisonment. |

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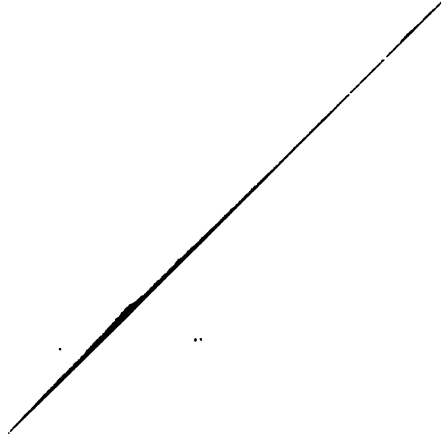
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